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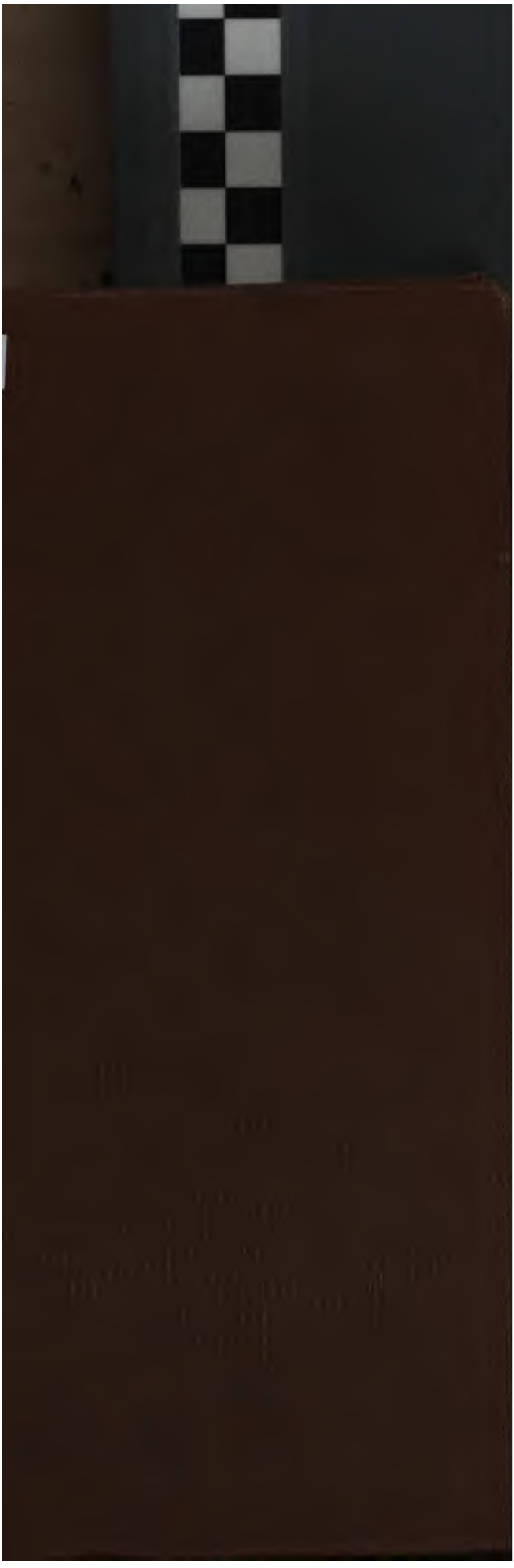

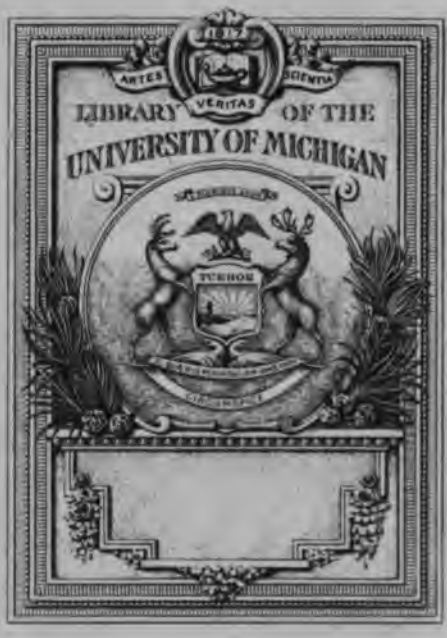
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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW.

MDCCCXLIV.

JULY—DECEMBER.

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρεῖον τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστῃ τῶν αἱρεσίων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν το ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι.—CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* L. I.

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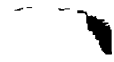

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR JULY, 1844.

Art. I. *Irish Regium Donum inconsistent with the Kingly Rights of Christ and the freedom of his Church; being a Report of the proceedings at the presentation of an Address and Testimonial to the Rev. James Bryce, of Killaig, from the Congregations under the care of the Associate Presbytery of Ireland.* London: Jackson & Walford.

MODERN reviewers and journalists, and *quasi* conservative statesmen are not the only parties who have found Ireland their '*greatest difficulty.*' Almost every successive administration have for ages had their hands filled with the troubles of, or the remedies for, the *sister* island. The projects advocated, whether by the Edinburgh Review, the Times newspaper, or Young England politicians, have been often contemplated, and as often abandoned. The philosophical mind of Bacon was perplexed and confused by the difficulties of governing Ireland for the benefit of an established church, and sought a compromise. He had 'four points' for reducing that country to civility and justice, to obedience and peace. He would extinguish the relics of war; and deprecated *too much* blood-letting. He earnestly desired that the people might be assured of the good intentions of the state: 'that the queen seeketh not an extirpation of that people, but a reduction, and that now she hath *chastised* them by her *royal power and arms* according to the necessity of the occasion,' (how gracious!) 'her majesty taketh no pleasure in the effusion of blood, or displanting of ancient generations,' and 'that her majesty's princely care is principally and intentionally bent upon the action' (improvement?) 'of Ireland; and that she seeketh not so much the ease of charge, as the royal performance of the office of protection, and reclaim of those her subjects;

and, in a word, that the case is altered as far as may stand with the honour of the time past.'

The panegyrists of Queen Elizabeth assure us that her policy so far succeeded towards Ireland that there remained in the country no insurgent who had not obtained or sued for mercy: we more readily believe what they add, that many Irish exiles, filled with 'malignant resentment' towards the English, had been driven to the continent, and were trained to war in the armies of Spain. This much is evident, that the *conspiracies* and commotions which that policy had engendered had, at the accession of James the First to the English throne, depopulated the northern counties. Rebellions and insurrections, but too probably excited for the purpose, were made the pretext for escheating to the crown the principal parts of the province of Ulster. The counties of Donegal, Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh, were thus wasted and alienated. Five hundred and eleven thousand four hundred and fifty-six Irish acres of fertile and well wooded land were made the penalty of an assumed and doubtful rebellion. James himself boasted, and his flatterers asserted, that he ordered surveys, pointed out the sites where towns, settlements, forts, &c. should be constructed; delineated the character of the Irish chieftains, prescribed how they should be treated, and directed the measures by which the land was to be divided among emigrants from Scotland and England, who should be denominated *undertakers;* among others who, holding military or civil offices under the crown, had served in Ireland, and should be distinguished as *servitors;* or among those who still retained the rank of chieftains or captains with the native Irish: that the aborigines of the soil should be removed from the hills and fastnesses, and settled in the open country where husbandry and the arts should be taught them, a fixed habitation secured, and plunder and robbery punished and prevented. It has been affirmed, that James not merely accomplished all this, but that by such acts, he introduced into Ulster humanity and justice among a people who had ever been buried in the most profound barbarism. Perhaps the year 1641 was a test of the *truth* of all this eulogy. Leland, however, upon the authority of Carte and Chichester's own letters, gives a widely different view of the internal state and spirit of the Irish at this period. 'The reformed looked with abhorrence on the partizans of idolatry and the imps of anti-Christ; the Romanist, with equal rancour, inveighed against heresy and apostacy, the blind ministers of Satan and children of perdition.'

This *wise* king further decreed, that the British adventurers, the undertakers, should have assigned to them the places of greatest strength and command: and to the 'servitors' he allot-

ted stations of the greatest danger to themselves and greatest advantage to the crown; while though he cordially hated the austere and republican character of presbyterianism, yet, as the plantations of Ulster were sufficiently removed from his own august presence, he granted the indulgence of kirk ministers to Scotch settlers. The corporation of London accepted of large grants in Derry, &c., which, according to Cox, amounted to 209,800 Irish acres, and covenanted to expend £20,000 in territorial improvements. Londonderry and Coleraine were the chief seats of their numerous colonists. They stipulated to place only *protestant* settlers in their plantations, and that they should not suffer any labourer that would not take the oath of supremacy to dwell upon their land. But it was more easy to induce the persecuted puritans to abandon a land burdened with the devices of kingcraft and prelatic domination than to procure parochial clergy of the established church. The beneficed clergy of the church of England were generally at ease in the possession of their preferments, and would not engage in such a hazardous undertaking. The Londoners therefore sent over puritan ministers, who found an asylum for conscience, and a hiding-place from the persecutions to bring about conformity, so rigorously enforced at that time against the scrupulous and enlightened who dissented from the established usages and impositions of human authority in England.

The Scots, in consequence of their vicinity to that province of Ireland, transported the more numerous colonists. They brought their national, industrious and less modish habits with them; and being presbyterians, and accompanied by their kirk ministers where they settled, they formed their churches after the model of Geneva, and established the same simplicity of worship. There was much of voluntary conformity between them and the Puritans. Ten ministers, three of them English puritans, and seven Scotch presbyterians, settled as pastoral labourers in this region: with them the bishops of the establishment (for these episcopal ecclesiastics knew how to cling to the stuff, though they liked not the battle-field) mutually agreed to a compromise; and archbishop Usher's modified presbyterian episcopacy (the bishop being the presiding presbyter) was maintained for some time. Most of the ecclesiastical edifices in the northern counties, had been either destroyed in the late wars, or had fallen to ruin; the benefices were small, and had been shamefully kept by the bishops *in commendam*, or were under sequestration, or filled with ministers as scandalous in character, as their incomes were meagre: the wretched flock had been totally abandoned, and for many years divine service had not been used in any parish church of Ulster, except in cities and great towns. The estates

of the northern bishoprics had been embarrassed by the usurpation of the Irish lords, and the unsettled state of the country. But scarcely had the lands been allotted to the patentee colonists, when considerable portions of them were reclaimed by the clergy as their rightful property; and James, who thought and asserted, 'No bishop, no king,' ordained that all ecclesiastical lands should be restored to their respective sees and churches, and that all lands should be deemed ecclesiastical from which bishops had in former times received rents or pensions. To provide for the inferior clergy, the bishops were called upon to resign all their impropriations, and relinquish to the respective incumbents the tithes paid to them out of parishes.

All the Scots who received ordination in Ireland from this time (1611) to the year 1642, were ordained by a conjunction of the bishop of the diocese and the kirk presbyters, and an omission of such passages in the established form of ordination as the candidate disliked: all of them enjoyed the churches and the tithes, though they remained presbyterians, and used not the liturgy. The bishops even consulted them about affairs which concerned the common interest of the church; while some of the presbyterians were members of the convocation. They had monthly meetings at Antrim for the promotion of piety and the extirpation of popery. Their communions were quarterly. Occasionally, a presbyterian minister preached before the judges of assize, and an episcopal curate administered to them the sacrament on the same day! so that there was a sort of *comprehension* between the two parties. Those were halcyon days for the moderate presbyterians. Things continued in this way, greatly to the satisfaction of the good presbyterians, (and they must have rapidly increased, if we believe the accounts concerning their numbers at the massacre), till the administration of Laud, who succeeded in dividing and weakening the protestant strength, and making way for the enormous growth of popery, which has vulgarly been identified with the deadly carnage which, it is said, almost desolated the province of Ulster in 1641 and 1642.

A fair judgment of this calamitous event cannot be formed without considering it in connexion with the causes that operated. Perhaps it was the result of various circumstances, which for a series of years had irritated the minds of the Irish, and at last raised them to a pitch of frenzy and cruelty, of the effects of which we cannot read without being shocked at the recital. The Irish had been pursued with a constant, rigorous, and unrelenting persecution; they had suffered extortions, imprisonments, and excommunications. Their estates had been seized under the pretext of a judicial inquiry into defective titles; in which inquiry, verdicts against them were extorted from

jurors. They had been heavily taxed for their peculiar opinions, and totally precluded the exercise of their religion. Their application to Charles for a toleration had been rejected, in consequence of the protestation against such indulgence, drawn up by the primate, Usher, and twelve other bishops. The Roman catholic writers say, that the insurrection had its origin in the injustice of the English government, which had robbed them of their paternal fields, and bestowed them on strangers; and in the ecclesiastical oppression which had degraded the holy faith of their ancestors, reduced their priesthood to a state of beggary, and compelled them to pay tithes to men whose religion they abhorred, whose language they did not understand, and who, in many parishes, had not a single individual to attend upon their ministry. To free themselves from such tyranny, they snatched up the sword, at what they thought a favourable season, in hopes of again becoming masters of their own country, and gaining the ascendancy, or expelling the foreigners who had unjustly assumed dominion over them. Such, they allege, 'were the designs of the leaders; but they were defeated by the savage fury of their plebeian adherents, who over-leaped all bounds of restraint, and spread massacre and destruction, where their superiors meant only conquest and subjugation.'

It is not at all improbable that such grievances were dwelt upon and magnified by the emissaries of the queen; and that the vigorous measures of the long parliament, in that comparatively dark age, countenanced the apprehension, that if the king's popish advisers were removed, their burdens would be increased and prolonged, that instead of whips they would be chastised with scorpions; and, therefore, the insurrection under the Earl of Antrim, might have been more eagerly strengthened by the leading nobles, and the massacre in Ulster be intended as an act of selfish retaliation upon those who had disinherited and oppressed them. Forty or fifty thousand were slain in that province, in a brief space, in a most brutal manner, without distinction of age, sex, or quality, before the victims suspected their danger, or had time to prepare for their defence. In a few weeks the insurrection was so general that the insurgents took possession of whole counties, killing or driving away the cattle, plundering the houses, and murdering the inhabitants. Multitudes of poor distressed and bereaved persons and impoverished families fled, first to Dublin, and thence to England, with woe and despair in their countenances. At length the Irish army having ravaged all the northern counties, blockaded the city of Dublin itself, with all the suffering refugees who had taken sanctuary within its walls. Partial relief only was afforded from England, till the parliament was at leisure, from the controversy maintained by

them with the king, to inflict summary and severe vengeance upon the heads of the ill-guided people, by the hands of the victorious and terrible Oliver Cromwell.

During the years which elapsed from 1642 till 1649, the country remained in a distracted state, and the presbyterian clergy were but slowly recovering from their consternation and sufferings; but in the latter period, they seemed to have rallied a little, so as to assume not only the attitude of 'The presbytery of Belfast,' but of an authoritative community, who would deliver 'an exhortation to duties relating to the covenant unto all within our charge and to all within this kingdom.' It is not likely that in the disastrous conflicts of those times, even the parochial Presbyterian clergy of Ulster received their tithes and dues with much regularity; yet it seems they had a greater affection for the *Stuart* race and rule, and the continued establishment of their system in that country, than for the long parliament, or the authorities which followed it; since they charge *the Sectaries*, or the resisting government, with 'the insolent and presumptuous practice of labouring to establish by laws, an universal toleration of all religions, which is an innovation, overturning of unity in religion, and so directly repugnant to the word of God, the two first articles of the solemn covenant, which is the greatest wickedness in them to violate, &c.;' and while they designate presbyterial government the 'hedge and bulwark of religion,' they represent those who would speak evil of (this) church government as equally guilty with those who 'invent damnable errors, under the specious pretence of a gospel-way and new light.'

The indignant and bitter reply given to them by the author of 'The Defence of the People,' who had already declared that 'presbyter is only priest writ large,' evinced his suspicion that love for truth and righteousness was not the constraining principle by which they were actuated, and that zeal for their country was absorbed by the exercise of a meaner and narrower passion. He says, in answer to the work, alluded to, 'These write themselves, 'the presbytery of Belfast,' a place better known by the name of a late barony, than by the fame of these men's doctrines or ecclesiastical deeds, whose obscurity, till now, never came to our hearing; and surely we, who have neglected and passed over the like unadvisedness of their fellows in other places more near us, should think their representment as far beneath consideration, were it not to observe in some particulars the sympathy, good intelligence, and joint pace which they go in the north of Ireland, with their co-partnering rebels in the south; driving on the same interest to lose us that kingdom that they may gain it themselves, or at least share in the spoil—though the other be

open enemies—these pretended brethren. The introduction of their *Manifest*, out of doubt must be zealous: 'their duty,' they say, 'to God and his people, over whom he hath made them overseers, and for whom they must give account.' What mean these men? Is the presbytery of Belfast, a small town in Ulster, of so large extent that their *voices* cannot serve to teach duties in the congregation which they oversee, without spreading and divulging to all parts, far beyond the diocese of Patrick or Columba, their written representation, under the subtle pretence of feeding their own flock? or do they think to oversee, or undertake to give an account for all to whom their paper sends greeting? St. Paul, to the Elders of Ephesus, thinks it sufficient to give charge that *they take heed to themselves and to the flock*, over which the Holy Ghost has made them overseers; beyond those bounds he gives them no commission, and surely when we put down bishops, and put up presbyters, and which the most of them have made use of to enrich and exalt themselves, and turn the first heel against their benefactors, we did not think that one classic fraternity, so obscure and so remote, should involve us and all state affairs within the censure of Belfast, upon pretence of overseeing their own charge.' Such observations as these do not exhibit the profound veneration which Milton ever manifested to those whose motives he believed to be pure, and whose zeal he considered disinterested; while his disclaimer on the part of the parliamentary authorities may convey instruction in reference to modern church reform. 'And if it can be no way proved that the parliament have countenanced popery or papists, but have every where broken their temporal power, thrown down their *public* superstitions, and confined themselves to the bare enjoyment of that which is not in our reach—their consciences, if they have encouraged all true ministers of the gospel, that is to say, afforded to them favour and protection in all places where they preached; and although they think not money or stipend to be the best encouragement of a true pastor, yet therein also have not been wanting, nor intend (this is more than he would afterward recommend): they doubt not then to affirm themselves, not the subverters but the maintainers and defenders of true religion; which of itself, and by consequence, is the surest and strongest subversion, not only of all false ones, but of irreligion and atheism. *For the weapons of that warfare*, as the apostle testifies, who best knew, *are not carnal but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strongholds*, and all reasonings, and every high thing exalted against the knowledge of God, surprising every thought into the obedience of Christ, and easily revenging all disobedience. What minister or clergyman that either understood his high calling or sought not to erect a secu-

lar and carnal tyranny over spiritual things, would neglect this ample and sublime power conferred upon him, and come a begging to the weak hand of magistracy for that kind of aid which the magistrate hath no commission to afford him, and in the way he seeks, hath always been found helpless and unprofitable? Neither is it unknown, or by wisest men unobserved, that the church began then most apparently to degenerate and go to ruin, when she borrowed of the civil power more than which Christ and his apostles ever required. To say, therefore, that we protect and invite all false religions, with irreligion and atheism, because we lend not, or rather misapply not, the temporal power to help out, though in vain, the sloth, the spleen, and the insufficiency of churchmen, in the execution of spiritual discipline over those within their charge or those without, is an imputation that may be laid upon the best regulated states and governments through the world; who have been so prudent as never to employ the civil sword further than the edge of it could reach—that is to civil offences only: proving always against objects that were spiritual a ridiculous weapon. Our protection, therefore, to men in civil matters inoffensive, we cannot deny: their consciences we leave, as not within our cognizance, to the proper care of instruction, praying for them.'

On such principles as those developed in the quotation given, did the governors of Ireland proceed till the increase of the presbyterians emboldened, and their attachment to the Stuart family tempted them to refuse to take the oaths to the commonwealth, to observe the fast days appointed by authority and to comply with its ordinances; considering the Protector's authority as an unjust usurpation. Henry Cromwell, as lord lieutenant of Ireland, attempted to argue them into actual subjection; but he could not succeed. Provoked by their refusal, he withdrew the *parochial* support which they had, till then, enjoyed. Perhaps he would have gained more friends and shown himself more politic, had he suffered them quietly to pursue their own way: by overlooking their sullenness, and letting them enjoy the pleasure of murmuring, he would have rendered them perfectly harmless. This was, indeed, generally the policy pursued, giving no ascendancy to any party, but promoting the welfare and seeking the happiness of all; the tranquillity of the country was maintained till the restoration of the three kingdoms to the dominion and misgovernment of a cold-hearted, wanton, and debauched monarch, who never rewarded a friend, nor forgot an enemy; whom adversity could not subdue, nor services make grateful; whose God was *self*, and whose enjoyment was indulgence and excess. This was an event which the Irish presbyterians had long desired; but how

sadly must their expectations have been disappointed! they were not restored to their former privileges. The episcopal church resumed all her ancient honours; to her clergy were transferred *all* the tithes, even in the north; while the presbyterians had nearly all the people and all the labour. The royal *bounty* was, however, on the principle of the unjust judge, dispensed among them in compliance with their importunity, and six hundred pounds were distributed yearly among the presbyterian ministers, till towards the end of Charles the Second's reign, when the bounty was withdrawn. Their numbers were increased by the arbitrary and sanguinary proceedings of Charles in Scotland, when he attempted by tithes and dragoons to establish episcopacy among the people of that country. If, however, the presbyterians did not pluck the rich fruit of an establishment in Ireland, they enjoyed, compared with their brethren elsewhere, the repose of Eden and the security of a strong tower.

A momentary gloom hung over the prospects of the Irish presbytery during James the Second's infatuated struggle, but the cloud passed away; and William, Prince of Orange, whose principles are caricatured or inverted by the Irish Orangemen, shewed that respect for the rights of conscience which yielded to his subjects the liberty of worshipping God according to their own judgments, and that politic liberality in distributing the bounty of the public purse which bestowed on the presbyterians in the north of Ireland £1200 a-year towards their support. Letters patent passed the great seal of Ireland, granting this sum to seven ministers, during pleasure, for the use of the ministers of the north of Ireland, to be paid quarterly out of any of the revenues of the kingdom. On the decease of William, the trustees of the royal bounty petitioned Queen Anne to renew the grant, to which she acceded, under the following limitations:—'Upon trust, nevertheless, that the money which shall be received thereupon shall be distributed to and amongst the said presbyterian ministers, or such of them and in such proportions as shall be appointed from time to time, in lists to be approved of and signed by our lieutenant-deputy, or other chief governor or governors of our said kingdom of Ireland for the time being.' In the reign of Queen Anne, the house of lords, spiritual and temporal, complained that the northern presbyterians had set up a meeting-house, and so disturbed the peace of the town of Drogheda, where there had been no such place of worship for twenty-eight years before: and that in their zeal for proselytism they had sent missionaries into several parts of the kingdom where they had no call from the people, and no congregation to support them, so that the £1200 were

made a means of spreading schism into many other parts of the country. These outward troubles kept them pure within.

In the reign of George I., £800 per annum additional were divided in equal shares between the ministers of the synod and those of the southern association, as an acknowledgement for their services in favour of the Hanoverian succession. During the reign of this monarch and his more immediate successors, full latitude for liberty of conscience had been enjoyed by the presbyterians, and little effectual resistance was presented to error and schism in the body of Irish presbyterians. Arianism found its way across the channel, and some of the most speculative and daring of their ministers stood forth as champions of the new dogma. Subscription to creeds and excommunicating anathemas were resorted to in vain; the presbytery of Antrim was formed. It has been frequently observed, however, in surveying the annals of the church, that when any religious body has declined in purity of doctrine and fervour of zeal, it has pleased God to raise up others either to reclaim them or occupy their place. About the year 1746, a minister of the seceding communion came over from Scotland, and planted another standard of the cross; and he was afterwards followed by others of his fellow-labourers, both burghers and anti-burghers. Wherever these new leaders were introduced, the friends of orthodoxy, not wishing to have their own or their children's ears offended by the sound of heresy, forsook their old connexions, and joined themselves to the congregation of the seceders. In consequence of this and of very active exertions, there was a rapid increase of their numbers.

In 1737, in George the Second's reign, the Ulster Synod evinced by their minutes a prudent forethought, and wrote to their brethren in Dublin, allowing them in their name to address the lord lieutenant upon his arrival; and 'if they found it convenient to give a modest hint concerning the S—s.' In 1749 they again consulted their friends in Dublin concerning the expediency of addressing the government for an augmentation of the *Regium Donum*. In 1753 it was voted and approved by the same prudent body, that in time to come no minister be fixed in any congregation subject to this synod, unless they pay, by way of stipend, at least £40 a-year besides the regal stipend; while the congregations already planted were required to pay that sum yearly henceforward.

In 1784, government granted an additional sum of £1,000 per annum to the ministers of the Synod of Ulster, to be distributed at the pleasure of the chief governor or governors of the kingdom. In 1792, £5,000 were granted during pleasure, which were divided among the ministers of the Synod, the Presbytery

of Antrim, the Seceders, the Southern Association, and the ministers of the French Church, St. Peter's, Dublin.

The refugee clergy of foreign lands have not only shared the liberality of the British exchequer, a most questionable exercise of government patronage, but they have often been the pretext for misappropriating the national revenue. No French minister had officiated in Dublin for thirty years, yet, till the ministry of Lord Grey, the annual sum continued to be voted for the French Church in Peter Street. Where the money went, remained a secret even in the Irish metropolis.

Ireland was convulsed, and some of the presbyterian clergy were implicated in the commotions which excited alarm about the close of the eighteenth century. The synod manifested apprehension—the *Regium Donum* was in danger, and the attention of government had been directed to the subject. It had been hitherto dispensed without any government distribution, and left for division by members of the synods. But Lord Castlereagh knew Ireland and Irish presbyterianism well, and by the authority of his ministerial colleagues, the channel and mode of distribution were altered. When divided, the sum had averaged something less than £20 yearly for each minister, which was represented to be bestowed by the king as his *royal bounty*. The grant was presumed to have been a perfectly free gift—no condition of any kind was said to be attached to it. It bore the name, and had all the appearance in the eyes of its humble recipients of a voluntary offering from the rulers of the country for God's service; or at least an honorary donation to the ministers of religion. A partial alteration had been made in 1800 for the Synod of Ulster only; but in 1804 the whole system was reviewed and modified, so that the administration of the grant might have a check upon the clergy for the service of the donors. We need not stay to demonstrate that any other design can never politically regulate the appropriation of state resources, and that this one is the purpose of all clerical endowments. In this case the minister *received* as for himself, but the gift was *granted* as for congregation. Each minister thereafter ordained, was required first to take the oath of allegiance, and then present a memorial to the lord lieutenant, stating that he had done so, and praying to be placed in receipt of the portion of the royal bounty allotted to the congregation over which he had been ordained. This must be certified by two magistrates to the lord lieutenant, having taken the oath of allegiance, and then it remained for the officer of state *to approve of him*. The lord lieutenant was invested with a veto, not ostensibly on the appointment of minister, but on his reception of at least one half, perhaps of his income. Such a condition armed that functionary with most formidable power over both the church and its

minister. Teaching them that they could not sufficiently provide for their pastor, and that they should not have the man whom the government disapproved, while the ecclesiastic, if ever deemed disloyal, would be liable to deprivation by their responsible *fiat* of the secretary of state. A provision was indeed made that the *Regium Donum* should continue to be drawn, even where the minister was deprived or deceased: a most significant mode of punishing and holding up to opprobrium a man who was faithful to his charge and his conscience. In conformity with this arrangement, a case occurred where a conscientious minister and his congregation declined the *Donum*, because it was deemed *a bribe and a bond;* but the grant was yearly, for thirty years, drawn and appropriated by the synod to which he had belonged. A classification of the congregations was made according to their number or respectability, and those whose numbers and position might have rendered them less dependent were awarded the highest rate, £100. The congregation which was the smallest, and had least influence, received the lowest, £50; and a middle class, enjoying the golden mean, were endowed with £75 annually. The scale for the Seceders, or 'Presbyterian Synod of Ireland,' was lower than that provided for the Synod of Ulster. We know not whether their loyalty was more dubious or more easily bought, but their ministers were endowed at from twenty to thirty per cent. 'less than their other presbyterian brethren, at which they became the stipendiaries of the state, the hired pulpit servants of 'the powers that be.'

It deserves notice that the negotiation with this synod was characterised by more of the coquetry of principle, and the finesse of reluctance in complying with the stipulations. One of their number adhered steadfastly to christian integrity, and ninety-nine surrendered their birthright for the royal mess. Originally this body had existed as two distinct synods, the burghers and anti-burghers, and in them the reception of *Regium Donum on conditions* was gravely and warmly agitated. In the anti-burgher synod the Rev. James Bryce, minister of Killaig Aghadoey, almost single-handed debated the question, and finally stood alone in resistance to the insiduous bait. His was a noble instance of principle and godly fear, and he has proved the faithfulness of God. It is but justice to give the following extracts from his own account of the proceeding :—

'The most intense anxiety was awakened among the people, respecting the negotiations with government, and (our) ministers were frequently called upon, publicly and privately, to give information on the subject, and to declare the course they meant to pursue. All said that if the new bounty was to be free and unconditional, like the old, they would continue to receive it. All pledged themselves to spurn such conditions

as the Synod of Ulster had submitted to; and a few went further, and declared against any conditions whatever. Of these few I was one. There are some present this day, who heard me say in this house thirty-five years ago, that if the new grant was accompanied with any condition whatever, were it even so simple as opening the psalm book, (which I happened to hold in my hand) and shutting it again, I would not receive it. . . . . The minister who consents to perform the slightest act, or go through the simplest form, prescribed by an earthly ruler, as a qualification for receiving a part, or the whole of his income as a minister, becomes thereby, either the paid functionary, or the humble dependant of the state. I was resolved to be neither. I knew the impossibility of serving two masters; and I would not affront my own master, by becoming the pensioner of another; thereby treating him, as if he were unable to discharge his engagements. 'I am sure,' said I, 'that he will perform his promise, and provide for me in his own way, for 'I know whom I have believed,' I know that he is pleased to accept the free-will offerings of those who fear him, as the fund out of which his ministers are to be supported: and I decided, that if the new grant should come in such a shape, that I could look on it, either as a contribution to the Lord's treasury, or as an honorary present to me for the Lord's sake, I would accept it; but, that if it were turned into a state stipend by the requirement of any condition whatever, I would have nothing to do with it. . . . . I went to the Irish Antiburgher Synod, on 3rd July, 1810, with dark forebodings. It was now matter of general notoriety, that the very men who at the two former meetings, denounced the bounty, and vied with one another in the indignation with which they spurned it, had almost all privately accepted it during the interval. I expected, therefore, an overwhelming majority against me: but I had no idea of being left utterly alone. There were four others, of whom I felt quite confident, that they would be found, 'faithful unto death.' I was fearfully deceived. Even these four deserted me now, though they had all along been far more vehement than ever I was, against the terms of the grant; and one of them, in a letter to myself, about two months before, had designated the conduct of those who had accepted it, as 'a selling of the Gospel for money.' These four had not yet actually put the money into their pockets, but they had withdrawn their opposition; they uttered no remonstrance against the traitor majority—a sure proof, that ere long, they would become partners in the treason.

'It is impossible for me to convey to you an idea of the feelings with which I returned from this scene of guilt; and I will not attempt it.—Yet I did not despair. My hands were clean; and I knew that there was a righteous God in heaven. I thought too, that I saw a ray of hope from the General Associate Synod in Scotland, to which I had appealed. But this hope disappointed me too. That synod fully identified themselves with the guilt of their Irish brethren; and I was left, without a single minister in either kingdom, with whom I could hold communion, or to whom I could look for co-operation and counsel. But in the interval, between the meeting of the last Irish synod, before which my protest and appeal was to come, some encouragement had arisen. Out of two or three congregations, a few faithful and determined men had come forth,

resolved to hold communion no longer with men who stood self-condemned, of having 'sold the Gospel for money.' Some of these christian heroes knew nothing of me, when they took this step. Like Abraham, they went forth, not knowing whither they went. They were headed by three or four gentlemen of talent, experienced in public business, by whose instrumentality, regularity and efficiency were given to their proceedings. Communications took place between them and the congregation at Killaig, who generously shared my labours with their destitute brethren; and thus, in the good providence of God, our little church was organized.'

The discussions which ended in the formation of the presbytery of Antrim, began, and were conducted with more or less ardour, between 1705, and 1724; and some of the most distinguished of the presbyterian ministers of Ireland, Dr. Boyse and Mr. Abernethy, were involved in the controversy. It appears that Mr. Nevin disclaimed being an Arian, yet scrupled and refused to make subscription to any human form of opinion or belief. Notwithstanding, from the general suspicion which prevailed among the synod, from the warmth and extent of the debates, and from the fact that Arianism did raise its head among the presbyterians, both in the north and south of Ireland, it may not be a harsh or hasty conclusion, that that form of church government, and the patronage of the state, are not sufficient to guard against heterodoxy, or the appropriation of the national bounty to propagate a system of opinions directly obnoxious to written standards, and hostile to established creeds or professions of faith. Let the devout advocate of national establishments of religion, of state patronage or territorial endowments for the advancement of christianity, ponder well the palpable fact, that up to this day thousands of pounds yearly are devoted to maintain in Ireland Arian and Socinian ministers, as well as some who labour neither for one creed nor another, but whose only concern is, what they shall eat, or what they shall drink, or wherewithal they shall be clothed.

The Regium Donum began in the reign of Charles, was increased to £1200 per annum, under the sway of William, prince of Orange, and confirmed *with conditions*, under queen Anne. George the First, as an offering of royal gratitude, added £800 more: an application was made to his successor for an augmentation, but apparently in vain; and in 1784, the cabinet of George the Third agreed that the sum of £1,000 more should be granted, to be distributed at *the pleasure of the chief governor*. Eight years later, in 1792, the amount was raised to £5,000; but granted during the *royal pleasure*. In 1804, we have seen the new arrangement was made, which placed the sum—an increased and increasing grant—under parliamentary controul.

In 1833, the vote had grown to £24,500; and in 1844, £35,630 has become the parliamentary charge for Irish presbyterianism. Besides the expenditure for the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, which was estimated at £1,950, and which, with little exception, is wholly devoted to presbyterian purposes, we might add the share which these presbyters obtain of the education grant for Ireland: and it will be ascertained, that not less than forty or fifty thousand pounds is the price paid for loyal subserviency and presbyterian fidelity to 'the powers that be.' The sum is large, but the principle involved is far more important; while the operation of the system upon Ireland deserves the consideration of statesmen, and its influence on the extension of scriptural christianity demands the scrupulous attention of all those who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

Originally, the different presbyterian bodies in Ireland sustained the designations which divided their Scottish brethren. The covenanting, or reformed presbyterian church, the associate presbytery, and the united original seceders, are distinguished only by shades of opinion as to the duty of the civil magistrate in relation to the church, but conscientious opinions prevent them from accepting *Regium Donum*. They have between forty and fifty congregations, who, with a generous vigour and a missionary enterprise, support their own ministrations, and strive to extend the gospel around them, and in other lands. Many of their ministers are both eminent and devoted, while the number of their attendants will bear more than average comparison with many of their most richly endowed contemporaries.

The presbytery of Antrim, the remonstrant synod, a recent heterodox secession from the synod of Ulster, and the synod of Munster, holding fraternal intercourse as a unitarian association, are the representatives of the socinian creed or of arianism in Ireland. Their congregations number thirty-five; the census of their population being returned as upwards of thirty thousand, and their stated attendance averaging seven thousand two hundred and eighty-seven, while their endowed ministers and licentiates are more than sixty; many of their congregations are *collegiate* charges. The endowments hitherto enjoyed by the heterodox presbyterians, whether regal or private, have been the highest and wealthiest—so that between five and six thousand pounds of national property are annually granted by parliament to propagate what the standards of the national church denominate damnable heresies. The synod of Ulster long stood as the lineal and accredited representative of the Scottish kirk; and the seceders who originally branched into the burgher and anti-burgher synods, but united in 1820 as

the presbyterian synod of Ireland, were the fraternal correspondants of the modern united secession church. No doctrinal or ecclesiastical distinctions existed as a line of demarcation between the synod of Ulster and the presbyterian synod of Ireland, and the only practical evidence of difference was the invidious disparity of *Regium Donum;* in no way gratifying to the stipendiary who received the *smaller* sum. The efforts of several years were ultimately crowned with a union of the two synods, and an equalization of the *Donum* to the ministers of each. During the Melbourne administration a new scale was fixed for their congregations, and the GRANT has been prospectively equalized, the higher *grantees* being acknowledged as vested for life, with an interest in the parliamentary supply. The congregations formerly on the lower scale have been more largely endowed, and those receiving the highest sum are, on the death of their incumbents, to be reduced to the middle average; that all may be alike united, they have assumed the designation of the 'General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,' having thirty-three presbyteries, with settled ministers and vacant congregations, about four hundred and eighty, their nominal population will not be more than 500,000; but of these, it was ascertained from local inquiry by parliamentary commissioners, in 1835, that not seventy thousand were in regular attendance at places of worship.

It is desirable that the English public should know, what the effect is of that which is improperly denominated, 'Royal Bounty,' but may more correctly be designated parliamentary extravagance and national robbery. By the appropriation of such grants in former years the several bodies of presbyterians in Ireland have been able to proceed not merely in the maintenance of existing congregations, at least of ministers for such congregations, but also to increase their number of clerical stipendiaries throughout the country. The usual process for the consolidation of a new interest in past times, may be thus briefly described. A certain number of adult persons, supposed to be, or designated as, heads of families, residing in a vicinity, subscribed a document declaring themselves to be presbyterians, and desiring the settlement among them as a congregation of a minister of whom they approved. This document was forwarded to the presbytery, and having received the sanction of their competent ecclesiastical authorities, the congregation and minister were enrolled, having been duly organized and returned as people and minister of that communion, and become eligible to the enjoyment of *Regium Donum.* A memorial attested by the moderator of the synod and their lay agents, was then presented by the minister of the congregation to the lord lieuten-

ant, soliciting the bounty usually granted to the ministers of that body, the documentary attestations already described, being tendered at the same time as the *quid pro quo*. Not unfrequently it occurred that persons subscribed themselves as members of such congregations, who did not cherish the moral obligation of contributing to the support of their minister, or who, well satisfied by the appropriation of a most miserable pittance to eke out the salary of their recognised pastor, calculated on the government allowance. Such pauper dependence and niggard parsimony did not produce in themselves, or in the members of their families, any sense of individual responsibility, or the obligation to make personal effort for the advancement of religion. The minister received his *donum* yearly; but the sum was inadequate for the support of a family or for their elevation in society. Consequently, the man who should be wholly given to sacred things, and the cultivation of the religious improvement of his people, was induced to turn his thoughts to other pursuits, and to occupy his time with secular engagements.

Investigations a little more searching, and inquiries more minute have been in recent years made by government. A fit of economy and more rigid principle had been occasioned by the discussion out of doors of the Regium Donum and its abuses. In consequence, a new series of queries and form of application have been adopted, whether for the continuance of the endowment where it has been enjoyed, or for the primary grant of such endowment to new congregations. These forms are appended, and the reader will judge how far they serve the purposes of a wise and just government, or promote the independence of the pastors, and the liberality or integrity of the congregations.

I.

CONTINUANCE OF ENDOWMENT TO ENDOWED CONGREGATIONS.

To entitle any endowed congregation to be placed on the annual parliamentary estimate, the presbytery to which it belongs must, through its moderator and clerk, certify to the Irish government, within fourteen days after the 31st March in each year, according to the annexed form of certificate :—

1. That the congregation has had a regular church or meeting-house of its own, in which it has worshipped during the *preceding year*.
2. That the congregation has had an ordained minister during such year.
3. That during such year, the congregation has consisted of at least twelve resident presbyterian families—the term family being understood to comprise the head and the majority of its other

members, or of fifty resident presbyterian individuals, such presbyterian families or individuals being *bonâ fide* constituents of the congregations. And

4. That during such year, the minister has been in the *bonâ fide* receipt of a congregational income of at least £35.

In any case where it shall appear that the required conditions have not been fulfilled for the specified period, the congregation will not be placed on the estimate, until it has been certified that they have been again fulfilled during the *preceding year*.

In case of a subsequent non-fulfilment of the conditions within the period of ten years, the congregation will not be replaced on the estimate, until it has been certified that they have been again fulfilled during the *two preceding years*. And

In any case where such non-fulfilment shall have lasted for more than *two* consecutive years, the congregation will not be replaced on the estimate, until it has been certified that the conditions have been again fulfilled, during the *three preceding years*.

The certificate must in all cases show the total amount of income actually received by the minister during such period, distinguishing its several sources—the amount derived from each of these—and the annual value of any free house or glebe.

II.

ENDOWMENT OF UNENDOWED CONGREGATIONS.

1st. Any unendowed congregation will be placed on the estimate for the year commencing 1st April, on its appearing from the certificates, that three following conditions shall have been fulfilled during the *three preceding years*, viz. :—

1. That the congregation has had an ordained minister during such years.
2. That during such year, the congregation has consisted of at least twelve resident presbyterian families—the term family being understood to comprise the head and the majority of its other members, or, of fifty resident presbyterian individuals, such presbyterian families or individuals being *bonâ fide* constituents of the congregation. And
3. That during such year, the minister has been in the *bonâ fide* receipt of a congregational income of at least £35, of which at least £20 has been contributed by the said presbyterian families or individuals being constituents of the congregation.

2nd. But in such case, it will be necessary, that an annual certificate shall have been transmitted to government for each of such years.

III.

EXCEPTIONS.

1st. Those congregations whose ministers, or the assistants and successors of whose ministers, were appointed prior to the 1st January, 1839, will be exempted from the peremptory fulfilment of the conditions, during the incumbencies of the existing ministers.

During such period of exemption, however, the annual certificate for each congregation must show, for the satisfaction of Government, whether the several conditions have been fulfilled or not, and the actual amount of income received by the minister during the preceding year But upon the death, or removal, of each of such ministers, the congregation will not be placed on the estimate for the ensuing year, unless it appear that the conditions shall have been fulfilled during the preceding year.

2nd. In case of the death or removal of any minister, the endowment will not be suspended on that ground, unless the vacancy shall have exceeded twelve months.

3rd. If by reason of the poverty of the district, any instance should occur in which the *Synod* shall consider that the regulation which prescribes the amount of stipend ought to be *pro hac vice* dispensed with, a special report may be addressed by the Synod to the Government, setting forth the facts of the case, with which the Government reserves to itself the entire discretion of dealing, as it shall think fit.

4th. It is to be clearly understood that the above rules are not to be subject to any further exceptions, and that no application for a new endowment, or for a continuance of the old endowment of any congregation, can be entertained by the Government, except it appear, that, in such case, the several required conditions have been fulfilled.

To some of the more haughty and supercilious, we cannot add high-minded, of the recipients this new mode of dispensing government patronage is exceedingly galling, and even humiliating. One or two cases illustrative are alleged where the presbyter refuses to make the return. A *quondam* champion for matrimonial union between the episcopal establishment and Irish presbyterianism is thus described: though he declines not to take the *donum*, while a benevolent friend furnishes to the government the requisite return. Another presbyter of high pretensions and scrupulous conscience, himself declining to render answers to the queries, yet suffers the answers to be made, and having received the yearly *donum*, employs it in gifts of charity; and sustains the character of a liberal benefactor and generous friend.

In some instances the Regium Donum being applied as the rent of a farm—the minister becomes a farming gentleman; or holding from the head landlord, he sublets portions of his lease at rack-rents to the neighbouring peasantry for potatoe fields. Some can witness that they have seen in country towns, in fairs and markets, the presbyterian minister selling his pigs, his corn, or his sheep; and, it may be, completing his bargain in the public-house, or over the whiskey bottle, on a Saturday afternoon, or at other times nearly approaching to religious service. The advocates of temperance socicties have recited some strange stories regarding the north. The clerical character is lowered

by such exposure, the tone of mind in the victim of such a system is vitiated; his official engagements are not distinguished by the exertion of intellect or the researches of study; and he fails to effect that good, or to command that moral and spiritual influence which would render him a benefit to his flock. His people do not acquire an enlarged and comprehensive benevolence, or active and vigorous minds; generous principles do not exalt them; liberality of sentiment or of charity lies beyond their attainment; and they take no interest in diffusing the knowledge of their own religion or the advantages of a free and enlightened constitution in their own neighbourhood, or among their fellow men in remoter districts. Even where a desire to do good has actuated some of them, their designs are selfish, their liberality is penurious, and their efforts are feeble or abortive. The influence of a system so replete with evil may serve to account for the inefficiency of presbyterianism itself in Ireland; and the obstructions which other modes of doing good in the country must herein have had to encounter, will sufficiently explain the cause of their slow or partial success. Let the patriotic statesman, the christian citizen, and the philosophic and candid enquirer after truth, as also the student of ecclesiastical history, survey the sad and dreary effects of the paralyzing conjunction of church and state in a country which requires all the energies of a vigorous and healthy christianity, and all the resources of a wise and benevolent government to redeem its population from civil discord and superstitious and ruinous priestcraft.

Applications to the liberality of English christians are sometimes made by delegated ministers on behalf of chapel cases in Ireland; and the plea is frequently strengthened by a statement of local circumstances. Obstructions from popish influence, the permanent action and juxta-position of Socinian or Arian heterodoxy and the infantile weakness of new interests are often successfully urged; and even the wealth and inefficiency of the dominant establishment, are pressed upon the consideration of the Anglican dissenter. But we would arm the consistent opposer of national churches with these brief and simple questions: Does the body with which the applicant is associated receive the *Regium Donum?* And if they do not enjoy it now, does it form part of their plan ultimately to make the usual application for obtaining that allowance? Answers to these will lead to or furnish a suitable criterion of the claims and responsibility involved. And ministers, or those who recommend cases to their people or friends should remember these considerations.

The justice and expediency of ecclesiastical establishments are no longer problematical with many, and the hypothesis is renounced by not a few. Vigilant observers see how the mind

recoils when once emancipated from the trammels in which it has been held. Custom and interest take firm possession of men's minds. Feelings, under such circumstances, are excited to bitterness. The state-paid clergy have, perhaps unawares, assumed a tone of superciliousness, which, in some minds, is cherished by the *eclat* of government patronage, and the supposed dignity which civic appointment and function ensure. Officials, and people in easy circumstances, are not always the first to discover the practical working of new principles. Indolence and habit often 'depress the high and heaven-born spirit of man, far beneath the condition wherein either God created him, or sin hath sunk him. Custom being but a mere face, as echo is a mere voice, rests not in her unaccomplishment, until by secret inclination, she accorporate herself with error, who, being a blind and serpentine body without a head, willingly accepts what he wants, and supplies what her incompleteness went seeking. Hence it is that error supports custom, custom countenances error; and these two between them would persecute and chase away all truth and solid wisdom out of human life.'

It is not requisite an appeal should be made to distant times, and sufferings willingly incurred by our forefathers, rather than forfeit their privileges; the recent hostile attitude assumed towards endowed churches in all parts of the empire, and the consequent personal alienation which has separated chief friends, give melancholy attestation of the baneful influence of church establishments. The advocates of voluntary or unfettered christianity, affirm that not only do the endowed clergy derive their support from the national property, on a principle which is unjust and derogatory; not only does the practice of paying them by assessment or from the taxes habituate the people to a disregard of personal responsibility and obligation in the support of their religion, and accustom them to undervalue sacred privileges and duties, and to violate an apostolic injunction specially addressed to christians on this matter; but it gives a fictitious importance to revenues drawn from the state, makes grants from the exchequer more valued than valuable; might possibly tempt to the employment of disingenuous, tortuous, and perhaps unfair means of representing and establishing claims for government patronage, and substantiating grounds for preference and endowment. Not only is the stigma of secularity fixed on the clerical character, in the agitation and turmoil which ensue on such applications; but it is too much to be feared, that government resources, when employed for such purposes and diffused in such channels, are expended, if not in jobs and corruption, in strengthening an antipopular and illiberal interest. Pride, too, and party triumph, will, in such cases, embitter the portion, while the real

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It is not requisite an appeal should be made to distant times, and sufferings willingly incurred by our forefathers, rather than forfeit their privileges; the recent hostile attitude assumed towards endowed churches in all parts of the empire, and the consequent personal alienation which has separated chief friends, give melancholy attestation of the baneful influence of church establishments. The advocates of voluntary or unfettered christianity, affirm that not only do the endowed clergy derive their support from the national property, on a principle which is unjust and derogatory; not only does the practice of paying them by assessment or from the taxes habituate the people to a disregard of personal responsibility and obligation in the support of their religion, and accustom them to undervalue sacred privileges and duties, and to violate an apostolic injunction specially addressed to christians on this matter; but it gives a fictitious importance to revenues drawn from the state, makes grants from the exchequer more valued than valuable; might possibly tempt to the employment of disingenuous, tortuous, and perhaps unfair means of representing and establishing claims for government patronage, and substantiating grounds for preference and endowment. Not only is the stigma of secularity fixed on the clerical character, in the agitation and turmoil which ensue on such applications; but it is too much to be feared, that government resources, when employed for such purposes and diffused in such channels, are expended, if not in jobs and corruption, in strengthening an antipopular and illiberal interest. Pride, too, and party triumph, will, in such cases, embitter the portion, while the real

interest of the people will not be promoted. Increased endowments will only strengthen or weaken political adversaries. To withhold such grants would not injure the religious interests of the people; while conscientious men, if denied such government bounty, would not surely permit their christian charity to be measured by state patronage, or their religion to be weighed by the gold of the treasury. They have zeal: does it depend on the smiles of the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer, and will it evaporate when the urgency of the case, in their own judgment, more especially demands its operation? To deny such endowments would unquestionably mortify applicants and wound the pride of those who have sought them for worldly and selfish purposes. But it might also draw forth the plentiful resources of which their communion is possessed, and throw the clergy back on the generous energies of their own flocks, and enable them to testify how dearly they love their church. Such a course would be but a step towards national justice—a commencement in the retreat of ecclesiastical monopoly, of legislative injustice. It would lead to the demonstration that the safest measure for a government, the most certain resource for a church and the most equitable disposition of public property in connexion with religion, is to call upon each sect to support its own system; and appropriate government revenues for the civil affairs of an united people, well and equally governed.

Ambitious statesmen, and the advocates of corrupt government and oppressive misrule, have sought and recommended an alliance and contract between the clergy and the crown. Some honest politicians and moderate churchmen have pleaded for ecclesiastical establishments, such as the majority of the people would approve. History traces the efforts of all such alliances in the dignity and titles of obsequious clergy; the wealth and honours of their children; in the tears and sorrows, in the sufferings and bloodshed of martyrs, and in the corruption and dishonour of religion; while the experience of modern statesmen would testify, that when enlightened measures have been pursued, and integrity and kindness exercised, reproach and reviling have followed the ecclesiastical promotion of competitors. Let the honest statesman be rid of church patronage, and the care of providing supplies for clerical functionaries, and he will be delivered from ten thousand troubles, which intolerant bigotry, sordid avarice, and disappointed ambition, tithe-gathering oppressions, nonconforming conscientiousness, and mercenary advocacy now bring upon the minister of the crown. 'Only then will both commonwealth and religion flourish in every region where either they who govern discern between civil and religious, or only they who so discern shall be admitted to govern. Till then, nothing but troubles,

persecutions, commotions, can be expected; the inward decay of religion and its utter overthrow at last by a common enemy.

Art. II. *A History of British Birds.* By William Yarrell, F.L.S. F.Z.S. Vol. 3rd. London: Van Voorst. 1843.

OUR readers will probably recollect, that in the former notice of this work we confined our attention to the land birds of Great Britain, comprising the orders, *raptores, insessores,* and *rasores.* The completion of Mr. Yarrell's volumes affords us the opportunity of giving a similarly brief glance at the habits and structure of the water birds, which are arranged in two orders, *grallatores,* and *natatores.*

The *grallatores,* or waders, are easily distinguished by their remarkably long legs and slender bills. This structure is essential, to enable them to procure their food, which chiefly consists of small aquatic and marine animals, found in marshes, or on the sea shore. They can thus wade in the water, and their slender bills penetrate with facility into the soft marshy and humid soil. Their powers of flight are considerable, and as the seasons change, they migrate from shore to shore in their search for food. The legs act as a rudder during flight, and consequently the tail is very short.

Mr. Yarrell commences with the *charadriidæ,* or plovers, and the first species he describes is the lovely cream coloured courser, *(cursorius Isabellinus),* of which only a very few specimens have been met with in England. It is a native of Africa and Abyssinia, and can only be regarded as an accidental visiter to the southern parts of Europe. Very little appears to be known of its habits.

The pee-wit, or lapwing, may be instanced as a familiar example of this family. Its great abundance, and very elegant form and plumage, must have made it known to all our readers. They are also considered very choice birds for the table, and their eggs are highly esteemed as a luxury. With these the London market is chiefly supplied from the marshes of Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Cambridge, Essex, and Kent, where this species is exceedingly common. Great expertness is manifested by the egg collectors, who readily detect the position of the nests by the conduct of the parent birds. Mr. Salmon remarks that 'so expert have some men become, that they will not only walk straight towards a nest, which may be at a considerable distance, but tell the probable number of eggs it may contain, previous to inspection; generally judging of the situation and number of

eggs, by the conduct of the female bird, which when disturbed, leaves its eggs, and flies off to a considerable distance, without uttering any note of alarm.' The males, however, are less cautious, and by hovering over the heads of the intruders, and by uttering their loud cries, attempt to protect their defenceless young. This habit seems to have been of serious injury to the Covenanters during the persecution under the Stuarts, as according to Dr. Leyden, 'they were frequently discovered to their pursuers by the flight and screaming of the lapwings; in consequence of which the lapwing is still regarded as an unlucky bird in the south of Scotland.'

The turnstone *(strepsilas interpres)* is a remarkable bird, distinguished by the elegance and beauty of its plumage, and by the peculiar habit from which it derives its appellation. By means of its strong beak, this species turns over small stones in its search for the moluscs, &c., which are found amongst the rejectamenta, cast upon the sea shore, or on the margins of lakes and large rivers. Mr. Hewitson, when on the coast of Norway, describes his search for the nest of this bird, which he found very singularly placed against the ledge of the rock. It 'consisted of nothing more than the dropping leaves of the juniper bush, under a creeping branch of which the eggs, four in number, were snugly concealed, and admirably sheltered from the many storms by which these bleak and exposed rocks are visited, allowing just sufficient room for the bird to cover them.' He subsequently discovered several nests, generally being led to the place of their concealment by the pugnacity evinced by the turnstone, 'in its bold attacks upon the larger sea-fowl, especially Richardson's skua *(lestris Richardsonii)*, the egg-devouring enemy of other sea-birds.'

Following the family just noticed are the *gruidæ*, or cranes, of which only one species, *grus cinerea*, is found in this kingdom. It is now merely an occasional and rare visiter, though it would appear, from various authorities, quoted by Mr. Yarrell, that in former years the crane was much more plentiful.

'Sir Thomas Browne, of Norwich, who wrote in the time of Charles the Second, says in his works, 'Cranes are often seen here in hard winters, especially about the champian and fieldy part. It seems they have been more plentiful, for in a bill of fare, when the mayor entertained the Duke of Norfolk, I meet with cranes in a dish.' In the Norfolk household book,* I find three separate notices of cranes; the first for a crane and vi. plovers, xx. d; the second, four mallards and a crane killed with the crossbowe; the third, item, on Thursday for a

* The household book and privy purse accounts of the Lestranges, of Hunstanton, from A.D. 1519 to 1578, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, by D. Gurney, Esq., in 1834.

crane,' vi. d,' while in Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales* we find that the price of a crane in London was 10s. Leland, in his *Collectanea*, includes in a bill of fare, at the feast of Archbishop Neville, *two hundred and four cranes*; and, according to Sir David Lindsay, cranes formed also part of a bill of fare at a grand hunting entertainment, given by the Earl of Athol to James the Fifth, of Scotland, and the queen mother, on the banks of the Loghaine, in Glen Pilt.'—Vol. ii. p. 438.

The *ardeidæ*, or herons, are a very interesting family, comprising many species distinguished by the elegance of their plumage. The common heron may be instanced as an example. These birds build their nests together much in the same manner as the rooks, but in their general habits they are solitary, and each selects some retired spot where, standing motionless in the water, it may be seen watching patiently for its finny prey, which it seizes by a sudden stroke of its sharp beak. The storks *(ciconia)* of which two species belong to the English fauna, are also arranged in this family. The white stork (*c. alba.*), though rare in Britain, is very abundant in France and Holland, to which countries it migrates in spring from the northern parts of Africa. Its social disposition and useful habits in the destruction of reptiles, the removal of offal, &c., render the white stork a general favourite. In Holland these birds often build their nests on the chimney tops, and, returning every year to the same spot, they are welcomed and protected by the inhabitants. In various places on the continent, boxes are fixed upon the roofs of the houses for the storks to breed in. Unlike its congeners, the black stork (*c. nigra*) displays no such confidence in approaching the dwelling places of man, but frequents the most secluded morasses or retired banks of rivers, and builds its nest on the summit of the loftiest pines. This species is the rarest in England, only four specimens having occurred. The southern parts of Europe and North Africa are its winter quarters, and in spring it migrates to the northern latitudes. It is, however, rare in Holland and France, where its place is supplied by the white stork. Mr. Yarrell remarks of the *ciconia nigra*, that—

'From the manner in which it is observed to search the grass with its bill, there can be no doubt that reptiles form part of its natural food; even mice, worms, and the larger insects, probably add to its usual repast. When searching in thick grass, or in the mud for its prey, the bill is kept partly open: by this means I have observed it take eels in a pond with great dexterity; no spear, in common use for taking that fish, can more effectually receive *it between its* prongs than the grasp of the stork's *open mandibles. A small eel has* no chance of escaping, *when once roused from its lurking place. But* the stork does not gorge its *prey instantly like the cormorant;* on the contrary, it retires to the

margin of the pool, and there disables its prey by shaking and beating with its bill, before it ventures to swallow it. I never observed this bird attempt to swim; but it will wade up to the belly, and occasionally thrust the whole head and neck under water after its prey. It prefers an elevated spot on which to repose; an old ivy-bound weeping willow, that lies prostrate over the pond, is usually resorted to for that purpose. In this quiescent state the neck is much shortened by resting the hinder part of the head on the back; and the bill rests on the fore part of the neck, over which the feathers flow partly, so as to conceal it, making a very singular appearance.'—Vol. ii. pp. 495, 496.

The spoonbill (*platalea leucordia*), whose peculiarly formed bill must have attracted the attention of our readers, is now very rarely a visitant to this country. The extensive drainage which has during the last few years been adopted, to bring the fen lands into cultivation, has had the natural effect of rendering the visits of this bird, and of many of the allied species, less frequent. Its nest is peculiar, being 'made of reeds bound together by weeds, which are piled up a few inches above the water's edge. Over this foundation dried reeds are placed in various directions, to form the body of the nest, which is not lined with anything, and is just large enough to allow one bird to sit, and the other to stand beside it.' In some countries, however, the spoonbill builds on high trees.

But we must pass on to the next family (*scolopacidæ*), which includes a large number of species, comprising the curlews, godwits, snipes, sandpipers, &c. This may be considered the most typical family of the *grallatores*, and is designated by Mr. Swainson, *tringidæ*, which we think preferable to the name adopted by Mr. Yarrell. The bill of these birds is remarkably long, slender, and flexible; the legs stilt-like and delicate, with the hind toe very small. The females are, in most cases, larger than the males. Like the rest of the *grallatores*, the *tringidæ* possess great powers of flight, and their migrations extend to a very considerable distance. So numerous are the species contained in this family, that the shores of every part of the world abound with them; and our British Fauna includes a considerable variety. Their food consists of worms, insects, small *crustacea*, &c., which they procure by thrusting their long beaks into the sand, and soft humid soil. Mr. Thompson, writing of the common redshank (*totanus calidris*) states that he was very much struck with the curious manner in which they dart their bill into the sand, nearly its whole length, by jumping up, and thus giving it a sort of impetus, by the weight of their body pressing it downwards.

The notes of the *tringidæ* are very loud and shrill, and are uttered with great vehemence, when any intruder approaches

near their breeding places. They also manifest great ingenuity in protecting their nests, by feigning lameness, and using every stratagem to divert the attention of their invader. The structure of the *tringidæ* is especially adapted for wading in shallow water, though they occasionally swim and dive; and Mr. Hewetson, when in Norway, was surprised by seeing a curlew alight on the top of a pine tree, and frequently afterwards pass from tree to tree, uttering its loud note. Their long legs are, by no means adapted for perching, which must consequently be a very rare occurrence. Their power of diving is, however, more frequently exercised.

The authors of the catalogue of the Norfolk and Suffolk birds, quoted by Mr. Yarrell, say 'Some years since, we saw a sand piper flying across a river attacked by a hawk, when it instantly dived, and remained under water until its enemy disappeared. It then emerged, and joined its companions.'

We are indebted to Mr. Yarrell, for a piece of information of which we were previously ignorant. It seems that in Scotland, a vulgar superstition existed, and may yet possibly remain in some quarters, that a peculiar species of goblin, with a long beak, infested the eaves of houses. This was called a Whaap or Whaup, a name by which the curlew is now known throughout Scotland; and it would seem, therefore, that its long beak was formerly regarded with anything but complacency. Thus, 'Sir Walter Scott refers to this connection of a long beak with a suspicious character, in his 'Black Dwarf', chap. ii., in a dialogue between Hobbie Elliott and Earns-cliff, in the evening on Mucklestane Moor: the former says, 'What need I care for the Mucklestane moor, ony mair than ye do yoursel, Earns-cliff? to be sure they say there's a sort o'worricows and *lang nebbit* things about the land, but what need I care for them?'—and this enables us to understand the fag end of a highlander's prayer, to be saved harmless, 'from witches, warlocks, and aw *lang-nebbed* things.''

The godwits (*limosa*) of which there are two British species, the black-tailed and bar-tailed, were formerly accounted, to use the words of Sir Thomas Browne, 'the daintiest dish in England;' and Mr. Yarrell has also quoted the testimony of Doctor Thomas Muffett, to the same purpose; who, in his 'Health's Improvement,' saith, 'but a fat *godwit* is so fine and light meat, that noblemen, yea, and merchants too, by your leave, stick not to buy them at four nobles a dozen;' and even now, they are occasionally fattened by some of the Lincolnshire fenmen on bread and milk, and sent as 'dainties' to the market of London, whose epicurean 'noblemen and merchants,' however, do not as formerly, regard them so highly.'

The ruff (*machetes pugnax*), derives its English appellation from the long plumose feathers, springing from the occiput and throat, which adorn the male during the breeding season, and form, when raised, a large ruff round the head. The female, or reeve as it is called, is much smaller than the male, and is destitute of the feathers which render its mate so conspicuous. Mr. Yarrell has followed Cuvier, and other naturalists, in arranging this species in a separate genus, which he justifies by a reference to the peculiarities of the structure and habits of the ruff. These are by no means inconsiderable. In addition to the possession of the long neck-feathers, the males differ from allied species, by the great variations which occur in the colour of their plumage, scarcely two of them being found alike. This is very singular, as although considerable varieties in colour are always manifested by domesticated races of animals, it is not often the case with species in their natural state. The ruffs, too, are polygamous; and, as their scientific appellation implies, are remarkable for pugnacity. Montagu states, that 'their actions in fighting, are very similar to those of a game cock: the head is lowered, and the beak held in a horizontal direction; the ruff, and indeed, every feather more or less distended, the former sweeping the ground as a shield to defend the more tender parts; the auricles erected, and the tail partly spread; upon the whole assuming a most ferocious aspect. When either could obtain a firm hold with the bill, a leap succeeded, accompanied by a stroke of the wing; but they rarely injured each other.'

Of the family *rallidæ*, the common corn-crake, or land rail, may be instanced as a familiar example. Its peculiar call note is well known, and may be imitated, by 'passing the edge of the thumb-nail, or a piece of wood along the line of the points of the teeth of a small comb; and so similar is the sound, that the bird may be decoyed with it within a very short distance.' Mr. Jesse, the author of the interesting 'Gleanings in Natural History,' relates a remarkable instance of the corn-crake feigning death, when exposed to danger. One having been captured by a dog was brought to a gentleman, at whose feet it lay so perfectly motionless, that he was convinced it was dead. Having placed it in his pocket he felt it struggling to escape, but on being withdrawn it appeared as lifeless as before. Subsequently on his retiring to a distance, it carefully raised its head, looked round and decamped at full speed. The moor hen (*gallinula chloropus*), has the toes bordered through their whole length, with a narrow membrane; assisted by which, it swims and dives with great facility; and thus connects the *rallidæ* with the family next to be noticed.

The *lobipedidæ*, or lobe-footed birds, are the last group of the

grallatores. As their name implies, they have the toes provided with lobe-shaped membranes. They are consequently aquatic in their habits, and form a connecting link, between the wading and swimming birds; at which last great division of the feathered tribes we have now arrived.

The *natatores*, or water birds, the denizens of the sea, the rivers, and the lakes, may easily be distinguished as an order, by their webbed feet, from which peculiarity of structure, they have by some naturalists been designated, *palmipedes*. Their entire organization is especially adapted for swimming and diving, and though most of the species can take long flights, yet the element in which they chiefly live, and procure their food, is the water; and some of these birds (*alca*), have the wings constructed very much like the fins of a fish, and are therefore totally unable to rise in the air. Our readers need not be told that the domesticated water fowl, the ducks and geese, are typical examples of this order, and are included in the first division or family (*anatidæ*) of the *natatores*.

The domesticated goose is believed to have been derived from the wild grey-legged goose, *(anser ferus.)* Mr. Yarrell, also, from the structure of the windpipe and other characteristics, is of opinion that the white-fronted goose *(a. albifrons)* has had some share in establishing our present race. The degrading influence of domestication is at once seen when we contrast the heavy well-fed and clumsy geese of our farm yards with their untamed relatives, which in large flocks soar high above our heads, forming in their course those various figures and angles that render them so conspicuous an object. Amongst the rarest of the British species are the red-breasted goose, *(a. ruficollis,)* which chiefly inhabits the extreme northern districts of Asia and Siberia, and the Egyptian goose, *(a. Egyptiacus,)* a remarkable bird, and believed to be the vulpanser of the ancients. On this subject Mr. Yarrell quotes Mr. Salt, the Egyptian traveller, who, in his *Essay on the Phonetic System of Hieroglyphics*, observes: 'Horus Apollo says, *Filium volentes significare vulpanserem pingunt;* and adds a reason for it that holds good to this day—that the old geese stay with their young in the most imminent danger, at the risk of their own lives, which I have myself frequently witnessed. Vulpanser is the goose of the Nile, and wherever this goose is represented on the walls of the temples in colours, the resemblance may be clearly traced.' Several flocks of the Egyptian goose have been observed in these islands. The Canada goose, *(a. Canadensis)*, which in its wild state is not common in this country, is the most abundant species of the tribe in the United States, where it is frequently domesticated. Wilson, when speaking of their migrations, says, 'the

tracts of their vast migratory journeys are not confined to the sea coast or its vicinity. In their aerial voyages to and from the north, these winged pilgrims pass over the interior on both sides of the mountains as far west at least as the Osage river. . . . It is highly probable that they extend their migrations under the very pole itself, amid the silent desolation of unknown countries, shut out since creation from the prying eye of man by everlasting and insuperable barriers of ice. That such places abound with their suitable food, we cannot for a moment doubt; while the absence of their great destroyer, man, and the splendours of a perpetual day, may render such regions the most suitable for their purpose.' Wilson mentions an instance of a Canada goose which, having been wounded in the wing, was taken by a farmer and placed amongst his domesticated geese, and in a short time it became perfectly tame and familiar. When, however, its wing was healed, and at the period of migration, a flock of its congeners were seen soaring above in their long passage to the north, the captive spread its wings, mounted into the air and joined the 'winged pilgrims' aloft. In the succeeding autumn, as they returned to their winter quarters, the farmer, noticing a flock passing over his head, was surprised to see three of the geese detach themselves from the rest, and after wheeling round several times alight in the middle of the yard. These proved to be the lost captive, and her offspring, which, having reared them in the icy regions of the north, she had brought to her former quarters. Wilson states that he has been well assured by other respectable persons of similar instances. From the length and gracefulness of its neck, and its larger size than the other geese, this species has been regarded by some authors as a swan, with which genus it is certainly closely allied; but we think Mr. Yarrell has done right in arranging it amongst the true *anseres*.

The swans (*cygnus*) to which the species last noticed forms a natural transition, are an interesting group, whose elegant form, domestic habits and graceful motions, when swimming, render them a distinguished ornament of many a fair sheet of water in the parks and pleasure grounds of the nobles of our land. They have been the theme of poets of all ages, and Mr. Yarrell quotes in their praise the lines of Milton—

> ———'The swan with arched neck
> Between her white wings mantling, proudly rows
> Her state, with oary feet.'

Mr. Yarrell has, on the authority of Lord Braybrooke, related a very remarkable instance of sagacity manifested by a female swan on the small stream at Bishop's Stortford. 'She was sit-

ting on four or five eggs, and was observed to be very busy in collecting weeds, grasses, &c. to raise her nest; a farming man was ordered to take down half a load of haulm, with which she most industriously raised her nest and the eggs two feet and a half; that very night there came down a tremendous fall of rain, which flooded all the malt shops, and did great damage. *Man* made no preparation, the *bird* did. Instinct prevailed over reason; her eggs were above, and only just above the water.' Mr. Yarrell accounts for birds thus foreseeing rain by their susceptibility to electrical changes in the atmosphere, the feathers with which their bodies are covered being readily affected by electricity.

In the first division or genus (*anas*) of the true ducks are arranged the shoveler, gadwall, pintail, bimaculated duck, wild duck, garganey, teal, and the wigeons. The birds in this division frequent fresh water, and feed upon aquatic plants, worms, insects, &c. which they procure in ditches, and about the shallow margins of ponds. The males, for a time during the summer change in the colour of their plumage very remarkably, so as to become more or less like the females. The adaptation of this alteration in colour to their habits has been suggested by Mr. Gould, who has remarked that it occurs commonly in the males of those species that more especially breed in marshes, among reeds, and generally takes place at the period of incubation, and he therefore asks, 'May it not serve as a protection to the species by rendering the fostering parent less conspicuous at this critical period than he would be were he to retain the gay nuptial dress, which would present so strong a contrast to the sombre-tinted vegetation among which it is necessary for him to remain, until the young are able to provide for themselves?' Mr. Yarrell, however, is not satisfied with Mr. Gould's suggestion, as he remarks that as soon as the females begin to sit, the males leave the entire care of the brood to them, and associate together in small flocks. We are disposed to believe, notwithstanding, that this peculiar change of colour has reference to the habits of the males at that season of the year, and is intended as a means of protection. Their plumage in their 'nuptial dress' is very gorgeous, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Yarrell's engravings, although exceedingly well executed, can scarcely give an idea of its beauty and elegance.

A single pair of the American wigeon (*a. Americana*) were detected by Mr. Bartlett in a London market during the winter of 1837-38, and besides these specimens, no others are known to have occurred in England. In America, the species is very common along the whole coast from Florida to Rhode Island, but it is most abundant in Carolina. A remarkable peculiarity

in its habits is thus described by Alexander Wilson. 'The wigeon is the constant attendant of the celebrated canvass-back duck, so abundant in various parts of the Chesapeake Bay, by the aid of whose labour he has ingenuity enough to contrive to make a good subsistence. The wigeon is extremely fond of the tender roots of that particular species of aquatic plant on which the canvass-back feeds, and for which that duck is in the constant habit of diving. The wigeon, who never dives, watches the moment of the canvass-back's rising, and before he has his eyes well opened, snatches the delicious morsel from his mouth and makes off.'

The second division of the true ducks are thus described by Mr. Yarrell:

'Externally they exhibit the neck and wings short, the latter only reaching to the origin of the tail feathers; the legs short and compressed; the hind toe lobated, with an extended web on the inner toe. They frequent the sea, or the deep part of the largest fresh water lakes, and have been called oceanic ducks; seldom seen on land; their walk embarrassed from the backward position of the legs, but they dive constantly and with great facility taking their prey at various depths below the surface; their food, fish, shelled mollusca, crustacea, and marine insects, but little or no vegetable production; their powers of flight moderate.'—Vol. iii. p. 202.

In this group are included the Eider duck, king duck, scoters, pochard, mergansers, and several other species.

The next family (*colymbidæ*, or divers) comprises the Grebes (*Podiceps*), and true divers (*colymbus*). The entire structure of these birds is admirably adapted for swimming and diving. The wings are short and small, and their legs are placed so far behind that they have great difficulty in walking, and, when seen on land, they are generally found close to the edge of the water, into which, if disturbed, they silently plunge, so as to escape observation. *La chasse du grêbe* which is practised on the lake of Geneva, and has been described by M. Necker, is considered excellent sport. The rapidity with which the grebe dives when fired at, renders it a matter of no little difficulty to obtain the prize, which can only be secured by a marksman of steady hand and quick eye. Its foot resembles that of the coot, having the membrane between the toes divided into lobes. There is, however, this distinction—the former bird has the hinder toe lobated, whilst that of the coot is simple. All the known species of *colymbus* are found in Great Britain. They differ from the grebes in having the webs of the feet entire, and in their marine habits; the latter frequent more especially fresh water lakes, whilst the true divers seek their food in the midst of the ocean, remaining under water for a considerable period in their search

for the herrings, sprats, &c., upon which they subsist. The largest of the genus is the great northern diver *(c. glacialis)*, which, according to Sir Thomas Browne, bred in his time on the broads of Norfolk, but we much question the accuracy of his statement, as they are not known now to breed in any part of the British Islands, not even in Orkney or Shetland, where they are very abundant. It is not, however, improbable, that in the last named localities, further investigation may discover their nests. They are shy in their habits, which coupled with their great quickness in diving, render them, like the grebes, no easy mark for the sportsman. Their speed under the water is immense, according to Mr. Selby, amounting to at least eight miles an hour. They are thus able to distance with facility any boat by which they may be pursued, and the foiled pursuer has often to return without having once brought the expert diver within the range of his gun. The black-throated diver (*c. arcticus*), breeds on the lochs in Sutherlandshire, and Mr. J. Macgillivray has discovered its nest in North Uist, one of the outer Hebrides. The skins of this and the other divers being tough and impervious to water, are, according to Dr. Richardson, used by the Indians and Esquimaux as an article of dress. The third species of diver, completing the genus, is the red-throated (*c. septentrionalis*), which breeds in the Orkney and Shetland Isles. It is smaller and more common than its congeners, but closely resembles them in habits.

The family *alcadæ*, which includes the guillemots, auks, and puffins, nearly approximate in structure and habits to the group last described. They swim and dive well, and seek their food in the depths of the ocean, where they procure small fishes, mollusca, &c. The finest British species in the family is the Great auk (*alca impennis*), whose wings are so slightly developed as to be of no use as instruments of flight, though, acting like fins, they propel the bird, when under water, with immense velocity. Mr. Bullock mentions having chased one for several hours in a *six-oared* boat, but he found it quite impossible to bring it within reach of his gun. The great auk is very rare in Britain, a few specimens only having occurred.

The British examples of the family *pelecanidæ*, are restricted to the cormorants and gannet, which are common throughout the entire coasts of this island. They are oceanic in their habits, and feed upon fish, which their great powers of swimming and diving enable them to catch with facility, and they hold their prey by means of the sharp hooked point of the upper mandible. Unlike the group last described, their wings are well developed, and their powers of flight considerable. The cormorants (*carbo*), are intelligent and docile, and were formerly trained to catch and

bring fish to their masters. Even now, the Chinese are said to use them for this purpose; and, having a metal ring or leathern collar placed round its neck, the bird, after a due course of training, provides food for its owner.

The last family (*laridæ*) into which the *natatores* are arranged, comprises the terns and gulls, which, according to Mr. Yarrell,

'are remarkable for the elegance of their forms; the great length of their wings; the small comparative size of their bodies, and the quantity of feathers with which they are covered. They are incessantly on the wing, yet sustain their flight with great apparent ease to themselves; swim buoyantly on the water, but never dive. Their food consists principally of fish, obtained alive from the surface, or animal matter left by the retiring tide, which is sought for by these birds at the water's edge. Besides the regular moult in autumn a partial change in their plumage takes place in spring, soon after which they frequent rocks, sandy flats, or marshes, for the purpose of incubation.'—Vol. iii. p. 386.

In closing our notice of Mr. Yarrell's volumes, we again commend them to our readers. We cannot, however, give to them unmixed praise. Mr. Yarrell's style has little of that freshness and graphic power of description which add so much to the interest and beauty of Alexander Wilson's writings. In too many portions the work before us bears the marks of compilation rather than of originality. Had it united with its accuracy and elegance of illustration, more of the charm arising from interesting descriptions, vividly copied from the lineaments of nature, as they may be observed in the fields and the woods, on the sea, and amidst the rocky coasts of our island, it could not have failed to have attained a high place amongst the standard works of our language. We believe that Mr. Yarrell's reputation chiefly rests upon his ichthyological discoveries; and, whilst the attainment of eminence in one branch of natural history, is amply sufficient to tax the energies of a single mind, it must be a matter of congratulation to Mr. Yarrell that, in addition to his other scientific acquirements, he has been able to accomplish so much in the department which has fallen under our present notice.

Art. III. *The Existence of Evil Spirits proved; and their Agency, particularly in relation to the Human Race, Explained and Illustrated.* By Walter Scott, President and Theological Tutor of Airdale College, Bradford, Yorkshire. London: 8vo. pp. 525.

THE times of popular ignorance are the times of popular credulity. This is one of the few conclusions about which philosophers have no debating. In such a state of the popular mind, the condition of the higher faculties is that of a disturbed sleep, and dreams come in that sleep. The understanding, which should be the strongest power, is the weakest; and according to that ill-apportionment of strength, is the activity, the force, and the extravagance of the passions and the imagination. In that stage of our mental history, accordingly, the natural is readily blended with the supernatural. The changes which men see, are ascribed without difficulty to a world of causes which they do not see. It is not their manner to endeavour to account for strange and perplexing appearances by tracing them to the laws of matter, but rather to attribute everything of that nature to powers above matter. In their own history there is little of the fixed or the regular, and they are not prepared to recognize changes as belonging to such a course of things elsewhere. Their own existence is a rude and turbulent struggle—a ceaseless jostling of apparent chances, with a scale turning now on this side, and now on that, and the natural conclusion in their case seems to be, that human affairs are governed by a capricious and divided, rather than by a fixed or united agency. Impulse with them is in the place of law. It is so with their gods, hardly less then with themselves. Hence the government of the world, is, in their view, that uncertain and restless affair which is ever before them in their own experience and allotment. The gods are always about the abodes of men. The great and the small are constantly affected by their presence. In this fact every mystery and prodigy finds its ready solution. It was under such prompting that the elder Greeks peopled their beautiful territory with its host of divinities. While in some connexions the elements of nature were personified, in others departed heroes and benefactors lived again. As the objects of worship multiplied, symbols to represent them multiplied; and as the objects of worship themselves were not so much the result of any sobriety of thought, as of a fitful waywardness of imagination, passion, or appetite, so would it be with the symbols which represented those objects. As the gods, moreover, were themselves connected with the great and small in human affairs, so

the great and small found its place in the services instituted in honour of the gods.

When a religion of this nature has become in a great degree adjusted, settled, and established, the people may make their advances from rudeness to a state of comparative civilization, and this religion will continue to hold its ascendancy even when the greater intelligence of the privileged classes among them has long since disposed those classes to adopt a more philosophical creed, or possibly to abandon all creeds.

Nor were these susceptibilities of religious imaginativeness and emotion less powerful among our rude, and nominally christian forefathers, than among their pagan predecessors. The course of nine centuries separates between the age of Gregory the Great and that of Leo the Tenth, and what do we see in the history of christianity among our progenitors during that long interval? Little more than the slow process of transition through which we were to pass from the illusions of a pagan state toward the condition of enlightenment becoming in us christians. The catholicism of the middle ages was a good—a good of extraordinary interest and value, if compared with that barbarous though vigorous and stout-hearted superstition which it was destined to supersede. The worship of saints and angels, and of the virgin, was a memorable improvement on the worship of Thor, Woden, and Friga. But men gave to these new objects of worship the same presence with human affairs, and the same homage of fear or affection which they had rendered to their older divinities. The natural and the supernatural were blended as commonly and as intimately as heretofore. Appearances in the natural world, and changes in human affairs, had never been more freely attributed to an imaginary spiritual agency. The passion for the marvellous, indeed, seemed to grow by what it fed upon. The gods of the ancients were chary of their prodigies compared with these christian mediators. Never had the powers of good or evil appeared to be in such busy conflict; and never had they been known to descend to such trivial concerns in order to maintain their respective masteries. It seemed as though every footstep of man was beleaguered by such influences. Very intimate dealings with the one class of these powers or the other was accounted a matter of easy attainment, and of very common occurrence. Departed saints had still so much to do on earth, that one is at a loss to conceive how men should have continued believers in a creed which had promised them repose in heaven. To such frequent and sharp contendings with the wiles and powers of demons were they summoned, that nothing we should think could have sufficed to persuade them that they had ceased

many centuries since to be members of the church militant. The master-fiend himself, who had suffered so severely from the forceps of St. Dunstan, appears to have set a brave example to his subordinates, for so little was he disheartened by that adventure, that we find him laying snares a good many centuries later about the path of that arch-student in the forbidden science, Dr. Faustus, with as much alertness and courage as could have been expected if no such misfortune had ever befallen him. Certainly, if the good people of those times possessed more wisdom in some respects than their pagan fathers, and a great deal more of virtue and humanity—all of which we most cheerfully admit—in the matter of credulity, the dark age of catholicism has hardly its parallel in the dark age of any one thing beside that has ever found a stable footing among men.

It was a perilous time when men began to emerge from that darkness. Happily, in the moral, as in the natural world, the day light is made to break upon us by little and little as we are able to bear it. Still, how startling were the revelations then made to the thoughts both of the weak and the strong, each following the other as though there would be no end! That ecclesiastical machinery which had been venerated through so many ages as communicating spiritual life, was denounced as an elaborate fraud, generating delusions, and conducing to spiritual death. Priesthood, and all the rites of priesthood, over the greater part of Europe, were regarded as having their place in the world to destroy the souls of men rather than to save them. Even the throne of the pontiff himself, instead of being honoured as the elevation due to the ecclesiastical head of christendom, was declared to be the very citadel of anti-christ, and to demolish it utterly, was the object against which the men of the reformed faith brought the utmost strength of their artillery. Looking to the extent and suddenness of that change, and to the very partial culture which the popular mind had then received, it would not have been surprising if great numbers had passed from one extreme to another—from believing everything to believing nothing. But during two centuries from the preaching of Luther, protestant Europe, faulty or imperfect as its mental history may have been, exhibited, with little exception, a manliness of intellect, such as enabled it to distinguish between the forms of religion and its spirit; between priesthood and worship; and between the falsehood which had been foisted on men through times of ignorance, and the *truth* constituting the religion of the *cross and giving to it a living* power. If to begin *such a revolution demanded no ordinary* courage, to know where *to stop demanded no ordinary discrimination*. Conceding that the

reformers may not have halted in all respects at the right point, but that while in some cases they proceeded too far, and in others not far enough, still the spirit of protestant Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the spirit diffused through it by those extraordinary men, and shows them to have been men of bold hearts and sagacious heads—aye, and of large charity to boot.

Superstition has always a nucleus of truth, and it belongs to the understanding to distinguish between them, and not to cast away the pearl and the shell together because they happen to be in adhesion. Wherever fiction is lasting, it is because there is enough of truth in it to render it lasting. The truth found in the different systems of religion may be natural truth, or traditionary truth, or a mixture of both in various degrees, and such a mixture we think is to be found in the religions of all nations. It must not be forgotten, that the Christianity of the middle age was the religion—the verily believed and deeply felt religion, of such men as Augustine and Ambrose, Anselm and Duns Scotus—men, who, had they lived in our time instead of their own, would have competed in skill of intellect, and in boldness of heart with the best among us.

We have been led into this train of remark by the subject of the work before us. In this volume we possess the ninth series of the Congregational Lecture. We have long needed a good book on this topic—a book which should present the whole subject in its scriptural light, and with the intelligence required by the advanced mental and physical science of our times. Nothing is more natural to feeble men than that they should reject truth altogether, if found subject to the graftings of falsehood. Minds imbued with that very sapient species of philosophy which supposes that what is misunderstood must be false, and that what is badly applied must be bad in its own nature, have often made sorry work of it when attempting to discourse on the subject of 'Evil Spirits.' The superstitions, and follies, and even gross absurdities which we all know have been mixed up with this doctrine, by very able men in times past, and by multitudes of very well-meaning and worthy persons even in our own times, have so disturbed the refined taste of the class of theologians adverted to, as to have left them without the power to look on this subject with steadiness sufficient to distinguish between the doctrine itself and its heterogeneous adjuncts. We know, generally, pretty well how to bear with this want of aptitude to discern between things that differ in the case of the untaught and unpretending multitude of mankind, but our patience has been sometimes sorely tried as we have had to mark the special displays of such imbecility, in

persons flattering themselves with the notion of being raised by their mental culture greatly above the vulgar.

These lectures are seven in number. The first treats of the existence of evil spirits; the second, of their character, state, and powers; the third, of their agency, considered in the nature and manners of their intercourse with this world, and in regard to witchcraft, divination, &c.; the fourth, consists of the same subject continued; the fifth is occupied with the controversy respecting the demoniacs; the sixth, relates to the temptation in the wilderness; the seventh, to the agency of evil spirits in ordinary temptation.

On a subject which affords so much space for difference of judgment, we do not of course pledge ourselves to an approval of every statement made by the esteemed author in this volume; but we feel no scruple in saying, that, on the whole, we have no book on the subject in our literature so thoroughly good, and so little open to exception. It deserves to be read, and to be well reflected on by the divinity student. It is fraught with material which can never cease to be of service to him as a moral and religious instructor. The style of the volume is plain and unpretending, but, like its thoughts, is generally clear and weighty; and in the course of interpretation adopted, a judicious balance is commonly retained between credulity on the one hand, and scepticism on the other. Were we disposed to take exception to any part of the volume, it would be to some parts of the last lecture, which exhibits, as we think, a tendency rather to overrate the probable influence of evil spirits in ordinary temptation. Our fear sometimes is, lest men should be found imputing to such influence, evils which belong purely to themselves, and lest, in so doing, the moral power of conscience should be weakened. We are persuaded, however, that we only need cite a few passages from the volume, in order to satisfy our readers that it is characterized by many qualities of great excellence; the following is from the first lecture.

'Reason and analogy will lead us to conclude that the truth of the common doctrine respecting evil spirits or fallen angels, is at the least possible, nay, even probable. Surely none will maintain, even if they deny the existence of angels, that man is the only, or the most noble rational creature in the universe. He evidently appears to be the connecting link between the irrational and the rational creation; and therefore, it would seem, the lowest order in the latter. How many ranks there may be above him, exhibiting various forms and degrees of intellectual power and moral excellence, and displaying the riches and wonders of the divine wisdom and power, who can undertake to say? and surely all who believe in the immateriality of the soul, and that it is more excellent than the body, must allow that many of these beings may be pure spirits.

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Our senses and experience it is true, can give us no information how these exist without any connection with matter; and this I apprehend is the cause of the theories,—of the imaginations, I had almost said, of the dreams and I would not shrink from using the term, because of the celebrity of some by whom the sentiment has been advocated), of those who maintain that all created spirits have some kind of airy or ethereal vehicles, or bodies, by means of which they act, and which indeed are necessary to enable them to perform various operations; so that God is the only pure spirit in existence. This opinion, I must think, has no foundation in either reason or scripture: or rather it is contrary to both. However, this does not affect the doctrine which I am endeavouring to maintain. And even those who deny the existence of spirits, properly so called, who assert that the soul of man is material, or the result of the organization of his body, must still grant that matter may be moulded into far more subtle, refined, ethereal, or what may be called spiritual forms, than that in which it exists in him; and that therefore, even on this theory, there may be many orders of rational creatures, far superior to us: and that they must be, as we are, accountable to God, and may have been placed in a state of probation. Farther, facts and experience lead us to conclude that, like men, they may have fallen from their state of integrity. All creatures, however great their powers, however pure and noble their natures, must be fallible or defectible. Infallibility, is obviously one of the incommunicable prerogatives of Jehovah. If then they were fallible, they may have fallen. To grant the former, and yet to deny the latter, involves a contradiction, and sin would certainly, from its very nature and necessary operation, pervert their views and feelings, and render them depraved creatures, and may we not conclude that the depth and malignity of the depravity would, if they were left entirely to themselves, and especially in a situation which excluded them from hope, and led them to view God as having cast them off for ever, be proportional to their former excellence, to the exalted privileges which they enjoyed, and to the folly, the enormity, and the high aggravations of their crime? that the depth of the gulf of perdition into which they sunk, would be in proportion to the height of that elevation of honour and happiness from which they precipitated themselves? Do not facts prove that such is the influence of sin, the result of wilful rebellion against the God of heaven? If so, then these fallen beings would immediately become, as far as they had opportunity, the tempters of others, endeavouring to involve their fellow-creatures in a condition like their own. We are warranted, I apprehend, to assert that there is not a sinner in the universe, if he is left entirely under the influence of sin, who is not disposed to become a tempter to others, nay, who will not necessarily be so.'—pp. 10—13.

Our next extract will suffice to show the author's manner of dealing with what may be deemed the philosophy of the subject.

'Now there are several things which seem to indicate that man is the very lowest order of accountable creatures. We know that in him the rational and irrational natures, with their different capacities and powers, are united. He partakes of the senses and instinct of mere animals, and

lso of the capacities and powers of celestial spirits. Like the former, ıe is the subject of sensations, and appetites, and passions; he needs the upport of matter, moulded into various kinds of nutriment: with the atter, he is capable of knowing the character, of performing the will of ɔod, and of enjoying him as his portion: and it is almost unnecessary o say, that the rational and immaterial, is unspeakably the more impor- ant and excellent part of his frame; and that the body appears to con- ract the capacities of the soul, to fetter its power, and to impede them ı their operations.'

'How often, in this respect as well as others, when the spirit is willing nd even vigorous, the flesh is weak. Further, in man we see rationality ı the lowest, feeblest form or state, in which it can possibly exist. Its ɔrinciples lie dormant for some time in the breast of the infant. He is .t first entirely the creature of instincts, and sensations, and appetites. Then he begins to have some faint perception of reality, and truth, and ight, and wrong, and to reason on the facts with which he has gained ı slight acquaintance. In a lower state than this, the power of reason annot exist; here we see, as it were, its very commencement, its first glimmering dawn, connected, in the improvement, which is afterwards realized, with its advancement towards the perfect day. But betwixt its most effective development, its highest attainments in man, in his present state, and its absolute perfection, its infinitude in the Divine Being, what a distance, what a chasm, presents itself! Is it then left entirely empty of rational beings? Is it possible that man is at once the lowest and the highest order of them? Would not this be a notion similar to that of those who, in times that are past, imagined, that because this world was the part of the universe to which they had personal access, the inhabitants and pro- ductions of which they could examine for themselves, that it alone is in- habited; and that all the stars and planets are only shining points or gems, the sparkling ornaments of the canopy which is stretched over our heads, and that they were all created for the exclusive pleasure or benefit of men? And will not this remark apply, at least in some degree, to the opinions of those who deny the existence of angels, either good or bad, for no other reason, that I can conceive, but because they cannot bring them in any way beneath the cognizance of their senses? We see a gradation, without any voids or chasm in vegetable life, from its very lowest to its highest forms, endued, as far as we can conceive, with all its possible sensibilities and beauties; and also in animal life and ca- pacity, from the very dullest insect or shell, to the half reasoning dog, or beaver, or elephant.'—pp. 121, 124.

Our author then recurs to his argument from analogy.

'Are we not then warranted, by analogy and reason, to think that there will be found, in the universe, a similar gradation, of which man is the commencement, the lowest step, in rational capacities and powers, to an inconceivable height above us in various forms of glorious creatures? And how high may it rise? How extensive may be the capacity, how mighty the powers of many of these orders or ranks, especially of the highest? While still there is, and must be, an infinite distance betwixt them and the great infinite Eternal. How delightful, how animating,

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These lectures are seven in number. The first treats of the existence of evil spirits; the second, of their character, state, and powers; the third, of their agency, considered in the nature and manners of their intercourse with this world, and in regard to witchcraft, divination, &c.; the fourth, consists of the same subject continued; the fifth is occupied with the controversy respecting the demoniacs; the sixth, relates to the temptation in the wilderness; the seventh, to the agency of evil spirits in ordinary temptation.

On a subject which affords so much space for difference of judgment, we do not of course pledge ourselves to an approval of every statement made by the esteemed author in this volume; but we feel no scruple in saying, that, on the whole, we have no book on the subject in our literature so thoroughly good, and so little open to exception. It deserves to be read, and to be well reflected on by the divinity student. It is fraught with material which can never cease to be of service to him as a moral and religious instructor. The style of the volume is plain and unpretending, but, like its thoughts, is generally clear and weighty; and in the course of interpretation adopted, a judicious balance is commonly retained between credulity on the one hand, and scepticism on the other. Were we disposed to take exception to any part of the volume, it would be to some parts of the last lecture, which exhibits, as we think, a tendency rather to overrate the probable influence of evil spirits in ordinary temptation. Our fear sometimes is, lest men should be found imputing to such influence, evils which belong purely to themselves, and lest, in so doing, the moral power of conscience should be weakened. We are persuaded, however, that we only need cite a few passages from the volume, in order to satisfy our readers that it is characterized by many qualities of great excellence; the following is from the first lecture.

'Reason and analogy will lead us to conclude that the truth of the common doctrine respecting evil spirits or fallen angels, is at the least possible, nay, even probable. Surely none will maintain, even if they deny the existence of angels, that man is the only, or the most noble rational creature in the universe. He evidently appears to be the connecting link between the irrational and the rational creation; and therefore, it would seem, the lowest order in the latter. How many ranks there may be above him, exhibiting various forms and degrees of intellectual power and moral excellence, and displaying the riches and wonders of the divine wisdom and power, who can undertake to say? and surely all who believe in the immateriality of the soul, and that it is more excellent than the body, must allow that many of these beings may be pure spirits.

the hope presented to us by the gospel and by the gospel alone, of one day joining these glorious beings; gaining the most accurate acquaintance with their characters; being numbered amongst their friends; emulating them in their celestial excellencies; and uniting with them in their worship and pursuits; and of thus coming, in the most emphatic sense of the term, to an innumerable company of angels; and yet of viewing their glories as only the imperfect reflection of the uncreated effulgence of Jehovah! Alas, that this hope should be forfeited, for anything that earth and sin can afford or promise! How often is the folly of Esau, in its worst form, repeated! For what trifles and low gratifications do men barter their celestial birthright! And are we not warranted to conclude that the lowest order of these spiritual, celestial beings, must soar far above us in capacity, power, excellence, and happiness? The meanest of the animal tribe rises, by the very possession of life and feeling, far above the highest order of vegetables. There is something unspeakably more interesting in a capacity to feel, to enjoy, and suffer, to be sensible in some degree of its own existence, and of that of other creatures, than in all the forms, and laws, and motions, and affinities, and beauties, of merely organised, but still completely dead matter. There is a great gulf betwixt the former and the latter, which nothing but infinite knowledge can fathom; over which nothing but almighty power can carry. Were we once to allow that mere matter could be rendered capable, by any division, or composition, or motion, or position of its particles, without any change in its essential properties, of having united with it, or infused into it, anything of a superior nature, we could not stop here; we must allow that it is capable of thought and reason, of being rendered all that men are; and consequently, we must admit all the absurdities connected with this supposition, give up the immateriality of the soul, and allow that there is no essential difference between the most highly gifted philosopher, or the most eminent saint, and the stones or mire of the streets. In like manner, the meanest, the most stupid rational creature, that can reflect on his own existence, and enquire after his Maker, can distinguish betwixt holiness and sin, can enjoy the satisfaction of a good, or smart beneath the lashes of a bad conscience, can rise in its thoughts and desires to heaven, and exult in the smiles of Jehovah or tremble at his frowns, can thus enjoy an infinite good, or suffer an infinite evil, is unspeakably, I had almost said infinitely, superior to the most sagacious animal, to which the least idea of God, and heaven, and eternity, could never be conveyed by any possible culture, or by all the means that could ever be used.

'Are we not, then, warranted by analogy to allow, that as man appears to be the lowest order of rational beings; and at the same time, the link between matter and spirit, rationality and irrationality, or between mere instinct connected with life, and reason,—that the lowest order of rational spiritual beings, the next link above him in the chain of life and mental power, may be, I had almost said, must be, far superior to him? That as there is an important property in animal life, which there is not in vegetables, and in rational beings, which is not in mere animals, so there may be in pure, spiritual existence, some property or power, which there is not in a compound being like man, that will render the lowest order of

also of the capacities and powers of celestial spirits. Like the former, he is the subject of sensations, and appetites, and passions; he needs the support of matter, moulded into various kinds of nutriment: with the latter, he is capable of knowing the character, of performing the will of God, and of enjoying him as his portion: and it is almost unnecessary to say, that the rational and immaterial, is unspeakably the more important and excellent part of his frame; and that the body appears to contract the capacities of the soul, to fetter its power, and to impede them in their operations.'

'How often, in this respect as well as others, when the spirit is willing and even vigorous, the flesh is weak. Further, in man we see rationality in the lowest, feeblest form or state, in which it can possibly exist. Its principles lie dormant for some time in the breast of the infant. He is at first entirely the creature of instincts, and sensations, and appetites. Then he begins to have some faint perception of reality, and truth, and right, and wrong, and to reason on the facts with which he has gained a slight acquaintance. In a lower state than this, the power of reason cannot exist; here we see, as it were, its very commencement, its first glimmering dawn, connected, in the improvement, which is afterwards realized, with its advancement towards the perfect day. But betwixt its most effective development, its highest attainments in man, in his present state, and its absolute perfection, its infinitude in the Divine Being, what a distance, what a chasm, presents itself! Is it then left entirely empty of rational beings? Is it possible that man is at once the lowest and the highest order of them? Would not this be a notion similar to that of those who, in times that are past, imagined, that because this world was the part of the universe to which they had personal access, the inhabitants and productions of which they could examine for themselves, that it alone is inhabited; and that all the stars and planets are only shining points or gems, the sparkling ornaments of the canopy which is stretched over our heads, and that they were all created for the exclusive pleasure or benefit of men? And will not this remark apply, at least in some degree, to the opinions of those who deny the existence of angels, either good or bad, for no other reason, that I can conceive, but because they cannot bring them in any way beneath the cognizance of their senses? We see a gradation, without any voids or chasm in vegetable life, from its very lowest to its highest forms, endued, as far as we can conceive, with all its possible sensibilities and beauties; and also in animal life and capacity, from the very dullest insect or shell, to the half reasoning dog, or beaver, or elephant.'—pp. 121, 124.

Our author then recurs to his argument from analogy.

'Are we not then warranted, by analogy and reason, to think that there will be found, in the universe, a similar gradation, of which man is the commencement, the lowest step, in rational capacities and powers, to an inconceivable height above us in various forms of glorious creatures? And how high may it rise? How extensive may be the capacity, how mighty the powers of many of these orders or ranks, especially of the highest? While still there is, and must be, an infinite distance betwixt them and the great infinite Eternal. How delightful, how animating,

the hope presented to us by the gospel and by the gospel alone, of one day joining these glorious beings; gaining the most accurate acquaintance with their characters; being numbered amongst their friends; emulating them in their celestial excellencies; and uniting with them in their worship and pursuits; and of thus coming, in the most emphatic sense of the term, to an innumerable company of angels; and yet of viewing their glories as only the imperfect reflection of the uncreated effulgence of Jehovah! Alas, that this hope should be forfeited, for anything that earth and sin can afford or promise! How often is the folly of Esau, in its worst form, repeated! For what trifles and low gratifications do men barter their celestial birthright! And are we not warranted to conclude that the lowest order of these spiritual, celestial beings, must soar far above us in capacity, power, excellence, and happiness? The meanest of the animal tribe rises, by the very possession of life and feeling, far above the highest order of vegetables. There is something unspeakably more interesting in a capacity to feel, to enjoy, and suffer, to be sensible in some degree of its own existence, and of that of other creatures, than in all the forms, and laws, and motions, and affinities, and beauties, of merely organised, but still completely dead matter. There is a great gulf betwixt the former and the latter, which nothing but infinite knowledge can fathom; over which nothing but almighty power can carry. Were we once to allow that mere matter could be rendered capable, by any division, or composition, or motion, or position of its particles, without any change in its essential properties, of having united with it, or infused into it, anything of a superior nature, we could not stop here; we must allow that it is capable of thought and reason, of being rendered all that men are; and consequently, we must admit all the absurdities connected with this supposition, give up the immateriality of the soul, and allow that there is no essential difference between the most highly gifted philosopher, or the most eminent saint, and the stones or mire of the streets. In like manner, the meanest, the most stupid rational creature, that can reflect on his own existence, and enquire after his Maker, can distinguish betwixt holiness and sin, can enjoy the satisfaction of a good, or smart beneath the lashes of a bad conscience, can rise in its thoughts and desires to heaven, and exult in the smiles of Jehovah or tremble at his frowns, can thus enjoy an infinite good, or suffer an infinite evil, is unspeakably, I had almost said infinitely, superior to the most sagacious animal, to which the least idea of God, and heaven, and eternity, could never be conveyed by any possible culture, or by all the means that could ever be used.

'Are we not, then, warranted by analogy to allow, that as man appears to be the lowest order of rational beings; and at the same time, the link between matter and spirit, rationality and irrationality, or between mere instinct connected with life, and reason,—that the lowest order of rational spiritual beings, the next link above him in the chain of life and mental power, may be, I had almost said, must be, far superior to him? That as there is an important property in animal life, which there is not in vegetables, and in rational beings, which is not in mere animals, so there may be in pure, spiritual existence, some property or power, which there is not in a compound being like man, that will render the lowest order of

the former, vastly superior to the highest of the latter, especially while the soul is united to a gross mortal body, and that, too, as ours, is deteriorated by sin.'—pp, 124—126.

There are many points of speculation included in the subject of this volume, on which we could willingly have expressed some opinion; but Mr. Scott is not known among us as an author so much as he deserves to be, and we have preferred, accordingly, that he should be allowed to speak for himself.

Before parting from him, we must add a word or two respecting the scholarship of his book, which we do with regret, and in violation of all the personal feelings by which we are actuated. His information is obviously derived from secondary sources, and is in consequence, unsatisfactory and meagre; his scholarship is far from being rigidly accurate, and the principles of historical criticism are, to say the least, disregarded. Our evidence in proof of these statements must necessarily be brief; and we adduce it with regret, and only from a deep sense of our duty as public journalists.

1. In appendix I., Mr. Scott says,—'It does not come within the plan of these lectures to give a history of oracles. A brief view of some of the chief of them, abridged from Rollin, must suffice.' One would hardly have imagined that Rollin would be referred to as an authority in one of the learned works of the congregational body. He was a worthy, excellent man, but in the present day, is of *no value whatever* as a historian. The abridgment, too, is meagre, occupying but one page. Only four oracles are mentioned, and the general impression left on the learned reader is most unsatisfactory, whether regard be had to the complete exhibition of the subject, or to the literary reputation of the dissenting body.

2. In the chapter on ancient oracles, Mr. Scott speaks of the oracle of Delph*os*, instead of Delph*i*, an inaccuracy which we should have attributed to mere oversight, had it not been uniformly committed.

3. He maintains, in our opinion justly, that the ancient oracles were not given by satanic agency, but remarks, page 312, 'The famous story which occurs in the history of Crœsus, presents, it must be owned, considerable difficulties,' and then proceeds, like the rationalists of Germany, to account for it by supposing that the priests had some of the king's servants in their pay, &c. A modern writer should have asked himself the prior question, what is the authority for the truth of the story? The fact of the case is, that it was first told by Herodotus, who wrote about a hundred years after the alleged event. It was clearly a floating story which Herodotus heard in the course of his travels,

which may have been originally based on *some* fact, but which certainly should not be regarded as an historical event.

In the event of a second edition, we respectfully counsel a severe revision of the volume in those matters which, though of secondary moment, are far from being unimportant.

Art. IV. *Journal of a March from Delhi to Peshdwur, and from thence to Cábul, with the Mission of Lieutenant Colonel Sir C. M. Wade, Knt. C.B.: including Travels in the Punjáb, a Visit to the City of Lahore, and a Narrative of Operations in the Khyber Pass, undertaken in* 1839. By Lieutenant William Barr, Bengal Horse Artillery. London: James Madden and Co.

LIEUTENANT BARR'S Narrative, was originally drawn up for the information of a relative, and is now printed, at the suggestion of friends who deem its details sufficiently valuable to warrant publication. It adds but little to the knowledge previously obtained respecting the wars in Affghanistan, but as the line of his march was distinct from that of the general army, his narrative throws some incidental light on the nature of the contest, and the character of the parties more immediately engaged. The history of our Eastern wars presents one unvarying aspect of aggression, and a ruthless disregard of human life and national independence. In other quarters of the globe, there has, occasionally at least, been something generous and high-minded in our military operations, something in the object sought, or in the principles avowed, which has served to redeem our character from unmitigated reproach. Nothing of this kind, however, can be detected in our Eastern wars, and a fearful debt has in consequence been contracted, the payment of which may yet be demanded by a righteous Deity. The Affghan war, followed by others of an equally atrocious character, constitute a recent exposition of the principles and spirit by which our Eastern policy has ordinarily been distinguished. Temporary causes may prevent the condemnation which it merits. The necessities of parties, or the delusive splendour of success, may withhold the sentence, which true policy and rectitude alike enjoin; but so sure as there is a moral judgment in man, so certainly will the promoters and agents of this war be ultimately classed amongst the profligate abusers, or the servile tools of power.

Lieutenant Barr was at Delhi, in December, 1838; when an order was unexpectedly received, to join Colonel Wade's auxiliary force, with a detachment of native horse artillery. Colonel Wade

was at Lahore, considerably in advance of Delhi, when this order reached Lieutenant Barr, who was not in a condition to commence his march until the 20th of the following month. The narrative which he has furnished consists of almost daily notes descriptive of all matters of importance which occurred, and of such scenery and national manners as were deemed worthy of notice. The Lieutenant proceeded from Delhi to Lodianah, and then through the Sikh county to Rhotas and Peshawur, whence he advanced with the colonel's auxiliary force to the celebrated Khyber Pass, where an active, courageous, and patriotic enemy opposed their further progress. Neither the incidents which happened, nor the scenery through which he passed, were of a nature to give much interest to his narrative. They are recorded in a rapid, inartificial, and soldier-like style, which, though not greatly exciting, possesses a charm from its straight-forwardness and simplicity of design, sufficient to sustain attention. Proceeding from Lodianah to Lahore, our author witnessed a marriage procession, which, as illustrative of the customs of the country, we transcribe.

'We arrived at the termination of our fatiguing journey just in time to witness a marriage procession depart, for the purpose of fetching and escorting the bride to her future home. It consisted of a band of drums and cymbals, two ruths crowded with silks, and several gaily caparisoned horsemen, who displayed their equestrian qualifications to the amusement and gratification of the bystanders. One of these sowars was a particularly well dressed and fine looking fellow with a short red tuft tastily adjusted in his turban, and a leathern shield studded with brass bosses slung across his back, and half concealed by his snow-white flowing vestments. Being by far the most imposing-looking individual in the cortége, we at once decided that he was the bridegroom, and we were somewhat confirmed in our opinion, as immediately behind him followed a man bearing a chattah or umbrella, covered with coloured paper and talc, and having long pendants hanging from its circular edge, the 'tout ensemble' being somewhat in semblance to a crown. This elegant (!) piece of workmanship, intended to be held over the bride as soon as she makes her appearance, was borne aloft with an air of pride and display that plainly showed it was regarded as no ordinary production. The approaching Benedict, however, seemed so well satisfied with himself, that there was no doubt he considered his *own person* to be the centre of attraction; and indeed so much occupied had he been with decorating himself that he had quite forgotten the condition of his steed, which was dirty in the extreme, and looked as if it had lately enjoyed itself by taking a good roll in the mud, whereby nearly every vestige of its primitive hue, white, was obliterated. In this array, and followed by the admiring gaze of the multitude, the procession moved on, and was soon lost behind some trees that concealed its further progress.—pp. 44, 45.

On approaching Lahore, the marks of former magnificence

were apparent on every hand. The country immediately around presented one vast scene of ruin, in which the remains of mosque and mausoleum bore witness at once to former grandeur and to present decay. A class of eastern fanatics, whose ferocious character and habits render them the terror of the country, was found inhabiting one of these tombs, of whom the following brief account is given:—

'In one of these tombs, of a large size and in better repair than the majority, a gang of Akallies (a tribe of religious fanatics peculiar to the Punjab, and of a character approaching to the fakeer of India) had taken up their abode. These people are of low caste; but somehow or another have contrived to obtain a degree of power which renders them formidable; and as on account of their sacred character they are nearly, if not totally, exempted from all punishments for their misdeeds, they have become insolent and overbearing almost beyond endurance. As we passed by, some of them hurled at us a vocabulary of words which no doubt contained epithets of a most disrespectful nature; but being in a language unknown to us, we were perfectly content to remain in ignorance of their meaning. Captain Ferris seeing a fire in the place, directed his Syce to procure a light for his cigar, but on the man's attempting to take one, the Akallies vociferated loudly and turned him out *sans cérémonie*. They dress somewhat like the fakeer, occasionally besmearing themselves with ashes; but the generality wear more clothes and a conical turban of a peculiar but elegant shape, which they don with much taste; and several suspend on it two or three sharp quoits, which they throw with such great dexterity as to render them at close quarters most formidable weapons.'—pp. 66, 67.

Lahore, the imperial city of the Punjab, has passed its meridian, the present ruler of the country being more attached to Amritsir; still it numbers a population of from 80 to 100,000 persons, 'whose pride and vanity consist in the fineness of their apparel, and beauty of their ornaments.' Our readers will be disgusted at the brutality of the punishment described in the following passage, though they will scarcely participate in the incredulity of our author respecting the punishment of death being inflicted for killing a cow. If the infliction of capital punishment for such an offence be an evidence of barbarism scarcely to be credited, what shall we think of those laws which append it to the stealing of a sheep, or even to offences still more trifling. Surely these barbarians may say to us, Seest thou the mote in thy brother's eye, but regardest not the beam in thine own eye?

'As we approached it, our attention was called to a small crowd, principally of women and children, and on riding up to see the cause of their assembling, perceived in the midst of them a man stretched on the ground at full length, who had, half an hour before, been deprived of

both his hands, as a punishment for the crime of stealing. A few quiverings about the muscles of his legs were all that betokened he still existed; but he was insensible, and no wonder, as he had bled profusely, and he was thus being inhumanly left to perish, as no one dared to assist him. The block, a rude piece of wood, was lying by his side; but the hands had been carried off for the purpose of being exposed near the spot where he had committed the depredation. We consulted about bringing him into camp, and I directed my native doctor to do so; but on attempting to remove the poor wretch, we were told the sentence was the law of the land, and that we had no business to interfere. This was true; but we subsequently heard with much satisfaction, that a few of his friends had secretly conveyed him away, and that there is a chance of his life, as they would, immediately they were able, insert his stumps into boiling oil to allay the bleeding; I fear, however, the chance is but slight.

'Two other executions, though unattended with the barbarous mutilations above detailed, had taken place at the same time; but it will hardly be credited that the punishment of death these unfortunate individuals suffered was awarded to them for the crime of having killed a cow! but such was the case; and the deluded Sikhs consider the blood they have just shed as called for to appease the anger of their deity, insulted in its representative, a four-footed creature of the earth! The road led us nearly beneath a tree, on which the body of one of the offenders was suspended, and where it will remain as a warning to others, until devoured by carrion birds, or it falls to pieces under the influence of time; the other was hanged at the opposite side of the town.'—pp. 150—152.

In the neighbourhood of Nao Shadra our author met with a friendly party of Affghans, constituting the train of the governor of that town, whose appearance and costume he thus briefly describes:—

'Being attended by a large train of servants and followers, it was the first body of thorough Affghans we had yet seen; and certainly there is a striking difference both in their features and dress from any of the natives of Hindostan, and their cast of countenance is even more Jewish than that of the Sikhs. Some of their complexions are so fair as to be tinged with colour; and blue eyes, red hair, and carroty whiskers are by no means uncommon. Perhaps, the part of their costume that most strikes a stranger, is the huge turban, composed of vast folds of cloth crossing in front somewhat in the shape of the figure ∞, the colours being principally of blue, white, or checked; and their long flowing garments bound round the waist by an enormous 'cummurbund'* which, when opened out, would serve to envelope the man himself, gives them almost a patriarchal appearance. Our visitors were all of the tribe of Eusoff Zhye, the largest in Affghanistan, and the inhabitants of the hills and plains to the north of the Câbul river.'—pp. 211, 212.

Two days afterwards, the detachment reached Colonel Wade's camp, after a march of two months and seven days, during which it had travelled over five hundred and ninety miles,

* Sash.

crossed five rivers by boats, and only halted once, save in cases of necessity. The prince Shah-zada Timour was at the time in the Colonel's camp at Peshawur, a mere pageant in the hands of the British. Lieutenant Barr, like other mere official personages, speaks of the war as being undertaken for the benefit of the prince and his father, as though our policy had been simply generous, forgetting, or at least not caring to acknowledge, that the whole world saw through the farce, and condemned in no measured terms the selfish and aggressive spirit of its agents. Every effort was made to give an imposing splendour to the public durbar held by the prince, in the hope of conciliating his new subjects, and of confirming them in their allegiance. The farcical nature of the scene is sufficiently apparent in the following account of the levee.

'The gong had chimed ten ere the Prince was announced as being prepared to receive us,—a piece of information we were not a little pleased at, as our patience was nigh being exhausted with having waited so long. Wade, with a general on either hand, led the way, and we of the mission followed. On entering the durbar tent, we found the poor Shah-zada, unaccustomed to the royal part he was henceforth to play, *standing* to do the honours, (a piece of condescension, I believe, unlooked for in his station,) but on a motion from the colonel he instantly rectified it by popping with much alacrity on to his guddee or throne. This consisted of a large square ottoman covered with kim-khwab,* in the centre of which and approaching to the front were three pillows, enveloped in a beautifully delicate coloured silk, to support his head and arms. Cashmere shawls were spread in front for us to walk on, and as we did not take off our boots, seemed out of place on the ground. On either side of the guddee were arranged chairs, on which we sat, and conformable with Eastern manners did not uncover the head. In front of the prince stood the old Wuzeer, habited in bright kim-khwab with gold ornaments; and behind, on his right and left, were two attendants. The two French generals having been presented with all due form, we three, who had lately joined, passed through the same ceremony, making a salaam with our right hands as we were named to His Highness, who was pleased to utter a few almost unintelligible gutturals, signifying that we were welcome. Beyond these words, and an occasional affirmative occasioned by the dissyllable 'bulli,' he maintained a total silence to the colonel's address, and likewise to a short but loud oration vociferated by Mons. Avitabile. A period was at last put to these uninteresting proceedings by a few menials entering with the 'khilluts,' or honorary dresses, and presents, intended for the French generals. These consisted of 'chogahs,' or robes, some trays of shawls, and American rifles; all, of course, furnished by the British Government. The governor of Peshawur received his very graciously; but it was amusing to observe the rough manner in which his brother officer acted,

* Kim-khwab: silk worked with gold and silver flowers; brocade.

and who, instead of permitting the attendant to envelope his shoulders in the folds of a crimson cloak, seized hold of, and stuffed it beneath his elbow, as it was resting on the arm-chair, and supporting his head. We shortly after took leave, a relief both to ourselves and to our host, who, although he *looked* a prince in every respect, yet, being but lately drawn from comparative obscurity, and unaccustomed, in his new capacity, to the gaze of strangers, seemed but ill at ease with this public exhibition of his greatness, and, I have no doubt, was glad when the ceremony concluded. With the exception of his turban, which had been exchanged for one of a puce colour, tastily and even elegantly arranged on his head, he was dressed in the same simple costume that he wore yesterday, his handsome, though listless features, brightening to a look of intelligence as we arose to retire. We all salaamed to him, which he returned, and we then backed out, (or ought to have done so, for, I believe, few of us, except the Politicals, thought of this piece of etiquette,) passing beneath a semiana, or awning, under which trays of flowers were spread out, and thence through the range of kanauts, or screens, that enclosed a large area in front of the durbar tent.'—pp. 232, 235.

In such a warfare as the British were now ingloriously engaged, it was of the first importance that early and accurate information should be obtained; and the extraordinary methods resorted to in order to secure it, are thus recorded.

'*April 28th.*— Whilst at breakfast this morning, the Colonel received a letter from Cabul or Candahar, the contents of which we longed to make ourselves masters of, but it was no use; there were secrets in it only for the initiated, and although he showed it to us, yet being penned in hieroglyphics, our curiosity was doomed to remain unsatisfied. It did not, however, require much of a physiognomist to find out that the news was satisfactory, and so far all is well. It was brought by a spy, who had carried it tied as an armlet wrapped in wax cloth; a precaution most necessary to observe, as Dost Mahomed's people have of late become so suspicious that it is difficult to elude their vigilance. A good method of carrying secret dispatches, which is practised in these parts, is to have the letter baked in a chapatie, or cake, as the person, when suspected, can swallow the paper, and thus avoid detection. On such occasions, however, an emetic has been known to be administered, and the individual compelled, though *sorely* against his will, to bring up the communication. Another way is to make the despatch serve as a pistol wad, when it can be fired off or drawn as advisable.'

'The persons whom Wade usually employs as spies are his chupars, or mounted messengers, who disguise themselves inimitably; and it was only the other day that two returned from a successful visit to Jullalabad, whither they had gone dressed, or rather *undressed*, as fakeers; for I believe they were not encumbered with many clothes. Most of these men are wild and daring fellows, apt to quarrel, and by no means slow at drawing their weapons, especially when their opponents are either Sikhs or Hindoos.'—pp. 280, 281.

In the camp at Peshawur, Lieutenant Barr saw in miniature the various tribes interested in the contest, and has noted briefly their peculiarity of costume and habit. Amongst these, the Khyberries are specially pointed out, as they subsequently acted a distinguished part in resisting the advance of the British. Our traveller remarks:

'At the conclusion of the durbar, Colonel Wade and the Shah-zada Timour, seated on elephants, proceeded in state to the outskirts of the camp, where the latter was to be presented to the assembled multitudes who had espoused his cause. Divided into tribes, each, as it came up under its respective chief, marched pass the prince's elephant—many amongst the horsemen galloping at will out of their ranks, curvetting their steeds, firing their matchlocks, and committing other extravagances to testify their joy. Of all that appeared in this animated scene none claimed so much attention as a band of the notorious Khyberries, whose tall, gaunt figures, high cheek-bones, and muscular sinews, betokened a race of hardy mountaineers. Like all hill people, they attend but little to the dictates of cleanliness; and the dirty garments they exhibited to the prince, were but in keeping with features equally guiltless of suffering from ablution. Their dress generally consisted of a long chupkun of a light brown colour, reaching to the knees, loose trowsers, and grass sandals, or shoes with hobnails. The turban assimilates with that of the other Affghan tribes. Their usual weapons are a long jhezail, or rifle, with a wooden fork attached to its extremity, on which the piece is rested to secure a better aim; a sword; and a large knife stuck into the sash: some had a pistol in addition. Their appearance was wild in the extreme; and a rude pipe, screaming forth a few shrill notes, heightened the effect, and added to the interest of these celebrated and formidable robbers.'—pp. 240—242.

We shall not attempt to follow the lieutenant in his sketch of the military movements connected with the forcing of the Khyber Pass. They have been more fully described elsewhere, and no new details of importance are furnished by him. This volume will be read with interest by such as take pleasure in military operations; and is not devoid of attraction, to those who are more solicitous to ascertain and ameliorate the condition of their species, than to trace the progress of carnage and demoralization.

Art. V. *Coningsby, or the New Generation.* By B. Disraeli, Esq., M.P., author of Contarini Fleming. In 3 vols. London: Colburn. 1844.

NATURALISTS inform us, that there are certain animalculæ, which enjoy a privilege denied to other parts of the insect creation. —They can be revived after death! So singular and unaccount-

able a property, says Leeuwenhoeck, deserves the deepest consideration. The wheel animal, or *vorticella rotatoria*, of systematic authors, is frequently found alive and active in rain water, having stood a long time in leaden gutters; and it also dwells among the slime deposited by common sewers. Its change of shape is perpetual. Sometimes it is protracted into extreme slenderness; and then gets inflated into a short, corpulent figure. One half of its organs may be concealed, whilst the other moiety swells into full dimensions. Powerful magnifiers will bring under the eye both a head and a tail,—the latter pointed, the former cloven. Spallanzani has discovered a horn, and Baker a heart; but Müller stoutly denies the last, declaring that what has been taken for it can be neither more nor less than a muscle useful for deglutition. Yet the most wonderful features of the phenomenon are its death and resurrection. When the water containing the wheel animal evaporates, the creature becomes languid and shrivelled, its frame alters, and to all intents and purposes, it dies. The minute carcase grows dry and hard, and on being touched with the point of a needle, flies to pieces. Years may now pass away; and at the end of them, a judicious application of a little sand and water will literally effect a resurrection! The period of humectation necessary to the full recovery of life is various in the different species: some revive in a few seconds, others require half an hour, others half a quarter of a day. But it is clear that there is no getting rid of a *vorticella rotatoria*. It is endowed with a Liliputian immortality. It exists, it multiplies, and defies the rites of sepulture. There is no help for it; and there is no withstanding the force of facts. Common readers may shrug their shoulders; scholars may ejaculate, *mirabile dictu;* sciolists may whisper, *credat Judæus;* book-worms may declare that there is no such thing in Aristotle; yet nevertheless, this curious insect dies, dissolves, and comes to life again with the mere help of a little sand and water.

What the wheel animal is in entomology, certain political and religious anomalies are in civil and ecclesiastical history. A party has reappeared of late years, both in parliament and the church of England, styling itself the New Generation. There are about five or six of its members, who adorn the benches of St. Stephen, and annoy Sir Robert Peel with that honourable kind of practice, which the Quarterly Review has described as 'firing shots from the rear upon their own friends in the van.' Sometimes these gentlemen pass under the sobriquet of Young England, in allusion to the juvenile characteristics of the chins and speeches of their leaders. When brought under close examination, they will be found, we believe, most perfectly analogous to the wheel animals of sand and water,—with double heads and

sharp tails,—generated in lead and stagnation,—not altogether unuseful in their very small way,—yet requiring a microscope to discern their virtues,—and being after all, a mere resurrection of the prejudices of Laud, and the politics of Strafford. Their object, however, is of course, to bring those prejudices and these politics, in an attractive costume, before the public; so that, like Jotham of old, the honourable member for Shrewsbury has taken up his parable, to instruct and edify our present perverse contemporaries. It is wonderful to observe, in the pages of Coningsby, how the poison of these most falsely called new principles is held in solution through three volumes: and as the work excites considerable attention, we shall attempt some brief outline of its merits. We may thus be able to get clear views, perhaps, as to what Young England means; what are its characteristics, sympathies, and antipathies; as also to what advantage its admissions may be turned in our future struggles against conservatism and church establishments. There is no hope, as we are too well aware, of annihilating follies. The genius of Coningsby, though it is far too sublime an expression for the occasion, was as rife a couple of centuries ago, as it may be again two hundred years hence for aught we know. All that will ever be requisite, will be the sand and water of favourable circumstances; with novelists like our author, able to put together a pretty ingenious story, in which amiability and talent will circulate sound for sense, phrases for facts, imagination for history, and the narrowest exclusiveness for an enlarged patriotism. In fact, the chapters before us are little else than romances, from beginning to end; except that the personages are real for the most part, and not difficult to be discovered.

Harry Coningsby is introduced as an Etonian in the heyday of youth and spirits,—frank, generous, studious, pensive, and affectionate, so soon as he can come across any one to love. His father and mother are both dead; the former having been the youngest son of the marquis of Monmouth, in other words, the late lord Hertford. The voluptuousness and abilities of this painfully notorious nobleman are portrayed to the life, with an easiness and correctness of drawing not often surpassed. His lordship would have won praise from Dr. Johnson, just so far as that he was a 'good hater,'—hating his wives, hating his offspring, hating his best friends, and of course, his enemies; to say nothing of virtue and philanthropy, for both which, his contempt and detestation positively knew no bounds. Such magnates are always attended by a toady, to play the jackal, and do all manner of dirty work for great men. A Mr. Rigby performs this character about the marquis of Monmouth, clever, base, and parasitical; the picture of a well understood political writer,

whose 'slashing articles' in the most widely circulated periodical of the day, have been rewarded with a pension from government, and a reduced legacy from his late patron. His earliest office in these pages, is to introduce Harry Coningsby to his grandfather. The boy soon becomes a favourite, although his first interview proved by no means a fortunate one. At Eton, he wins golden opinions from his masters and comrades; and by the way we may observe, that the best description we have ever seen, is to be found in the first volume, of that absurd and fantastical farrago of nonsense, designated the Montem, to which we regret that Salt-hill and Windsor have, within the last two months, once more lent themselves. A conspicuous individual amongst those who consort with the hero of the tale, is lord Henry Sydney, beyond all mistake the present lord John Manners; but another youth at length springs upon the stage, named Millbank, whose father is an enormous manufacturer, friendly to the principles of free-trade, and violently opposed to aristocracy in all its branches. Harry Coningsby saves young Millbank from drowning; after which event, they grow into the Pylades and Orestes of the novel. Its whole period is laid between 1830 and 1840; so that the author has abundant opportunities of sketching busy scenes and prominent personages: for it must be borne in mind, that Young England is destined, *ab initio usque ad finem*, for public life. We thus light, for example, upon the duke of Wellington:—

'His grace has ever been the votary of circumstances. He cares little for causes. He watches events, rather than seeks to produce them. It is characteristic of the military mind. Rapid combinations, the result of a quick, vigilant, and comprehensive glance, are generally triumphant in the field; but in civil affairs, where results are not immediate, in diplomacy, and in the management of deliberative assemblies, where there is much intervening time, and many counteracting causes, this velocity of decision, this fitful and precipitate action, is often productive of considerable embarrassment, and sometimes of terrible discomfiture. It is remarkable that men celebrated for military prudence, are often found to be headstrong statesmen. A great general in civil life is frequently and strangely the creature of impulse, influenced in his political movements by the last snatch of information, and often the creature of the last aide-de-camp who has his ear.'—Vol. i., pp. 75, 76.

The grandfather of Coningsby had commenced his career as an earl; but, having inherited six parliamentary seats, and added nearly as many more to them, through his overwhelming wealth, and skilful exertions, he had earned, or in other terms extorted, from the premier of his time, a marquisate. His grand object, now was a dukedom; when just as he was coquetting

with fresh constituencies, and gloating over an extension of his borough interest, the Reform Bill of Lord Grey and Lord John Russell dashed his hopes to the earth. The opportunity is a good one for Mr. Disraeli to look back upon our past political history, and he improves it accordingly. We cannot concur with him in his fallacious representation of the heaven-born minister of Toryism: that 'a widening of our electoral scheme, great facilities to commerce, and the rescue of our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects from the puritanic yoke, from fetters which have been fastened on them by English parliaments, in spite of the protests and exertions of English sovereigns, were the three grand elements of the Pitt system;—a system founded on the traditions of our monarchy, and caught from the writings, the speeches, the councils of those, who for the sake of these and analogous benefits, had ever been anxious that the sovereign of England should never be degraded into the position of a Venetian doge.' Certain it is, that there is much *colour of truth* in such statements, and even in some important particulars, the very facts are incontrovertible; whilst, nevertheless, their perspective is so ingeniously disarranged and distorted, that the sum total of the impression conveyed is clearly mendacious. Our author has succeeded better in some stringent sarcastic caricatures of the manner in which our modern aristocracy has shot up, like a vast fungus, out of the ruins of Norman feudalism, the plunder of church property, the false aspirations of the crown, the selfishness of a whig revolution, and the augmented value and influence of landed property. He then shows, and with no inconsiderable tact, how, under the Third George, the upper and lower classes became estranged from each other; casting into the shade, indeed, whatever may not happen to suit his immediate purpose; but bringing forth most fully and strikingly, the wretched mediocrities, who, under the name of statesmen, presumed to place themselves at the helm on the dissolution of the Ministry of the Talents. The cabinets of the Duke of Portland, Mr. Spencer Percival, and Lord Liverpool, he considers to have altogether failed; nor, does he scruple to visit upon the back of the last, 'the introduction of that new principle and power into our constitution, which ultimately may absorb all—namely, AGITATION!' Even after Canning and Huskisson had joined in, he sneers at it, as 'the real parent of the Roman Catholic Association, the Political Unions, and the Anti-Corn Law League.' It was now known, that neither Sir Robert Peel, nor the Duke of Wellington would serve under Canning; and it was foreseen, that in the struggle for paramount power, the military leader would have to pocket his pride, and succumb in the long run to some such clever commoner, as the Sir Joseph Surface of our own times.

It is a just remark, that great minds must trust to great truths and great talents for their rise, and nothing else. The present premier is thus delineated, with much graphic caution, and some respectful indulgence :—

'It had been the misfortune of this eminent gentleman when he first entered public life, to become identified with a political connection, which having arrogated to itself the name of an illustrious historical party, pursued a policy, which was either founded on no principle whatever, or on principles exactly contrary to those which had always guided the conduct of the great Tory leaders. The chief members of this official confederacy, were men distinguished by none of the conspicuous qualities of statesmen. They had none of the divine gifts that govern senates, and guide councils. They were not orators; they were not men of deep thought, or happy resource; or of penetrative and sagacious minds. Their political ken was essentially dull and contracted. They expended some energy in obtaining a defective blundering acquaintance with foreign affairs; but they knew as little of their own country, as savages of an approaching eclipse. This factious league had shuffled themselves into power, by clinging to the skirts of a great minister, the last of Tory statesmen; but who, in the unparalleled and confounding emergencies of his latter years had been forced, unfortunately for England, to relinquish *Toryism!*' [or as any sober candid truthful writer would have expressed it, *Liberalism*] 'His successors inherited all his errors, without his latent genius; which in him might have still rallied and extricated him from the consequences of his disasters. His successors did not merely inherit his errors: they exaggerated, they caricatured them. They rode into power on a spring-tide of all the rampant prejudices and rancorous passions of their time. From the king to the boor, their policy was a mere pandering to public ignorance. At an early period of his career, young Peel withdrew from official life. His course had been one of unbroken prosperity; the hero of the University, had become the favourite of the House of Commons. His retreat, therefore, was not prompted by chagrin. Nor need it have been suggested by a calculating ambition; for the ordinary course of events was fast bearing to him all to which man could aspire. One might rather suppose, that he had already gained sufficient experience, perhaps in his Irish secretaryship, to make him pause in that career of superficial success, which education and custom had hitherto chalked out for him, rather than the creative energies of his own mind. He may have wished to reserve himself for a happier occasion, and a more progressive period.—Amidst the later movements of 1834-5, he, perhaps, never believed in the success of his administration. At the lowest ebb of his political fortunes, it cannot be doubted that he looked forward through the vista of many years, to an era when the national mind, arrived by reflection and experience at certain conclusions, would seek in him a powerful expositor of its convictions. But it is the personal that chiefly interests mankind; that fires their imaginations, and wins their hearts. A cause is a grand abstraction, and fit only for students; embodied in a party, it stirs men to action; but, place at the head of that party a leader, who can inspire enthusi-

asm, and he commands the world. Divine faculty! Rare and incomparable privilege! A parliamentary leader who possesses it, doubles his majority; and he, who has it not, may shroud himself in artificial reserve, and study with undignified arrogance an awkward haughtiness, but he will, nevertheless, be as far from controlling the spirit, as from captivating the hearts of his sullen followers.'—Vol. i., pp. 146, 208, 227.

The last bitterly serious and solemn lines, relate of course to that cold shoulder, and not infrequent snubbing, which the prime minister has recently manifested towards the New Generation!

Harry Coningsby, therefore, must expect obstinate disciples, notwithstanding the high birth, immense wealth, and gilded refinement, under the auspices of which, he and his companions emerge from Eton to illuminate our dark and dusty world. On his way to pay a visit at Beaumanoir, or Belvoir Castle, for the names of places and titles are thus thinly disguised, he forms a romantic acquaintance with one of the Rothschild or Montefiore families, masked under the Spanish designation of Sidonia. This personage appears ever and anon, as a *Deus ex machinâ*, like the sorcerer of the eastern story; since, without possessing any necessary connection, that we can perceive, with the plot of these volumes, he comes in and goes out as a sort of inspired interlocutor, very able, very eloquent, very learned, brimful of wisdom, a treble millionaire in fortune, a companion of princes in politics, and a genuine Jew in religion. His character is well conceived and powerfully painted, but might easily be transferred into any other novel or story, just as well as the present. What he tells us, however, about his own people, is replete with interest: and, we cannot help presuming, that our author has, naturally enough, displayed that regard for the Hebrew nation, which might be expected from his extraction. His description of a scene, just before the meeting between Coningsby and Sidonia, strikes us as one of surpassing beauty:

'There are few things more full of delight and splendour, than to travel during the heat of a refulgent summer in the green district of some ancient forest. In one of our midland counties, there is a region of this character, to which during a season of peculiar lustre, we would introduce the reader. It was a fragment of one of those vast sylvan tracts, wherein Norman kings once hunted, and Saxon outlaws plundered; and, although the plough had for centuries successfully invaded brake and bower, the relics retained all their original character of wildness and seclusion. Sometimes the green earth was thickly studded with groves of huge and vigorous oaks, intersected with those smooth and sunny glades, that seem as if they must be cut for dames and knights to saunter on. Then again the undulating ground spread on all sides, far as the eye could range, covered with copse and fern of immense growth. Anon, you found

yourself in a turfy wilderness; girt in, apparently, by dark woods. And when you had wound your way a little through this gloomy belt,—the landscape, still strictly sylvan, would beautifully expand, with every combination and variety of woodland; while in its centre, the wild fowl covered the waters of a lake, and the deer basked on the knolls that abounded on its borders.

'It was in the month of August, some six or seven years ago, that a traveller on foot, touched as he emerged from the dark wood by the beauty of the scene, threw himself under the shade of a spreading tree, and stretched his limbs on the turf for enjoyment rather than repose. The sky was deep-coloured and without a cloud, save here and there a minute, sultry, burnished vapour, almost as glossy as the heavens. Every thing was as still as it was bright. All seemed brooding and basking. The bee upon its wing was the only stirring sight, and its song the only sound.'—Vol. i. pp. 235, 236.

We quote such passages with pleasure, as well for the purpose of fairly exhibiting descriptive talent, as also of assuring all conservative politicians that liberalism and nonconformity can enjoy nature quite as exquisitely as themselves. The contrary is more than once insinuated, though without a shadow of foundation for the surmise. Sentimentalism, perhaps, may have taken up an almost exclusive residence in such palaces as Belvoir Castle: but the middle classes, whenever at all refined, are the genuine votaries of the sublime and beautiful. Their tastes are far less vitiated by the conventionalisms of artificial life. The gay circle, which welcomed Harry Coningsby, can only get an acquaintance with their humbler countrymen and countrywomen after the manner in which Swiss costumes instruct the boudoir or the drawingroom, about the realities of Alpine peasantry. All the young ladies drawn are evidently in their holiday clothes, and sitting for their likenesses. A benevolent duke and duchess, surrounded by an amiable family, and expending £100,000 per annum in their own neighbourhood, and on their own estate, become the idolized centre of a provincial territory, in which they play the parts of king and queen, without the responsibilities of government. Flattery and patronage cast all sorts of variegated hues upon every object around. Hence such prattle, as we here read of, taking place between the duke and lord Everingham, who clearly personates lord Morpeth, about the poor laws, only makes a philosopher smile. In England, according to lord Henry Sydney, the palladium of her preservation will be found in Maypoles and Christmas mummeries; and in the revival of a fourth estate—to be neither more nor less than that of the Peasantry! May we just inquire, whether this fresh political element is to have a will of its own? or is the estate of the peasantry to be merely a portion of the grand juggle of *aristocratic government*; by which high landed

rentals are to be maintained at the expense of worn-out labourers in our fields, or pallid operatives in our factories? There is a heartlessness about the mode of treating these matters which will astonish a future historian. In romance, our nobles profess themselves the tribunes of the people: in practice—they exclude them from the representation, tax them without mercy, inflict upon them the curse of dear bread, raise the prices of multifarious diurnal necessaries, interfere with their commons and their consciences, imprison them for picking up a pheasant, or not paying tithes and rates for a church they disrelish; and then forsooth they smother their fine professions under the scarlet and ermine of the peerage. The fervours of philanthropy are thus extinguished beneath gilded coronets; patricians point to the corinthian capitals and columns of the state; and oligarchy, like the adulteress of the proverb, wipes her mouth and declares, 'I have done no wickedness!'

From Belvoir, or Beaumanoir Castle, as it is called, our hero wends his way to Manchester and Millbank—the latter an immense factory, named after the family of the young gentleman who has already been mentioned in connexion with Eton. Coningsby fails to fall in with his former schoolfellow, then absent in Belgium: but the grateful father and a lovely sister quickly supply all deficiencies. Edith Millbank receives her young guest as the handsome and gifted preserver of her only brother. Mutual impressions are made even thus early; although not for the present, going further than kindly glances and incipient attentions. But a picture hangs up in one of the apartments strangely resembling a miniature of Coningsby's mother: so much so that he dares to put a question; which, however, his hospitable host contrives at once to evade. The conversation between this stout manufacturer and the scion of the house of Monmouth, lets in more light upon the science of political economy, than had proved the case at Beaumanoir. It so happens that there had been a feud of long standing between the millionaire of Millbank and the grandfather of his guest. Lord Monmouth had a mansion and demesne, styled after the name of his ancestral line, Coningsby Castle, in the very neighbourhood. Harry was on his travels thither; and had merely turned out of his road to gather wisdom, either from magnates or commoners, as circumstances might occur. The marquis had invited him to the hall of his forefathers with a view to electioneering interests; since his lordship conceived that judicious regard for the registration, and popularity, might in time overturn the Melbourne ministry, as well as secure him a ducal coronet from Sir Robert Peel. All that opulence can achieve was executed. Conservative prospects were already brightening. The usual machinery was prepared, and set in

motion—such as legal agencies, good dinners, hot suppers, operative protestant associations, bribes, menaces, bows, calls, and an effective subterranean management. 'I believe, after all,' said this noble son of pleasure, 'that with property and pluck, parliamentary reform is not such a very bad thing.' Upon which Mr. Disraeli not unpleasantly adds: 'His lordship having given utterance to this sentence, several gentlemen began talking at the same time, all agreeing with their host, and proving in different ways the irresistible influence of property and pluck; property in their mind meaning vassals, and pluck a total disregard for public opinion!' Sidonia had now joined the revels; for he was one of the few favourites with the marquis; simply because his varied acquirements amused him, and because 'he was so rich, that he never need ask for any thing.' French comedians, balls, concerts, races, and steeple chases, beguile day and night; just so far as to drown care, and keep dulness at defiance. The Princess Colonna and her daughter Lucretia, are there: and the veil is uplifted from a phase of society only paralleled, we believe, in this country; and which, from the extent of its secret iniquity, may one day bring down the judgments of Jehovah upon our land.

The step-daughter of the French manager is a pretty sweet creature, full of sensibility and genuine good manners; too modest and simple for the wretched associations amongst which she has to move. She is brought out upon a private stage, for the first time, at Coningsby Castle, to the satisfaction of every one but herself. Rendered dreadfully ill, through the agonies of her exhibition, Flora Villebecque has to withdraw from any further appearances; which excites not a thought of sympathy in any mind but that of Harry Coningsby. His kindness to one apparently so forlorn and forsaken, makes Flora his fast friend for ever. Amidst a vortex of politics and pleasure, for both are mingled, that the ambition and appetite of lord Monmouth may be gratified to the full, the Princess Colonna intrigues to procure Coningsby for her daughter Lucretia; that young lady intrigues on her part, to secure Sidonia, and quite in vain; and last of all, the haughty host himself means to make her his own, the necessary nets and baits being already arranged for that purpose. Rigby acts the character attributed to the notorious Mr. Croker, from morning until evening, throughout every day of his existence. On his unfortunate shoulders the lash is applied with a severity worthy of a West Indian slave driver. There can be no mistake in his actions, conversation, and objects; in his 'slashing articles' for the grand conservative review; his servile submissions and petty tyranny: the very style of his oratory and the variety of his ignoble engagements. Theodore Hook, also, once the lion of fun and humour, here figures under the mask of Lucian Gay,

There are some sly hits at other contemporaries, which will cause the corners of many mouths to curl in the wrong direction. The husband of the Princess Colonna, having been thrown from his horse and killed, at length breaks up these paphian festivities. Coningsby goes to Cambridge, and Millbank to Oxford, the two friends keeping up the closest intimacy by correspondence throughout their career at our universities. All this period is a sort of seed time, during which the golden crop of knowledge is hastening towards germination. Then succeed foreign tours:—in one of them we meet with lord Monmouth and his new marchioness at a splendid hotel in Paris, with their grandson, on a visit. Coningsby becomes a great admirer of pictures, and at a private gallery catches a glimpse of Edith Millbank, then staying at the French capital, under the guardianship of a Sir Joseph Wallinger, who had married a sister of her mother. Lady W. is a kind-hearted person, in every way disposed to bring the lovers together; forming at the same time high and just opinions with regard to the character of so well-allied a suitor. Meanwhile, *post equitem sedet atra cura:* and jealousy is as cruel as the grave. No positive declaration having been made on either side, Coningsby fancies that Edith was disposed to favour the pretensions of Sidonia, whose ubiquity, by the way, forms not the least marvellous feature in his history. The lady, on her side, chose to conceive that Harry had offered his heart and hand to the younger sister of lord Henry Sydney: and then again, when the phantom of an opulent Hebrew had flitted by, the Marquis of Beaumanoir, heir to the duke of that title, tormented Coningsby in its stead. To abbreviate such scenes and trials, we are well aware, must deprive them of all their zest and piquancy: but at last, events seem to fall into their proper places. Mr. Millbank purchases an important estate adjacent to Coningsby Castle; which terribly cuts up Lord Monmouth. There, during the absence of his grandfather from England, Harry visited his old schoolfellow, and finally declared himself to his sister. This was done in the retreat of a rustic cottage after a summer shower:

'Nature, like man, sometimes weeps for gladness. It is the joy and tenderness of her soul that seek relief; and these are summer showers. In this instance, the vehemence of her emotion was transient, though the tears kept stealing down her cheek for a long time, and gentle sighs and sobs might for some period be distinguished. The oppressive atmosphere had evaporated; the gray sullen tint had disappeared; a soft breeze came dancing up the stream; a glowing light fell upon the woods and waters; the perfume of trees, and flowers, and herbs floated around. There was a carolling of birds; a hum of happy insects in the air; freshness and stir, and a sense of joyous life pervaded all things; it seemed that the heart of all creation opened.'—Vol. iii. p. 140.

The concluding remark we consider full of power and pathos; whilst indeed the whole passage, with its mystic indefiniteness, so that we at first hardly distinguish the landscape from the lady, will bear comparison, in our judgment, with the well known and somewhat similar scene in Virgil,—

> Tecta metu petiere: ruunt de montibus amnes;
> Speluncam Dido dux et Trojanus eamdem
> Deveniunt. Prima et Tellus et pronuba Juno
> Dant signum; fulsere ignes: et conscius æther
> Connubiis: summoque ululârunt vertice nymphæ.

The course of true love is said never to run smooth; and so it turns out in this case. The elder Millbank positively forbids the match. Besides the mortal hatred between lord Monmouth and himself, which would naturally blast all prospect of comfortable settlement for the youthful pair, he had long fostered that spirit of lofty independance, which forbad alliance with aristocracy. Sundry revelations moreover are now made with respect to the mysterious portrait, too like the miniature which Coningsby had of his mother, to be mistaken. To that lady he had formerly been long engaged; when the younger son of the marquis stepped in, allured her from the most sacred pledges, incensed his proud sire almost to madness by his clandestine marriage with her, and so brought her within the reach of paternal vengeance, that an early grave opened for both the parents of that very suitor, who was about to claim the hand of his daughter. How then could Harry Coningsby form a matrimonial connection with Edith Millbank? The thought of it was insanity, and fresh events were developing themselves of the most cruel and complicated character. William the Fourth was on his death-bed; and the political world plunged into the turmoil of preparation for a general election. Darlford was a borough supposed to be open to lord Monmouth's influence; who suddenly summoned his grandson to enter the field against Mr. Millbank, for the borough adjoined their respective properties. Now was the crisis of his fortunes. Coningsby met the marquis to listen to his splendid offers, held out upon one only condition,—that of perfect subservience to his will. His success in attaining the seat was deemed certain; he was to become a cat's-paw, under the guidance of his grandfather, to procure for him the strawberry leaves of a ducal coronet, and, for himself, the revival of a secondary peerage, then in abeyance; to which last was to be added from £10,000 to £20,000 per annum, immediate or reversionary, for the maintenance of his high dignity. All this our hero manfully refused,—knowing that the alternative would be utter ruin. Rigby was forthwith sent down to Darlford in his stead, but too

late, for he was defeated by Mr. Millbank. The caricatures of the election are as good as Hogarth's. Coningsby could never hope for reconciliation with the marquis;—when suddenly the latter died. By his will, and a long series of codicils, expectations were roused and disappointed. The scene of the expectant legatees would have been a capital study for Wilkie or Crabbe. Coningsby and Sidonia were both there; the former shorn of his splendour, and reduced to an allowance for life of £300 a year. What passed through his mind seemed thought and sensation enough for a twelvemonth, compressed into the compass of a single moment: 'yet it was as the flash, that reveals a whole country, though it ceases to be, ere one can say—it lightens. There was an apocalypse to him of an inward power, that should baffle these conventional calamities; a confidence in his youth and health, and knowledge and convictions.' His Israelitish friend too helped to support him; for his intellect was that of a giant; whilst his memory 'which never had any twilight hours, but always reflected a noontide clearness, seemed to magnify his acquisitions of ancient learning, by the promptness with which they could be re-produced and applied.' Yet it was a woman after all, who was to rescue the fortunes of the New Generation from their apparently irretrievable shipwreck. The marquis had finally bequeathed the residue of his fortune, amounting to nearly a million sterling, to Flora Villebecque, whom he acknowledged as his natural daughter, although till then unrecognized, by a fashionable foreign actress. This young woman, who had remained in obscurity, remembered the kindness shewn her on a former occasion. Her own health was rapidly failing, but by her will, she constituted the ill-used disinherited Harry Coningsby sole heir to her estate. Just before her rapidly approaching decease could realize these intentions, the elder Millbank had ascertained the noble conduct of Coninsgby in refusing to oppose him at Darlford; and as the last general election of 1841 took the nation by surprise, he withdrew from all thoughts of retaining the seat on his own behalf, but proposed our hero in his place. The latter was very diligently preparing for the bar, when all at once the current of prosperity thus set in upon his prospects. He is triumphantly returned to the house of commons—is permitted to marry Edith Millbank—finds himself, through the death of Flora, the undisputed master of a princely revenue; whilst from the Coningsby Castle of his ancestors, he conscientiously trusts, like another Pythagoras, to regenerate the masses of his fellow countrymen. Such are the mere outlines of the novel, whose grand purport is the manifestation of Young England. We must now condense into a few pages some glances at its essential characteristics: and first as to its sympathies.

These, as might well be expected, are in accordance with those social systems, once so precious to the Tudors and Stuarts. The New Generation would fain roll back the wheels of civilization, and prostrate the liberties of mankind under the sceptre of autocracy. It pants, in other words, to re-erect the throne of despotism, so that the irresponsible will of one man may control millions. 'The tendency of advanced civilization,' observes Sidonia, 'is in truth to pure monarchy.' He then proceeds to assure us, that imperialism must depend, for its existence and support, upon free laws and manners, and a widely diffused intelligence; so that whenever we shall happen to grow wise enough and liberal enough, we shall set up with our own hands some such governmental hermaphrodite, as a king ruling by proclamations, over subjects nominally not slaves. 'Political compromises,' say these volumes, 'are not to be tolerated except at periods of rude transition. An educated nation recoils from the imperfect vicariate of what is called a representative government. The house of commons, which has absorbed all other powers in the state, will in all probability fall more rapidly than it rose.—Public opinion, when it acts, should appear in the form of one who has no class interests. In an enlightened age, *the monarch on the throne, free from the vulgar prejudices, and the corrupt interests of the subject, becomes again divine!*' Vol. ii. p. 309. The italics are ours, and we adopt them, to fix attention upon a revival, in our own days, of sentiments, which might make Charles the first, that blessed martyr of the Church of England, almost turn in his grave for joy. That royal divinity, however, which is to be the idol of the New Generation, will have long to wait, we humbly trust, before it can muster sufficient forces to annihilate the love of liberty in the land. We are not to be deluded out of our senses by such hollow phraseology as the following: 'The house of commons is the house of a few; but the sovereign is the sovereign of all. The proper leader of the people is the individual who sits on the throne.' Again, Coningsby says, 'Representation is not necessary, or even in a principal sense, parliamentary:' or, once more, 'Let us propose to our consideration the idea of a free monarchy, established on fundamental laws, itself the apex of a vast pile of municipal and local government, ruling an educated people, represented by a free and intellectual press.' Vol. iii. p. 103. Why, what, we would inquire, are all antiquated or modern tyrannies, but types of this very 'apex on the vast social pile?' What would become of the intellectual press,—of the fundamental laws, of the municipal liberties, subsisting as they would upon the mere fiat of the power they were intended to control? The nonsense, we are well aware, is not worth an argument, nor under this head will we do more than

adduce a sentiment which lies at the very heart of Young England, —'Man was made to adore and to obey!' for the establishment of which principle in religion and politics, king James would have embraced our author and elevated him to an earldom; or had he been in orders, he would have put him down for a mitre. The politics of the New Generation are only those of the high cavaliers, and jacobites, and Sacheverals, over again. They may be shut up within the limits of a nut-shell,—passive obedience.

So far, also, as an absolute crown may be well defended and maintained by a band of nobles, their sympathies are with an aristocracy. It is quite true, indeed, that multifarious and bitter charges are insinuated in these volumes against some of our present patricians; yet only against those, who from circumstances can never be expected to follow the banners of Coningsby. Such as are thus ready to imitate beneficent dukes, duchesses, earls, barons, and lord Henry Sydneys, are the very porcelain clay out of which the fabric of hope is to arise. Feudalism, in these pages, has undergone the most perfect metamorphosis conceivable. Its iron teeth and claws seem neither mentioned nor thought of. It is a creature, under Mr. Disraeli's pencil, of poetic fancy,—depicted in all the colours of the rainbow, and surrounded with loves, muses, affections, and graces: that is to say, just so long as it moves on the right side. Our ingenious novelist talks with such ineffable absurdity about 'the solemn sacrament of an unpolluted heart,' that he will probably never learn, how certain it is, that the possession of exclusive power and opulence can by no means be advantageous to general patriotism and philanthropy. Analogous, moreover, to the regard for aristocracy, is that prostration of soul before the hierarchy of our established church, which is to the religion of Young England, exactly what the principle of passive obedience is to its politics. Its whole faith and creed may be described as Puseyism on the largest scale. Its adherents will be civil, and even respectful to catholicism up to a certain point. They yearn for the gorgeous ceremonials of Rome, which at Clare, and Ware, and Shoreditch, and Ilford, they are vainly aspiring to ape, in a variety of bowings towards an empty place, and genuflections where there is nothing to kneel to. But it is not our opinion, that they would ever enthrone Romanism in these realms, which could only be done at their own costs and charges. Their object, in these matters, is to have a Rome of their own called Canterbury! They protest, we believe in a spirit of sincerity, because in their case it is identified with thorough selfishness, against all domination on the part of any foreign prelate whatsoever, over the rich cathedrals and bene-

fices of England, Wales, and Ireland. But they are not one whit the less willing to subjugate the three kingdoms, if they could, to a Puseyite pope at Lambeth. They would let his anglican holiness wear as much sackcloth as he liked under his purple and fine linen; nor would they allow either wife or concubine to lodge in that matchless sacerdotal palace. They would gladly consent, so soon as the public mind could be prepared for it, to another High Commission court, to weed out heresy and schism; not, perhaps, to mutilate or scourge, the world being too old for that; but most certainly to harass and annoy nonconformity,—to teach men, or at least women and children, that 'they are born to adore and to obey,'—that no true faith can ever be found '*in a nation of sectaries*,' see vol. ii. p. 181; that the church of England must 'again become universal,' vol. ii. p. 108; and that British archbishops and bishops may afford, like Laud, to refuse the cardinalate, although without the shadow of an objection to assuming all the power of the keys, usurping all the prerogatives of St. Peter, and rolling from John o' Groat's House to the Land's End, and from Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway, all the thunders of the tiara!

The New Generation professes further to sympathise with all manner of religious, or rather superstitious, and rustic mummeries. Its piety is a sort of Doctor Syntax travelling on an anxious search for the picturesque. The festivities appropriate to the incarnation, are, according to these volumes, a revival of the absurdities of the middle ages. There is to be, or there ought to be, at this most sacred season, in all rural mansions, a gathering of the peasantry, to witness the procession of the Boar's Head,—the appointment of a lord of misrule,—the ordination of an abbot of unreason, the monstrous follies of the masquerade and the hobby horse! vol. iii. p. 274. We admit that these puerilities may appear at first sight utterly contemptible, and nothing more: and yet, when we remember the old predilections of the establishment for Sunday sports, the extensive revival of Sabbath wakes, cricketings, and the like, in so many of our more retired districts in the country, where, from the declining influence of the evangelical clergy, and total absence of any other religious instruction, regard for the Lord's day, especially in the afternoon, is even much less than it was years ago,—our minds can perceive ample necessity for not being altogether off our guard. Puseyism in many places is by no means unpopular. At Oxford, an increasing squadron of young men are about to issue forth, when, to use the humourous words of good old John Newton, 'they have got both boots on,' —that is, when they shall have been ordained both deacons and

priests, to disseminate the leaven of tractarianism throughout our towns and villages. It must be remembered, that whatever may be the asceticism of a few prominent leaders, the religious principles of Young England are essentially secular and worldly. They are in accordance with the depravity of a fallen heart,—of that carnal mind which is altogether at enmity with God. Our lot has been of late to mingle not a little with them, whilst their writings have been familiar to us for years. We may affirm almost without fear of contradiction, and assuredly without that of refutation, that even their clerical supporters may figure brilliantly at the rout, and in the ball-room, or waste the midnight and early morning hours amidst the frivolities of fashion and the card-table, without losing caste in the slightest degree;—so long as the letter of church canons is not violated, so long as the severe abstinence of Lent, as well perhaps as Wednesdays and Fridays in addition, is observed, and so long as attendance upon the seven o'clock liturgical service, in a cold chapel, is not neglected. We have our eye, at the present moment, upon one of the largest, and one of the best of our public schools, where, from the warden and head-master down to the lowest tutor, every official would think it an honour to infuse the *Newmania* into the bosom of any one of their pupils. Yet Mr. Disraeli is not ignorant of that secret iniquity with which his Young England, with all its sentimental religion, remains on such comfortable terms: he thus affords us a glimpse into what he calls 'refined, but rather dissolute society: not, indeed, that a word that could call forth a maiden blush, or conduct that could pain the purest feelings, could be heard or witnessed in those polished and luxurious circles. The most exquisite taste pervaded their atmosphere; and the uninitiated, who found themselves in those perfumed chambers, and those golden saloons, might believe from all that passed before them, that their inhabitants were as pure, as orderly, and as irreproachable as their furniture. But among the habitual dwellers in these delicate halls, there was a tacit understanding, a prevalent doctrine, that required no formal exposition, no proofs and illustrations, and no gloss; which was indeed rather a traditional conviction than an imparted dogma; that the exoteric public were on many subjects the victims of very vulgar prejudices, which these enlightened personages wished neither to disturb nor to adopt,' (vol. ii. p. 285.) Let our younger readers ponder this passage well, for it is not more artfully expressed, than it is in reality truthful. An aristocracy never can be permanently favourable to genuine purity of morals. Young England would fain act the farce here, which our Charles and James, both first and second of that name, were so desirous of

patronising;—an unlimited crown, an unreal representation, an unchecked yet profligate nobility, with about as much external attractiveness as the apples of Sodom, an obsequious but potent clergy, an uninquisitive people, feeling bound *to adore and to obey*,—wealth for the church, fetters for the conscience, amusements and game laws for the great, titles and pensions for parasites,—in one word, laws for the weak, license for the strong, with chains and slavery for all!

But the sympathies of this New Generation will more plainly stand out in bold relief, if we contrast them with its antipathies; for, like lord Monmouth, it hates in certain directions, with peculiar heartiness. Puritanism, spiritual religion, and non-conformity can throw it into hysterics at any time. Such a ghost, as that of Sir Harry Vane, would scare lord Henry Sydney, alias lord John Manners, out of the world. Puritanism to the whole tribe is the horror of horrors,—the face of the Gorgon, which turns them all into stones, or dead men. This was the spirit of an age, which deprived an arch-prelate of those precious shears, with which he cropped a Leighton and a Bastwick. It pulled down pillories, and presumed to erect pulpits, wherein pastors, chosen by the people, preached to them the verities of eternity in neither a black cassock, nor a white surplice! It once broke loose from the grasp of oppression, decapitated a great lord deputy of Ireland, and girded a sword upon its thigh, before which the chivalry of England quailed. It broke the windows of sundry cathedrals, deposed certain bishops from their thrones, cut down their temporalities to an apostolic standard, and shut up the House of Lords! Hence the execrations of Young England upon the monster Puritanism. In vain for them shone forth the patriotism of a Sir John Eliot: in vain for them were the virtues of Fairfax, the administrative abilities of 'king' Pym, the learning of Owen, the poetry of Milton, the eloquence of Howe, Manton, or Flavel, and the piety of Baxter. Hampden only sacrificed himself, if we may believe Mr. Disraeli, that a Venetian constitution might supersede Magna Charta. Systems, which will not admit the spiritual instruction of a daughter of Rome, that same daughter having turned her own mother out of doors, must come under the special ban of a party, supposed to have been dead and buried ages ago; when, lo! Oxford furnishes sufficient sand and water, and we have the wheel-animals again! Who could have supposed that the non-jurors were to be so soon upon us; at least on this side the Tweed. We were aware that in Scotland they still lingered to the extent of a few dwindling thousands. It need scarcely be added that, amongst their political antipathies, liberalism stands the foremost. The New

Generation, somehow or other, have an instinctive notion, that there exists yet a talisman, which will once more wither them into next to nothingness; and they evidently imagine that radicalism is the keeper of it. It is therefore honoured with not a few of their hardest names. It is described as all over corruption. Whiggery they know well enough to be a mere caput mortuum; but popular freedom they dread worse than death, because it will extinguish their fame. Lord John Russell can do them little harm; and so he is thus rather indulgently brought before us:—

'He has that degree of imagination, which though evinced rather in sentiment than expression, still enables him to generalize from the details of his reading and experience, and to take those comprehensive views which, however easily depreciated by ordinary men in an age of routine, are indispensable to a statesman in the conjunctures in which we live. He understands, therefore, his position, and he has the moral intrepidity which prompts him ever to dare that which his interest assures him is politic. He is consequently at the same time bold and sagacious in council. As an administrator he is prompt and indefatigable. He is not a natural orator, and labours under physical deficiencies which even a Demosthenic impulse could scarcely overcome. But he is experienced in debate, quick in reply, fertile in resource, takes large views, and frequently compensates for a dry hesitating manner, by the expression of those noble truths that flash across the fancy, and rise spontaneously to the lip, of men of poetic temperament, when addressing popular assemblies. If we add to this a private life of dignified repute, the accidents of his birth and rank, which never can be severed from the man, the scion of a great historic family, and born as it were to the hereditary service of the state,—it is difficult to ascertain at what period, or under what circumstances, the whig party have ever possessed, or could obtain a more efficient leader.'—Vol. ii. pp. 261, 262.

We shall offer, in conclusion, an observation or two upon those admissions, which are made in this celebrated novel, as to the thorough hollowness of conservatism, and the inexpediency of church establishments. These are points, indeed, which, in our own way, we have long insisted on; so that it is not a little gratifying to find, that an influential section of our opponents have at last so far come over to our mind. Coningsby well demonstrates, that the policy of Sir Robert Peel, of his present supporters, and of his predecessors since the peace of Paris, is a fraud from beginning to end. He proves that thirty years ago the government of the three kingdoms was conducted by a body of men 'ignorant of every principle of every branch of political science.' According to their ideas a practical person was the personification of wisdom, meaning thereby, that he was one '*who practised the blunders*' of those going before him! The Tamworth manifesto of 1834, in professing to turn over a

new leaf, did nothing more than attempt to construct a party without principles: it fell upon a scheme of making bricks without straw; it aimed at more ability than had been evinced by that arch-mediocrity Lord Liverpool, but at the expense of having less honour and morality. 'Its basis,' says our author, 'was necessarily Latitudinarianism, and its inevitable consequence has been political infidelity!' He shows, with most caustic sarcasm, how good all this was for the leaders, who were to have place, and power, and patronage, and salary; yet how impossible it was to carry out any of their opinions, simply because they had none. 'Conservatism,' he tells us, 'assumes in theory, that everything established should be maintained, but adopts in practice, that everything that is established is indefensible.' 'Its grand aim is,' as he says afterwards, 'to carry on affairs by substituting the fulfilment of the duties of office for the performance of the functions of government, and to maintain this negative system by the mere influence of property, by reputable private conduct, and by what are called good connexions. Conservatism discards prescription, shrinks from principle, disavows progress; having rejected all respect for antiquity, it offers no redress for the present, and makes no preparation for the future.' Such is the candid acknowledgment of those who were brought into parliament for the defence and maintenance of this system, who have been admitted behind the scenes to see all the machinery set in motion, who have probed the negation to the bottom, and have discovered it to be an enormous illusion! We are informed, in the third volume, of its dangerous, violent, and capricious character, in yielding without sufficient struggle to every impulse which tends to imperil the tenure of office; and yet, when the storm is past, it 'attempts to obstruct and obviate the logical and ultimately the inevitable results of the very measures it has itself originated, or to which it has consented.' In other words, dishonesty seated the present administration at first; dishonesty still maintains them at the helm of affairs, and their own adherents now turn round and tell them so. Whiggery itself never underwent such dire degradation. But so it is, hypocrisy has a fair tongue and a winning gait, yet the shadow of vengeance is behind it.

Meanwhile, Young England would have no objection to separate from the state that episcopal church to which it peculiarly belongs. We say *peculiarly*, since it professes an affection towards its ecclesiastical parent, compared with which, the relationship and regard of all others are, but as the frost of the Polar regions. When George the Fourth died, we doubt whether ten laymen, or two clergymen could be found, who would openly denounce the alliance. There are now thousands of the former,

and hundreds of the latter, ready to do so upon all suit occasions. We know the real object which most of them l in view well enough: but, *fas est ab hoste doceri.* We are of any assistance from such quarters, without the slightest prehensions as to the supremacy of the New Generation, ei in temporals or spirituals. 'What can be more anomal declares Coningsby, 'than the present connexion between s and church?' or again, 'Their original alliance was in my an equal calamity for both the nation and the church:' or more, 'Time and thought have shown me that the church of heart is not in a position, as regards the community, conso with its original and essential character, or *with the welfa the nation!*' Well may the 'Record' rave, and the 'Chris Observer' shed tears. The following passage is too full of tion to be omitted:—'The church would do great things if it were divorced from the degrading and tyrannical conne that enchains it. You would have other bishops of Eng than men appointed solely because they were the needy s of a factitious aristocracy—men of gross ignorance, profli habits, and *grinding extortion; who have disgraced the epis throne and profaned the altar!*' The force of public opi our author admits, may in our days have rendered matters ternally a little more decent; but he adds, 'We live in de times—frigid, latitudinarian, alarmed, decorous. A prie scarcely deemed even now a fit successor of the authors of gospels, if he be not the editor of a Greek play; whilst he follows St. Paul must now at least have been private tut some young nobleman, who has taken a good degree!'—Vo p. 108. We cannot but feel that, when the crisis has arr there will be help found in Young England towards effe the desired severance; not with any sound motives we g but we think, that like Balaam, in the hands of the L High it will produce results altogether contrary to its i nation. Its bare-faced arch hypocrisy will deceive no either in polemics or politics. When, for instance, we Coningsby whining before his grandfather, that he wishes t 'authority once more honoured,—a solemn reverence rend the habit of our lives—principles established which may m tain the realm, and secure the happiness of the people— perty acknowledging, as in the old days of faith, that labo his twin brother—and that the essence of all tenure is the formance of duty';—our reply is, 'What you say is just we wish to see realized, and we will nail you to your w although convinced from your actions and general spirit, your heart and lips are opposite one to the other!' Nor is uncharitable: whether we appeal to the history of the past

the admitted aspect of the present time. The New Generation may excite intense curiosity, as it now seems to be doing; but toryism, from whence it springs, is daily becoming more and more understood as the great antagonist of the liberties of mankind, the rights of conscience, and the welfare of the universal world.

Art. VI. *The Heimskringla; or Chronicle of the Kings of Norway: translated from the Icelandic of Snorro Sturleson, with a Preliminary Dissertation.* By Samuel Laing, Esq., author of 'A Residence in Norway,' &c. 3 vols. Longman & Co.

A ROMANTIC and most spirit-stirring history is that of the Sea Kings of Norway, those fierce and resistless warriors who, beneath their raven banner, ravaged the fairest portions of Europe, dealing death alike on Gaul, and Saxon, Visigoth, and Saracen—those adventurous pirates whose barques swept along from the fiords of the farthest north to the Mediterranean, drawing tears from the eyes of Charlemagne himself, as he marked their triumphant progress—those haughty, freedom-loving colonists who impressed, wherever they went, their own free principles on the communities they formed, and their own energetic character on the people. But interesting as the history of these ocean kings must be to all who delight in tales of wild daring, or of persisting and successful enterprise, to the English reader the interest is redoubled. One-third of England was colonized by this very people, and their laws and usages were recognized and confirmed by the later Anglo-Saxon monarchs. That portion of our history indeed which relates to the incursions of this energetic race, must not be viewed as a mere episode belonging to an obscure and unimportant part of it. Their bands repeatedly drove the monarchs of the divided Saxon kingdom from their thrones, and compelled even Alfred himself to flee. Their own kings ruled over all England for four successive reigns, and their people became largely mingled with the Saxon population. The Normans themselves were a branch of the same family, and the struggle carried on against the conqueror and his successors seems to have been mainly supported by those who traced their descent from the Northmen.

In an intellectual point of view, too, the Northmen were a commanding race. Their supremacy was not that of the sword alone, but the fruits of peace followed their desolating footsteps. Wherever they settled, they conferred substantial benefits, and left indelible traces of intellectual superiority. Sicily, with her manufactures and commerce; Normandy, with her illustrious band of scholars, who restored to England the learning she

had formerly boasted, but had long lost; and Iceland, pre-eminent with her poets and historians, and her varied vernacular literature, at a period when the languages of Europe were as yet unformed—all attest this.

It is now about eighty years since popular attention was first directed, and then only incidentally—towards Icelandic literature, through the medium of Gray's spirited translation of the two well known Icelandic poems. The controversy which arose a few years later, on the origin of romance, and the endeavours of Mallet and Pinkerton to assign all the supernatural machinery of this class of literature to a northern source, familiarized the English reader still more with the mythology and literature of the farthest north; while, at a still later period, the translation of some portions of the Sagas, by the Rev. William Herbert, awakened in many minds an increasing interest in a literature which was found to possess so many features corresponding with our own. It was through the medium of the last mentioned writer that the author of the singularly graphic and spirited chronicle now before us was first introduced to notice; Sir Walter Scott in the curious notes appended to his poetical works, gave also occasional extracts from this same writer; but it was reserved for Mr. Laing to present in a complete form one of the most interesting and valuable relics of Scandinavian literature ever offered to the English reader.

The 'Heimskringla,' as the work before us has been named from the circumstance of that word, which means 'the earth's circle,' being the first in the manuscript, is a chronicle of events in Norway and its dependencies, from the fabulous times of the Yngling dynasty, which commences with Odin, to the reign of King Magnus Erlingsson, who ascended the throne in 1164, and whose victory over Eystein in 1177 is the closing event of the history. The historian, Snorro Sturleson, was born about the same period at which his history ends; he was a native of Iceland, and descended from an illustrious stock —for he held by hereditary right the dignity of a Godar, which was an office combining the functions of priest and judge, and which belonged to those who were descended from 'the twelve Diars, Drettars, or Godars,' who, according to Scandinavian tradition accompanied Odin from Asgaard. After the establishment of Christianity, the Godars still held the office of judge over a certain district; and thus Snorro Sturleson had opportunities of becoming acquainted with the early history of his race. His foster father was a man of some note, and the grandson of Saemund—a name well known to the student of northern literature—as the compiler of the older Edda, and thus, from his earliest years, Snorro became familiarized also with the literature of his country.

How early Snorro distinguished himself as a writer, or what particular work first rendered him celebrated, we know not; but in 1221, we find he made a journey to Norway on a visit to Earl Hakon Galin, who had sent to him a sword and armour in return for a poem he had composed in his honor; and finding the earl was dead, he remained at the court of King Hakon, who conferred on him the office of cup bearer. In consequence of the favour shown him by the King of Norway, suspicions seem to have been awakened in the minds of his countrymen that he sought to subvert the independence of Iceland. Mr. Laing remarks that no grounds for this charge appear; but that 'he was clearly guilty of the two greatest charges which, in a poor country and ignorant age, can be brought against a man—he was comparatively rich, and comparatively learned.' He appears also to have been more refined and luxurious than his contemporaries; for he constructed at his chief residence, in a land where stone buildings were rare, 'a bathing room of cut freestone, into which the water from a warm spring in the neighbourhood was conducted by a covered drain or pipe.' In his private character, however, there seems to have been little to admire. He was proud, rapacious, and engaged in ceaseless feuds with his children, his sons-in-law, and his brother. He subsequently visited Norway, and attached himself to the party of the rival candidate for the crown. Letters were issued by King Hakon to bring him prisoner to Norway, or to put him to death; and on this authority his three sons-in-law came by night to his residence at Reikholt, in 1241, and murdered him in the 63d year of his age.

Snorro Sturleson, as Mr. Laing justly remarks, 'must be measured not by our scale of social and moral worth, but by the scale of his own times. Measured by that scale, he will be judged to have been a man of great, but rough energy of mind; of strong selfishness, rapacity, and unrestrained passions; but a man of intellectual powers and cultivation, far above any of his contemporaries—a type of the times—a man rough, wild, vigorous in thought and deed, like the men he describes in his chronicle.'

Some other works have been attributed to Snorro Sturleson; among these is the younger Edda, but it is on this chronicle, his largest and most valuable work, that his fame must rest. Like many other important works this, until a late period, has been almost unknown even to Swedish and Danish scholars. The reason is stated by Mr. Laing to be, that it was 'frozen into Latin,' by a Swedish antiquary at the close of the sixteenth century, and thus all the spirit and freshness of the original work was lost. 'Conceive of Shakspeare translated into

Latin, or Schiller or Sir Walter Scott,' naively, remarks the translator, 'would the scholar the most versed in that language have the slightest idea of these authors or their merits.' But while the learned world had forgotten Snorro Sturleson, he was still the historian of the Norwegian and Danish people. His spirited episodes were handed down from father to son, just as the historical ballads of other countries have been; and the language having become obsolete, Olaus Wormius in 1633 published Peter Claussen's translation, and this became a house book among the residents of Norway.

The chronicle is preceded by a dissertation on the literature, religion, and social condition of the Northmen, which Mr. Laing, we think, successfully proves to have been far superior to what historians have generally supposed. The following remarks are important and just:—

'The Saxon occupation of England lasted for a similar period to the Roman, for about four hundred years. This first wave of the flood of northern populations has left among us traces of laws and institutions, and of a social character and spirit, in which many outlines of freedom and of just principles of social union are distinguishable; and left the influences on the social body of ideas, manners, language, which still exist. But these traces were nearly obliterated, and it is not to be denied that their influence on society was effête,—that in Anglo-Saxon England, as in the rest of Europe, all social arrangement, character, and spirit, were assuming one shape and hue under the pressure of superstition, and of the Roman power, institutions, and ascendency, revived through the influence of the church of Rome which had been in full operation for four centuries and a half, assimilating every thing to one form and principle,—when the second wave of the northern populations, the Danes or Northmen, came, under Swein and Canute the Great, to invigorate and renew the social elements left by the first. The moral power of this people—the Anglo-Saxons and Northmen being essentially the same people—has left deeper impressions on society, and of a nobler character, than the despotic material power of the Romans. It is in activity at the present hour in European society, introducing into every country more just ideas than those which grew up amidst the ruins of the Roman empire, of the social relations of the governing and the governed. The history of modern civilisation resolves itself, in reality, into the history of the moral influences of these two nations. All would have been Roman in Europe at this day in principle and social arrangement,—Europe would have been, like Russia or Turkey, one vast den of slaves, with a few rows in its amphitheatre of kings, nobles, and churchmen, raised above the dark mass of humanity beneath them, if three boats from the north of the Elbe had not landed at Ebbsfleet in the Isle of Thanet fourteen hundred years ago, and been followed by a succession of similar boat expeditions of the same people, marauding, conquering, and settling, during six hundred years, viz. from 449 to 1066. All that men hope for of good government and future improvement in their

physical and moral condition—all that civilized men enjoy at this day of civil, religious, and political liberty—the British constitution, representative legislature, the trial by jury, security of property, freedom of mind and person, the influence of public opinion over the conduct of public affairs, the Reformation, the liberty of the press, the spirit of the age—all that is or has been of value to man in modern times as a member of society, either in Europe or in the New World, may be traced to the spark left burning upon our shores by these northern barbarians.'—vol. i. pp. vi—viii.

Mr. Laing's subsequent remarks on the absence of an Anglo-Saxon national literature, are not marked by the same correctness. That there was much vernacular literature among our Saxon forefathers, is proved by the story of St. Aldhelm disguising himself as a minstrel, and by means of his ballads obtaining that attention from the people, which was denied him when he preached in the church; by the story of Alfred visiting the Danish camp with his harp—it being borne in mind, that instrumental music alone was never listened to; and yet more, by that pretty story, which even if it be apocryphal, is equally characteristic of the times—how when a boy, Alfred, although he disliked the labour of learning, eagerly listened to the songs of the minstrels who frequented his father's court, and learned many of them by heart; and how the book of Saxon poetry, so richly illuminated, was offered by his step-mother, queen Judith, as the prize for him who would most readily learn to read it.

Although the Danes were certainly not the uncultivated barbarians which the Saxon writers, in their case very naturally, represented them to be, it must be borne in mind that fire, as well as sword, marked their footsteps, and that manuscripts innumerable—many of them doubtless Saxon poetry—were destroyed by them. Still, notwithstanding these ravages, notwithstanding too the scorn with which the language of the conquered people was viewed by the Normans, much Saxon poetry is still extant poetry, singularly resembling the spirited extracts which we meet with in these volumes, and proving how completely the two nations were brethren in thought and in feeling. Although we cannot, therefore, agree with Mr. Laing in his views of the low state of Anglo-Saxon vernacular literature, to all that he says respecting the energetic and impulsive character of our Scandinavian invaders, we fully consent.

The following affords an excellent summary of the chief points of the religion of Odin :—

'The most permanent remains of the Odin religion are to be found in the usages and language of the descendants of the Odin worshippers. All the descendants of the great Saxon race retain the names of the three days of the week—Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday—from the Odin religion. Tuesday, perhaps, or Diss-day, on which the offerings to fate

were made, and the courts of justice held, may belong also to the number. Yule is a pagan festival kept in the pagan way, with merriment and good cheer, all over the Saxon world. Beltan is kept on Midsummer-day, all over the north of Europe, by lighting fires on the hills, and other festivities. It is but within these fifty years that trolls or seatrows, and finmen and dwarfs, disappeared in the northern parts of Scotland. Mara (the nightmare) still rides the modern Saxon in his sleep, and under the same name nearly as she did the Yngling king Vanland; and the evil one in the Odin mythology, Nokke, keeps his ground, in the speech and invocations of our common people, as Old Nick, in spite of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge. It is curious to observe how much more enduring ideas are than things—the intellectual than the material objects that mark the existence of the human species. Stone-work, and gold, and statues, and all material remains of this once general religion of the north, have disappeared from the face of the earth; yet words and ideas belonging to it remain.

'It is remarkable that in the religion of Odin, as in that of Mahomet, women appear to have had no part in the future life. We find no allusion to any Valhalla for the female virtues. The Paradise of Mahomet and the Valhalla of Odin are the same; only the one offers sensual, and the other warlike enjoyments, to the happy. They both exclude females. This is not the only coincidence. Odin appears to have stood in the same relation to Thor in Odinism that Mahomet stands in to the Supreme Being in Mahometanism. The family of Mahomet, its semi-sacred character, and its rights, as successors to the prophet, to the throne and supremacy of temporal power over Mahometans, and with equal rights of succession in equal degrees of affinity to this sacred source, is in fact the Yngling dynasty of Odinism. If Mahomet had existed 400 years earlier, he would have been in modern history one of the Odins, perhaps *the* Odin, and the person or persons we call Odin would have merged in him. The rapid conquest by Christianity over Odinism, about the beginning of the 11th century, proves that the latter was not indigenous, but imported, and belonged to different physical circumstances and a different social state. The exclusion of females from a future life, and their virtues from reward, was not suited to the physical circumstances under which men live in the North, although among a people living on horseback in the plains of Asia the female may hold no higher social estimation than the horse. Christianity, by including the female sex in its benefits, could not but prevail in the North over Odinism.—ib., pp. 91-3.

We must, however, pass on to the chronicle itself. This begins, like all the chronicles of the middle ages, prose or poetical, with a description of 'the earth's surface.' In this manner Elfric's curious chronicle of the Saxon monarchs, and Wace's rhymed one of the dukes of Normandy, and Benoit St. More's, on the same subject, also begin. In the chronicle before us the the site of Sarmatia, from the neighbourhood of which Odin is believed to have migrated, is accurately enough described. 'Eastward of the Tanais there was a land called Asaland, the

chief city of which was Asgaard,' (supposed by many northern scholars to be Chasgar in the Caucasian ridge), 'and in that city was a chief called Odin, and it was a great place for sacrifice.' Snorro's account of Odin is very obscure, truth and fable being seemingly inextricably mingled. He appears to have been a conqueror rather than a colonist, and to have combined the priestly with the judicial functions. He unquestionably belonged to a people superior in civilization to the rude dwellers of the north, and doubtless it was from him they derived that knowledge of the useful arts which enabled them to profit so largely by the treasures of their mines. The supernatural qualities which Snorro so abundantly assigns to Odin, seem to us to prove beyond all doubt an oriental source, both of him and his religion. His laying his hand on the heads of his followers, to ensure them victory in battle; his power of stilling tempests and raising the dead by magic songs; his power of transforming himself into any shape; his understanding 'the songs, by which the earth, the hills, the stones and mounds were opened to him; and he bound these who dwelt in them by the power of his word, and went in and took what he pleased:' how strongly do all these marvels remind us of the earliest tales of eastern superstition. Odin also carried about a human head, preserved by magical art; 'and he sang incantations over it; and thereby he gave it the power that it spoke to him, and discovered many secrets.' The reader familiar with tales of oriental magic, will immediately recognize the fable of this head—for it may be met with in the Persian, Arabian, and even Jewish legends; nay, it survived to comparatively modern times, for one of the charges brought against the Templars was their having such a head in their possession.

Odin died in his bed, commanding his body to be burned, and directing the same rule to be adopted for succeeding kings. This practice, which never could prevail in the north, affords the last confirmation, we think, of the oriental source of the Odin religion, and proves too how little suited it was to the people upon whom it was imposed. Indeed long before the establishment of christianity, we find that many of their kings were buried under mounds, instead of being burnt.

The chronicle of the successors of Odin presents that mixture of truth and fable which the early history of all countries exhibits. Snorro, however, passes rapidly over this portion, and with the saga of Halfdan the Black, who reigned about 840-60, authentic history begins. Halfdan's grandson was king Hakon the Good—a title given him by the Scalds, apparently because, although a christian, he did not wage such a fierce and sanguinary warfare against the worshippers of Odin, as his successors

did. Hakon was brought up in England by king Athelstan. Here are some of his laws, which seem to mark an advancing state of civilization:—

'King Hakon after this battle made a law, that all inhabited land over the whole country along the sea-coast, and as far back from it as the salmon swims up in the rivers, should be divided into ship-raths according to the districts; and it was fixed by law how many ships there should be from each district, and how great each should be, when the whole people were called out on service. For this outfit the whole inhabitants should be bound, whenever a foreign army came to the country. With this came also the order that beacons should be erected upon the hills, so that every man could see from the one to the other; and it is told that a war-signal could thus be given in seven days, from the most southerly beacon to the most northerly Thing-seat in Halogaland.'—ib., pp. 333-4.

Hakon, like all the Norse-kings, was a great warrior. After a reign of twenty-six years, he was killed in battle; and the story of this last conflict is given with true Homeric spirit. We subjoin an extract or two, as they exhibit a curious instance of the discipline of men, whom we have been accustomed to consider as mere barbarians, and of their free principles. King Hakon was at a feast, when a gallant armanent sailed into view.

'Then one of them went into the room and asked Eyvind Finsson to come out as fast as possible, for it was very needful. Eyvind immediately came out, and went to where he could see the ships, and saw directly that a great army was on the way; and he returned in all haste into the room, and, placing himself before the king, said, 'Short is the hour for acting, and long the hour for feasting.' The king cast his eyes upon him, and said, 'What now is in the way?' Eyvind said—

'Up, king! the avengers are at hand!
Eric's bold sons approach the land!
The judgment of the sword they crave
Against their foe. Thy wrath I brave;
Tho' well I know 'tis no light thing
To bring war-tidings to the king,
And tell him 'tis no time to rest.
Up! gird your armour to your breast:
Thy honour's dearer than my life;
Therefore I say, up to the strife!'

'Then said the king, 'Thou art too brave a fellow, Eyvind, to bring us any false alarm of war.' The others all said it was a true report. The king ordered the tables to be removed, and then he went out to look at the ships; and when it could be clearly seen that these were ships of war, the king asked his men what resolution they should take—whether to give battle with the men they had, or go on board ship and sail away northwards along the land. 'For it is easy to see,' said he, 'that we must now fight against a much greater force than we ever had against us before; although we thought just the same the last time we

fought against Gunhild's sons.' No one was in a hurry to give an answer to the king; but at last, Eyvind replied to the king's speech —

'Thou who in the battle-plain
Hast often poured the sharp spear-rain!
Ill it beseems our warriors brave
To fly upon the ocean wave:
To fly upon the blue wave north,
When Harald from the south comes forth,
With many a ship riding in pride
Upon the foaming ocean tide;
With many a ship and southern viking,—
Let us take shield in hand, brave king.'

'The king replied, 'Thy counsel, Eyvind, is manly, and after my own heart; but I will hear the opinion of others upon this matter.' Now, as the king's men thought they discerned what way the king was inclined to take, they answered that they would rather fall bravely and like men than fly before the Danes; adding, that they had often gained the victory against greater odds of numbers. The king thanked them for their resolution, and bade them arm themselves; and all the men did so. The king put on his armour, and girded on his sword, Quernbiter, and put a gilt helmet upon his head, and took a spear in his hand, and a shield by his side. He then drew up his court-men and the bonders in one body, and set up his banner.'—ib., pp. 340, 341.

King Hakon bore himself right bravely, and stood conspicuous with his golden helmet; Eyvind, the scald, keeping close to him, fighting, and singing war-songs; but from that fight he never returned; he died of his wounds, and was buried 'in full armour, and with his best clothes,' under a great mound. His faithful scald, however, survived to sing his deeds, and 'how well he was received in Valhalla.' This poem, named 'Hakonarmal,' is subjoined in a very spirited translation. It is a noble poem, and most characteristic of the haughty kings of the ocean. The following is a part:—

'In Odin's hall an empty place
Stands for a king of Yngve's race;
'Go, my valkyriars,' Odin said,
'Go forth, my angels of the dead,
Gondul and Skögul, to the plain
Drenched with the battle's bloody rain,
And to the dying Hakon tell
Here in Valhalla he shall dwell.'

'At Stord, so late a lonely shore,
Was heard the battle's wild uproar;
The lightning of the flashing sword
Burned fiercely at the shore of Stord.
From levelled halberd and spear-head
Life-blood was dropping fast and red;

And the keen arrows' biting sleet
Upon the shore at Stord fast beat.

'With batter'd shield, and blood-smear'd sword,
Sits one beside the shore at Stord,
With armour crushed and gashed sits he,
A grim and ghastly sight to see;
And round about in sorrow stand
The warriors of his gallant band:
Because the king of Döglin's race
In Odin's hall must fill a place.

'Then up spake Gondul, standing near,
Resting upon his long ash spear,—
'Hakon, the gods' cause prospers well,
And thou in Odin's halls shalt dwell!'
The king beside the shore of Stord
The speech of the valkyriar heard,
Who sat there on his coal-black steed,
With shield on arm and helm on head.

'Thoughtful, said Hakon, 'Tell me why,
Ruler of battles, victory
Is so dealt out on Stord's red plain?
Have we not well deserved to gain?'
'And is it not as well dealt out?'
Said Gondul. Hearest thou not the shout?
The field is cleared—the foemen run—
The day is ours—the battle won!'

'Then Skogul said, 'My coal-black steed,
Home to the gods I now must speed,
To their green home to tell the tiding
That Hakon's self is thither riding.'
To Hermod and to Braga then
Said Odin, 'Here, the first of men,
Brave Hakon comes, the Norseman's king,—
Go forth, my welcome to him bring.'

'Fresh from the battle-field came in,
Dripping with blood, the Norsemen's king.
'Methinks,' said he, 'great Odin's will
Is harsh, and bodes me further ill:
Thy son from off the field to-day
From victory to snatch away!'
But Odin said, 'Be thine the joy
Valhalla gives, my own brave boy!'

'And Braga said, 'Eight brothers here
Welcome thee to Valhalla's cheer,
To drain the cup, or fights repeat
Where Hakon Eric's earls beat.'

Quoth the stout king, 'And shall my gear,
Helm, sword, and mail-coat, axe and spear,
Be still at hand? 'Tis good to hold
Fast by our trusty friends of old.'—ib., pp. 346—347.

In the saga of King Olaf Tryggvesson, we have some curious accounts of the conversion,—if we may use such a term,—of the north-men to christianity. Bribes, or threats, seem to have been unsparingly used, and the whole of religion seems to have consisted in being baptized, and eating fish on fast days. Singularly enough, the kings themselves, rather than ecclesiastics, were the missionaries; and certainly, with all their faults, the clergy of that day managed, in a far more christian like manner, than those blood thirsty warriors. Indeed, we could not point to a greater contrast, than that which the history of Bede, and the letters of Boniface, the apostle of Germany, present, to Snorro's account of the christianizing of Norway, and Iceland. Here is one specimen.

'The same harvest, king Olaf summoned the bonders to a Thing of the four districts at Drogseid, in Stad; and there the people from Sogn, the Fiord district, South Möre, and Raumsdal, were summoned to meet. King Olaf came there with a great many people who had followed him from the eastward, and also with those who had joined him from Rogaland and Hordaland. When the king came to the Thing, he proposed to them there, as elsewhere, christianity; and as the king had such a powerful host with him, they were frightened. The king offered them two conditions,—either to accept christianity, or to fight. But the bonders saw they were in no condition to fight the king, and resolved, therefore, that all the people should agree to be baptised. The king proceeded afterwards to Forth Möre, and baptised all that district. He then sailed to Lade, in Drontheim; had the temple there rased to the ground; took all the ornaments and all property out of the temple, and from the gods in it; and among other things, the great gold ring which Earl Hakon had ordered to be made, and which hung in the door of the temple; and then had the temple burnt.'—ib., pp. 431, 432.

Here is a different one. Olaf meets with some Icelanders.

'When Michaelmas came, the king had high mass sung with great splendour. The Icelanders went there, and listened to the fine singing and the sound of the bells; and when they came back to their ships, every man told his opinion of the christian man's worship. Kiartan expressed his pleasure at it, but most of the others scoffed at it; and it went according to the proverb, 'The king has many ears,' for this was told to the king. He sent immediately that very day, a message to Kiartan to come to him. Kiartan went to the king with some men, and the king received him kindly. Kiartan was a very stout and handsome man, and of ready and agreeable speech. After the king and Kiartan had conversed a little, the king asked him to adopt christianity. Kiartan replies, that he would not say no to that, if he thereby obtained the king's friendship;

and as the king promised him the fullest friendship, they were soon agreed. The next day, Kiartan was baptised, together with his relation, Bolle Thorleikson, and all their fellow-travellers. Kiartan and Bolle were the king's guests as long as they were in their white baptismal clothes, and the king had much kindness for them. Wherever they came, they were looked upon as people of distinction.

'As king Olaf one day was walking in the street, some men met him, and he who went the foremost saluted the king. The king asked the man his name, and he called himself Halfred.

'"Art thou the scald?" said the king.

'"I can compose poetry," replied he.

'"Wilt thou, then, adopt christianity, and come into my service?" asked the king.

'"If I am baptized," replies he, "it must be on one condition,—that thou thyself art my godfather; for none other will I have."

'The king replies, "That I will do." And Halfred was baptised, the king holding him during the baptism.'—ib., pp. 451—452.

Halfred the scald, continued firm to his godfather; he stood beside him at his death, which was in battle, against Sweyn, the father of our Canute, and he sung his deeds. The next Saga places us on English ground, for it details the warlike doings of Saint Olaf, who aided Ethelred the Unready, in regaining his kingdom from the Danes. It was this King Olaf who sailed up the Thames, and laying cables round the piles of London bridge, broke it down, and proceeded up the river, as far as the mouth of the Fleet, where his ships anchored. And therefore says Ottar Swarte:—

"London Bridge is broken down,—
Gold is won, and bright renown.
Shields resounding,
War-horns sounding,
Hildur shouting in the din!
Arrows singing,
Mail-coats ringing—
Odin makes our Olaf win!"

'And he also composed these—

"King Ethelred has found a friend:
Brave Olaf will his throne defend—
In bloody fight
Maintain his right,
Win back his land
With blood-red hand,
And Edmund's son upon his throne replace—
Edmund, the star of every royal race!"

'Sigvat also relates as follows:—

''At London Bridge stout Olaf gave
Odin's law to his war-men brave—
'To win or die!'
And their foemen fly.
Some by the dyke-side refuge gain—
Some in their tents on Southwark plain!
This sixth attack
Brought victory back.'—vol. ii. p. 10.

The extracts from the songs of the scalds which are interspersed throughout this chronicle, give great spirit and force to the narrative, and are most valuable as specimens of vernacular poetry, so many ages ago. Sigvat, who was a favourite scald of King Olaf, celebrated Canute in his songs, and when he set forth with his 'dragon ship,' so large and noble that 'it had sixty ranks of rowers, and the head was gilt all over, and the sails were in stripes red, blue, and green.'

''Canute is out beneath the sky—
Canute of the clear blue eye!
The king is out on the ocean's breast,
Leading his grand fleet from the West.
On to the East the ship-masts glide,
Glancing and bright each long-ship's side.
The conqueror of great Ethelred,
Canute, is there, his foeman's dread:
His dragon with her sails of blue,
All bright and brilliant to the view,
High hoisted on the yard-arms wide,
Carries great Canute o'er the tide.
Brave is the royal progress—fast
The proud ship's keel obeys the mast,
Dashes through foam, and gains the land,
Raising a surge on Lymfiord's strand.'—ib., p. 244.

King Harald Hardrada, the nephew of Olaf, the saint, was a great warrior. He lost his life in England, whither he had come to aid Toste in his contest with his brother Harald, for the kingdom. The following supplies an interesting episode of English history, near Stamford.

'King Harald Godwinsson had come with an immense army, both of cavalry and infantry. Now King Harald Sigurdsson rode around his array, to see how every part was drawn up. He was upon a black horse, and the horse stumbled under him, so that the king fell off. He got up in haste, and said, 'A fall is lucky for a traveller.'

'The English king Harald said to the Northmen who were with him, 'Do ye know the stout man who fell from his horse, with the blue kirtle and the beautiful helmet?'

''That is the king himself,' said they.

'The English king said, 'A great man, and of stately appearance is he; but I think his luck has left him.'

'Twenty horsemen rode forward from the Thingmen's troops against the Northmen's array; and all of them, and likewise their horses, were clothed in armour.

'One of the horsemen said, 'Is Earl Toste in this army?'

'The earl answered, 'It is not to be denied that ye will find him here.'

'The horseman says, 'Thy brother, King Harald, sends thee salutation, with the message that thou shalt have the whole of Northumberland; and rather than thou shouldst not submit to him, he will give thee the third part of his kingdom to rule over along with himself.'

'The earl replies, 'This is something different from the enmity and scorn he offered last winter; and if this had been offered then it would have saved many a man's life who now is dead, and it would have been better for the kingdom of England. But if I accept of this offer, what will he give King Harald Sigurdsson for his trouble?'

'The horseman replied, 'He has also spoken of this; and will give him seven feet of English ground, or as much more as he may be taller than other men.'

''Then,' said the earl, 'go now and tell King Harald to get ready for battle; for never shall the Northmen say with truth that Earl Toste left King Harald Sigurdsson to join his enemy's troops, when he came to fight west here in England. We shall rather all take the resolution to die with honour, or to gain England by a victory.'

'Then the horseman rode back.

'King Harald Sigurdsson said to the earl, 'Who was the man who spoke so well?'

'The earl replied, 'That was King Harald Godwinsson.'

'Then said King Harald Sigurdsson, 'That was by far too long concealed from me; for they had come so near to our army, that this Harald should never have carried back the tidings of our men's slaughter.'

'Then said the earl, 'It was certainly imprudent for such chiefs, and it may be as you say; but I saw he was going to offer me peace and a great dominion, and that, on the other hand, I would be his murderer if I betrayed him; and I would rather he should be my murderer than I his, if one of two be to die.''—vol. iii. p. 88—90.

The battle accordingly took place, and Harald Hardrada was killed. Hitherto, the songs of the scalds appear to have been devoted to war, and adventure. The spirit of chivalry, however, which was now awakening throughout Europe, is discernible in the songs which King Magnus Barefoot, who reigned at the close of the eleventh century, made upon his lady-love—said by Torfaeus to have been the daughter of the emperor Henry the Fifth, of Germany.

We had intended to furnish specimens, but our space is exhausted.

King Magnus did not obtain her, he was killed in battle at an early age. Most of the later kings of Norway, seem to have composed songs, some of them very spirited. With the following, made by King Sigurd Inge, whilst hiding from his enemies, we conclude:—

'Far up the fiord there is a cave in the rock: in that place Sigurd sat with his followers, who were above twenty men, secretly, and hung a grey cloth before the mouth of the hole, so that no person could see them from the strand. Thorleif Skieppe, and Einar son of Ogmund of Sund, and of Gudrun daughter of Einar Aresson of Reikiaholm, procured food for Sigurd during the winter. It is said that Sigurd made the Laplanders construct two boats for him during the winter up in the fiord; and they were fastened together with deer sinews, without nails, and with twigs of willow instead of knees, and each boat could carry twelve men. Sigurd was with the Laplanders while they were making the boats; and the Laplanders had good ale, with which they entertained Sigurd. Sigurd made these lines on it:—

''In the Lapland tent
Brave days we spent,
Under the grey birch tree;
In bed or on bank
We knew no rank,
And a merry crew were we.

''Good ale went round
As we sat on the ground,
Under the grey birch tree;
And up with the smoke
Flew laugh and joke,
And a merry crew were we.'—ib., p. 243.

We have been rather profuse in our extracts from this curious, and most characteristic old history. But it is long since we have met with a work so spirited, and so amusing, and at the same time affording such valuable information respecting a race to whom we are so largely indebted, as this venerable chronicle of Snorro Sturleson.

Art. VII. *Notices of the state of Religion in Geneva and Belgium.* By H. Heugh, D.D. Glasgow: James Maclehose, 83, Buchanan-street. 1844.

THOUSANDS of our countrymen visit the Continent every year for the gratification of desires as varied as the rank, circumstances, and mental culture of the tourists. They travel through France, Belgium, and Switzerland, gaze on landscapes of mag-

nificent width and beauty, ascend mountains, float on lakes, and pause on battle-fields, survey cathedral and baronial towers, and return home again supplied only with materials for a few days loquacity, in describing the weather they enjoyed, the costume or *patois* that struck them; or in debating what was the cheapest and best of the hotels, or the smartest among the *conducteurs*. A few vague reminiscences of scenery and manners may cling to them, to which they make frequent appeal, in proof that they have been abroad. Sometimes the traveller returns from his hasty tour, and sets himself to instruct such as tarry at home in the political and religious character of distant countries. Often has the religion of continental countries been sketched and pourtrayed after a brief and rapid visit to them. But how frequently are we compelled in such cases to mourn over the sophism lurking in the adage, '*Ex uno disce omnes.*' The traveller has given us his own impressions, gathered from an imperfect survey, or from the gossip of some random associate; and a town or district has its religious character stamped on principles as fortuitous as the distributions of a lottery. The description given of the Christianity of any portion of the route a visitor has passed over, usually depends on the nature of that society into which the tourist chanced to be thrown.

The book before us is the result of foreign travel, but the nature of its contents, the authority of its statements, and the sources of the information contained in it, come not within the scope of these reprehensions. What its revered author saw and heard is indeed noted down, but the greater portion of the book rests on documentary evidence. As far as concerns the account of Geneva, the publications of Malan, Gaussen, Vinet, and Merle D'Aubigne, are often and amply quoted in proof of the author's assertion. The best eulogy which we can pronounce on these 'Notices' is, that they are trust-worthy in the highest degree, combining the soberness of historical truth, with the vivacious sketching of personal observation. The style of composition employed in the treatise is thus accounted for in the preface:—'The following chapters contain the substance of six addresses, delivered in the course of November and December last, accompanied with some modifications and considerable additions. The chapter on Belgium is the substance of a lecture delivered in April last, in Edinburgh, at the request of the Continental Society of that city. All the subjects treated would have admitted of much enlargement; but I was desirous of presenting them in a form as condensed as their importance would allow.'

Dr. Heugh spent some time last year in Geneva and its

vicinity. His immediate object was to recruit those energies which laborious and successful service in his Master's cause had well nigh exhausted. He found himself at once in intimate communion with 'the saints and the excellent' in the place of his temporary abode. 'In them was his delight.' His Christian sympathies were with them in their extraordinary efforts to revive evangelical religion in the apostate cantons. The history, character, and success of their struggles became familiar to him, and weeks were spent in the society of these modern Genevese reformers—men who have proved themselves the worthy successors of Calvin, Vinet, and Farel.

When Dr. Heugh returned home, he delivered these lectures on the Religion of the Continent, at the request of many Christian friends. They give an interesting account of Geneva, its scenery and institutions, of its early religious history, its past glory and subsequent declension. They enter at length, calmly and shrewdly, into the causes of this fatal degeneracy. The revival begun at Geneva is then traced and illustrated in many of its happy results. One interesting chapter occurs on the state of Belgium. Especial attention is given in the concluding chapters to the question of the separation of church and state; —a question becoming every day more pregnant with consequences in the valleys of Switzerland. Dr. Heugh has himself laboured widely and well in that department of Christian exertion; and none are entitled to higher honour than they who attempt to bring about the second reformation. The facts respecting the state church of Geneva are fearfully ominous. The influence of the state upon religion there, is noxious in the extreme. Evangelical religion is proscribed—Socinianism is patronized. The purity and freedom of the church are indissolubly associated. She needs not the foreign incumbrance of state support, or the crushing patronage of civic rank. 'The Highest himself shall establish her.'

It is one object of Dr. Heugh's book to stir up the sympathies of British Christians with continental evangelism. We owe much to the men of former days in France and Switzerland. Rome is more active now than at any period since the epoch of Luther. Let these 'Notices' stimulate our energies, our prayer, our liberality. We despair not of these continental protestant churches. The spirit of former days is about to be revived. The memory of Du Plessis, Mornay, Du Moulin, Blondel, Du Bose, Daille, Drelincourt, the Turretini, Pictet, &c., are deeply revered, and their works extensively studied. At present we might point in France to Grand Pierre Audebez, the Monods, Panmier, and, in addition to names already mentioned in Geneva, to Bost, Galland and Olivier,—all contending

for the faith once delivered to the saints, and authors of publications bearing on the cause of evangelical truth. Or we might refer to such laymen as Trouchin, Rougemont, of Neuchâtel, Lutteroth, editor of the 'Semeur,' Count de Gasparin, or to such pious authoresses as Mademoiselles de Chabaud, Latoir, and Herminie Charannes. To those who wish to increase their information on these exciting topics, we earnestly recommend the perusal of Dr. Heugh's treatise. We make no extracts in this too-short notice. There are not a few paragraphs we might quote, to show our readers the style and character of this production. We commend it to all who love to regard the work of the Lord, and to consider the operation of his hands—to all who are exclaiming in trembling anticipation, 'Watchman, what of the night?' Its statements are at once interesting in their nature, and satisfactory in the evidence of their truth,—written in an attractive and elegant style, and deeply imbued with a spirit of earnest devotion to the cause of the Redeemer, to the revival of vital piety at home, the reformation of the churches on the Continent, and the extension of the gospel to the heathen world.

Art. VIII. *The History of Ten Years.* 1830-1840. By Louis Blanc. 8vo. London: Chapman and Hall, Strand.

We took up this volume on the faith of some daily and periodical reviewers, whose praises, very liberally bestowed, had led us to anticipate that the author had accomplished a most difficult—an almost impossible task; that of writing, in a pure spirit of truth and independence, the history of his own times. We regret to say that our hopes were disappointed: nay, even after reading the first two pages of the introduction, we hesitated to go any further into the work. The strained and utterly inaccurate parallels, the far fetched and preposterous reflections, and the sententious, declamatory, bombastic style of the opening sentences, were indicative much more of imagination and conceit, than of that investigating mind and sound judgment which ought to be the first qualifications of a historian. However, we resolved to pursue the attentive perusal of the work, in the hope of finding, in some parts, a few redeeming merits; and with the intention of deriving for ourselves, and, we hope, for our readers, some benefit, even from the defects of the author and the errors of his production—defects and errors which are not peculiar to M. Louis Blanc, but are the characteristics of the new school in all branches of French literature.

According to the rules of the new school, history is no longer a faithful record of well ascertained events, with a laborious investigation of their causes and of their probable consequences. The modern French school 'a changé tout cela.' The writer chooses what he is pleased to call a principle; then he arranges, combines, and even distorts the facts and events which have occurred, so as to make them corroborative of his principle; and he is a historian. Louis Blanc's principle is, that every thing which has occurred, since the beginning of the French revolution, is the work of the *bourgeoisie*, equally hostile to the people and to the aristocracy. In France, as well as in England, during the last fourteen years, a set of deluded or mischievous men have taken, and they continue to take, great pains in setting the working classes against the middle classes. The working men in France are designated as 'les prolétaires;' and, as they always call their employers, 'mon bourgeois,' it follows that all persons of real property or capital are thus, under the name of '*bourgeoisie*,' represented as the enemies of the people. The natural result is a lamentable division, which leaves both the working and the middle classes, the 'prolétaires' and the 'bourgeois' at the mercy of the oligarchs and of the rulers of the country. In our present circumstances, we consider it a duty to protest against such false representations, to proclaim that the working men and the middle classes have a common interest, which they cannot promote but by their union; and we denounce as the enemies of freedom and of their country, those who, here or elsewhere, throw the seeds of discord and hatred among the popular classes.

Such is avowedly the principal object of Louis Blanc, in the volume before us; and therefore we think it of the utmost importance to examine how far he is justified in his accusations against the French 'bourgeoisie,' which he represents,* as 'arriving at political power through the constituent assembly;' as 'accomplishing the downfall of the empire, and the accession of Louis the Eighteenth;' as causing 'all the political movements of the Restoration, by its efforts to enthral the royal authority, without destroying it;' and as having 'placed a prince on the throne, who owed his authority to its gift alone.' In our examination, we shall not imitate our author, and content ourselves with mere assertions: we shall refer to the best authorities, to confute the statements of Louis Blanc.

The Constitution of 1791 gave political power not to the 'bourgeoisie' only, but to the majority of the people, to all the active citizens (*citoyens actifs*), of twenty-five years of age, pay-

* Pp. 2, and 266.

ing an annual contribution equal to three days' work (about two shillings and sixpence), and inscribed on the rolls of the national guard. These active citizens, according to that constitution, elected all the civic officers of all the administrations and the judges of the courts of law. They did not immediately elect the members of the legislature; but, in every commune, the 'active citizens' elected one elector for every hundred of themselves. The qualification for an elector was, firstly, an income of £8 11s. a year, or the occupation of a house of £6 a year, in towns of more than six thousand inhabitants. Secondly, in the towns under six thousand inhabitants, an income of £6 a year, or the occupancy of a house of £4 a year. Thirdly, in rural parishes, an income of £4 a year. No property qualification was imposed on the legislators. And this is what our author calls, giving political power to the 'bourgeoisie!'

No doubt the Constitution of 1793 went further. All citizens of twenty-one years of age were 'active citizens.' Without any property qualification, they immediately elected their representatives in the legislative assembly, and for that purpose met every year on the first of May at the chief place in their cantons, in primary assemblies (*assemblées primaires*). They also, in these assemblies, gave their assent to, or expressed their dissent from the laws passed by the legislators, and besides, elected, from among themselves, electors to choose men proper for all civil or judicial offices.

The Constitution of 1796 maintained the primary assemblies, composed of all the citizens, of twenty-one years of age, without property qualification. These assemblies annually elected all the civil and judicial officials of their cantons, besides one departmental elector for every two hundred members of the primary assemblies. These departmental electors appointed all the judges, the jury, the administrators of the department, and the legislators, who were then divided into two chambers, 'Le conseil des 500,' and 'Le conseil des anciens.' They also elected candidates for the directory of the republic. In all these constitutions, the 'bourgeoisie' had no advantage over the 'prolétaires.' The last, which perhaps was the best, was put an end to by the conspiracy of the eighteenth Brumaire, which placed at the head of the republic, Bonaparte, a deserter from his army in Egypt.

Under the constitution concocted by the new ruler and his confidant, Sièyes, the French government consisted of three consuls, a senate, a corps legislatif, and a tribunate. The government reserved to itself the legislative initiative. The laws were first presented by the government to the tribunes, who discussed them; and, if they adopted them, they introduced them,

and explained the motives of their acceptation, to the corps legislatif. No further discussion was permitted to the legislators, who were obliged to vote upon the bills, by ballot. Afterwards, the law was introduced to the senate, and passed in the same manner.

This constitution maintained the active citizens at twenty-one years of age. These citizens chose from among themselves, in communal assemblies, a tenth of their total number, and thus formed a list of individuals, from among whom all the administrators of the arrondissement were to be chosen.

All the persons thus selected then met in the chief town of the arrondissement, and selected a tenth of their number, of whom they also formed a list, from which the departmental administrators were to be taken. Finally, the individuals inscribed on this departmental list, similarly formed a fourth list, comprising a tenth of their own number, from which the national administrators were to be taken, by the government. For, by this constitution, the government reserved to itself the appointment of all the public functionaries. Tribunes, legislators, senators, and even electors, were considered as such, and were all chosen by the government.

No wonder that, with such a constitution, and the citizens being prevented from meeting more than once every three years for the formation of their lists, the consulate of Bonaparte was so soon exchanged for the imperial dignity, and a new constitution framed, which abolished the tribunate, got rid of the sole deliberating body, as well as of the communal assemblies, and laid the foundations of the administrative despotism, which has been so carefully maintained, nay, even more, so wonderfully extended under the Restoration, and since the revolution of July. In all the constitutional vicissitudes which we have rapidly enumerated, the middle classes, and the working classes, the 'bourgeoisie,' and the 'prolétaires,' constantly, were equally benefited or injured. Both, under Napoleon, were equally helpless; and it is absurd to pretend, that the overthrow of the empire was owing to the 'bourgeoisie.'

The work of M. Louis Blanc shows, that he is not above forty years of age, and we are inclined to think he is many years younger. He has seen nothing; he has read very little, as now is generally the case with French writers; and he knows very little indeed, if anything, of those times, and of the first years of the Restoration. Imagination makes up for this ignorance, and enables him to offer a sort of demonstration of his theory; but, unfortunately for him, all his statements and arguments are in opposition to facts, as we are going to show, with regard to the downfall of Napoleon, and the restoration of the Bourbons.

After many years of unequalled successes, Napoleon, defeated by the elements in 1812, saw the whole of Europe rise in arms against his domination; and, fifteen months after the disastrous retreat from Moscow, the frontiers of France were covered with the almost innumerable armies of the European sovereigns. To make head against so many enemies, advancing, with unparalleled concert, on the French capital, was more than mere military genius, even of the highest order, could accomplish. This had been done in 1792 and 1793, but less by the bravery and talents of the leaders, however great, than by the national energy called into action by the unanimous conviction, that national interests were at stake, and that the people were fighting for freedom, national independence, and self-government. In 1814, no such feelings could rouse the French people. The imperial despotism was certainly not worth fighting for; and this explains why the population remained indifferent, when they did not receive the invaders as their liberators. These facts cannot be denied. We witnessed that invasion, and saw the principal events that occurred during its course from Antwerp to Lyons, Bayonne, and Paris; and we affirm, that, every where, the people of all classes, with some few individual exceptions, were, or seemed, unconcerned in the gigantic struggle which was to decide their fate.

Louis Blanc founds on the capitulation of Paris, in 1814, his principal argument in support of his theory on the influence of the 'bourgeoisie,' and strives hard to prove, that it was easy to defend the capital. Unfortunately for his cause, all his statements upon this point are untrue. He maintains, that the garrison of Paris amounted to more than thirty thousand men, besides the national guard; whereas, there were only the depôts of a few regiments, and of the imperial guard, convalescents and recruits, with four companies of veterans, the whole not amounting to six thousand men; while the armed national guards were not above twenty-five thousand. As to the fortifications, they consisted of some 'chevaux de frise' placed at the entrance of the barriers, and which could not resist five minutes the axes of as many sappers. The corps d'armée of Marmont was not above ten thousand men; and that of Marshal Mortier under eight thousand.* The two corps d'armée, which had executed their junction on the 13th of March, had to defend Paris on the 30th of the same month, with the 25,000 national guards, commanded by Marshal Moncey, against an army of more than 80,000 men. So much for the accuracy of the enumeration, presented by the author, of the forces disposable for the defence of the capital of France.

After giving this enumeration, he says: (p. 6.) 'Paris had

* We had this fact from Marshal Mortier himself.

been threatened for several months; consequently, there had been all needful time to organize the *personnel* of the defence. Whence comes it then, that, when the enemy was at our gates, nothing was found in readiness for his reception?' We answer, that the coalesced armies did not enter France, till after the 1st January, 1814; and, therefore, in March, Paris had not been threatened for several months. But, even had this been the case, the inhabitants of Paris were completely ignorant of the approaching danger. It had been the principal study of the imperial government, during its whole existence, to keep the people in ignorance of all political matters, even of the most important events, unless they were a good text for a panegyric of Napoleon le Grand; and the censors of the press, Etienne, Jay,* Tissot, and others, with a number of scribblers, among whom was young M. Guizot, had zealously promoted the object of the government, the extinction of political life in the nation. To show how these worthies accomplished their task, we will give our readers the contents of the two principal newspapers of that epoch, the 'Moniteur,' and the 'Journal de l'Empire,' during the week which preceded the battle and capitulation of Paris.

March 23. *Moniteur.*—No news of any sort. A literary review of the works of Ducis, and an article on weights and measures. *Journal de l'Empire.*—News of the armies. They are in Champain. Napoleon slept at Arcis sur Aube, the 20th. A description of the gallery of pictures of M. Didot, on sale. An article on a new French Grammar; and another on the Sermons of Bourdaloue.

March 24. *Moniteur.*—No news whatever. An article on 'Zoonomie, ou lois de la vie organique;' and another on the Geography of Malte-brun. *Journal de l'Empire.*—Arrival in Paris of a numerous column of Russian and Prussian prisoners. Article on the works of Ducis; another on the play, 'La Coquette Corrigée.'

March 25. *Moniteur.*—No news whatever. An article on 'Renaud,' a poem in 12 cantos; another, on stones fallen from the skies, and instruction of the ministry of trade on the culture of Palma Christi. *Journal de l'Empire.*—Continuation of the fortification of the approaches of Paris. An article on 'Peintures à fresco;' another, on a romance of M. Picard.

March 26. *Moniteur.*—No news whatever. Instruction of the minister of the interior, on the Ensemencement des Mars. Notice on Berg-op-zoom, souvenirs of the campaign of 1747!! *Journal de l'Empire.*—The enemy has reappeared in the neighbourhood of Compiègne, and was repulsed. An article on the

* Both made peers of France, by Louis Philippe.

correspondence of Grimm and Diderot; another on the tragedy of 'Ninus.'

March 27. *Moniteur.*—No news whatever. Article on a 'Nouveau recueil d'anecdotes inédites;' another, on the origin of stones fallen from the skies. *Journal de l'Empire.*—No news whatever. Instruction of the minister of agriculture. Judgment of an English reviewer on Delille.

March 28. *Moniteur.*—No news whatever. An article on 'Questions de litterature légale;' another, on 'Paris ancien, et Paris moderne. *Journal de l'Empire.*—Grand review, held by King Joseph, of the garrison, and the national guards of Paris. No other news. An article on the comic opera of Etienne, 'Joconde.' (N.B. Etienne was the censor of this newspaper.)

March 29. *Moniteur.*—No news whatever. A 'Rapport' to the Imperial Institute, on the Holcus-Cafer, and the means of extracting sugar from it. An article on Pinel's Nozography. *Journal de l'Empire.*—No news whatever. Articles on 'Petite Chronique de Paris.' 'Discours et déssertations litteraires sur divers sujets.' 'La paix de ménages.'

March 30. (The day of the battle and capitulation of Paris.) *Moniteur.*—No news whatever. An article on the works of Ducis; another, on the 'Existence de Troie'!! *Journal de l'Empire.*—News: on the 26th, the emperor defeated General Wentzingerode, at St. Dizier, and took 2000 prisoners. The emperor is in march, to the succour of Paris. The Dukes of Tréviso and Ragusa, (Marshals Mortier and Marmont,) have been joined by the troops commanded by Generals Compans and Ornano. The enemy who crossed the Marne at Meaux, will have to fight troops of the line. An article, on monstrous polypi inhabiting the bottom of the sea; another, on 'Les enfants, contes à l'usage de la jeunesse; par Madam Pauline Guizote,' (Née de Meulan).

March 31. *Moniteur.*—No news whatever. An article on 'Fragments d'un voyage en prose, et en vers, fait en Italie.' *Journal de l'Empire.*—No news whatever. Articles, on Gattell's French dictionary: 'Varietés, physiologie:' 'Description de l'Egypte.'

If we are not mistaken, the foregoing analysis of the 'Official Moniteur,' and of the 'Journal de l'Empire,' afford an exact idea of the imperial system of government, and of the condition to which it had reduced France; while, at the same time, it is a complete refutation of the statements and of the theory of Louis Blanc, on the instrumentality of the '*bourgeoisie*,' in the capitulation of Paris and the downfall of Napoleon. It is certain, that, until the afternoon of the 29th of March, the inhabitants of Paris had not the remotest idea of being attacked. The first intimation, not of the event itself, but of its possi-

bility, was given to them at 2 o'clock by a proclamation of King Joseph, which was placarded in all the streets of the capital. In this proclamation, Joseph told the Parisians, that a column of the hostile army, separated, by the manœuvres of the emperor, from the main body, was approaching Paris, with the foolish hope of taking possession of it by a 'coup de main,' before the arrival of Napoleon, who was on their rear, and hastening to come and exterminate them. He then proceeded to invite the citizens to a vigorous resistance in case of an attack, and strenuously to defend the empress, the king of Rome, their own families and property, promising to remain with them, and to participate in their glorious struggle. On the following morning, when at a quarter past 5 o'clock the first reports of the cannon were heard, Joseph, the empress, and the king of Rome had fled. The very first wounded that were brought into the capital at seven o'clock, reported that it was the main body of the allied armies which was attacking Paris, under the command of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia; and, from that moment, the inhabitants, hitherto so grossly imposed upon, ceased to think of resistance, while, on the outside of their boulevards, seventeen thousand men were heroically withstanding the attacks of an army of quintuple their own number.

The tendency of our remarks is to explain, not to justify, the conduct of the Parisians and of the French people, at that epoch. As much as Louis Blanc, we despise and detest treachery, cowardice, and baseness; but we cannot agree with him as to their causes. Napoleon, the offspring of the republic, chose to reign over a herd of slaves; he degraded, annihilated the national vitality, which it was not in his power to rekindle in the hour of need; he had adopted the maxim of Louis the Fourteenth, 'L'etat, c'est moi.' Thus reduced, a people can do nothing, even for themselves; and this is the penalty attached to tyranny.

The restoration was not, any more than the overthrow of Napoleon, the work of the '*bourgeoisie.*' The 'Mémoires de Viscount Sosthènes de la Rochefoucaud' (now Duke of Doudeauville) give an accurate account of the means resorted to by some influential members of the old aristocracy, to determine Alexander, by a popular demonstration in favour of the Bourbons. Nobody can deny, that no sooner was their name mentioned, than all classes of the people rallied round them. Carnot, who is a better authority upon the subject than Louis Blanc, or any one else, admits the fact in his celebrated 'Mémoire au Roi,' the greatest service that a man ever attempted to render to a king. Louis the Eighteenth was too

conceited and too false to derive any profit from the respectful, but severe truths of the old republican. His liberal views on government did not go further than the 'assemblée des notables;' and, notwithstanding his charter, and the two chambers it established, he thought it possible gradually to go back to that period of the French history, with the assistance of the servile senators and legislators of the empire, metamorphosed into peers and deputies. The clergy, the nobility, the emigrants, would not even be satisfied with that. Their protestations against the charter, their pretensions to their old privileges, wounded the national pride. The French had already submitted, and were still disposed to submit to tyranny, but were not willing to submit to inequality. The field-marshals, princes and dukes of the empire, who were not allowed to occupy, in the king's carriage, a seat, which was granted only to dukes of another origin, were almost as much dissatisfied as the imperial mayor of a village, at being dismissed to make room for the ancient 'seigneur' of the place.

Another and more general cause of anxiety and discontent, was soon added by the efforts made, both by the noble emigrants and the clergy, for recovering their property sold during the revolution. The government had declared those sales irrevocable; but what reliance could they place on a government which had declared that the press should be free, and yet had established the censorship of the press? The masses of the people were not less indignant at other breaches of faith, from which they more particularly suffered. '*Plus de droits-réunis,*' (no excise laws,) '*plus de conscription,*' had been the first promises of the Bourbons, on setting foot on the French soil; and they had redeemed those pledges by altering the names, but maintaining the grievances. The 'droits réunis' were called 'contributions indirectes,' and the 'conscription,' 'loi de recruitement.' Thus all the evils of the imperial régime remained, with the addition of aristocratic insolence and clerical intolerance. This it was which prepared the way for the return of Napoleon from Elba. Not, indeed, that we pretend to say that the people were generally in his favour. But in the same manner that the people had left him alone to fight his battles against the European sovereigns, they now left the Bourbons alone to fight their battle against him. The contest then was unequal. To the old bands, which, from every part of France, flew to welcome their leader and replace him on his throne, the legitimate competitor had nothing to oppose but his silvered and gilded body-guards and 'mousquetaires,' a host of chaplains, and some remnants of the 'armée des princes' of 1792. We had nearly forgotten the deputies, the formerly

imperial legislators, whom Louis the Eighteenth summoned for the occasion, to whom he applied for assistance, and expressed his determination to die rather than, in the sixtieth year of his age, to soil his white hairs by a cowardly flight. Of course, the deputies promised everything with the same sincerity; and three days afterwards, kings, princes, deputies, and all, had disappeared, and Napoleon was thoughtfully pacing the spacious apartments of the Thuilleries.

Louis Blanc, after a short account of the triumphant military march of Napoleon, and his arrival in Paris, says, (p. 21)—

'Some days after, as if to testify the man's power over the world, the sovereigns assembled in Vienna, sent orders to their retiring armies to wheel round and turn their faces towards France. Could destiny do more for the glory of a mortal? Vain éclat! Triumph of a day! There was in France a power which Napoleon had not taken into his calculations, and one with which he was speedily to come into fatal collision. The bourgeoisie, overcome for a moment by surprise, recovered its self-possession. Liberalism applied itself for the second time to the task of sapping the imperial throne.'

This passage of the book is a complete picture of the singularity of mind of the author, of the preposterous notions he has formed of the events he relates, and of the incoherence which prevails in the whole of his work. The power of Napoleon would have been better testified had the sovereigns ordered their armies to hasten home, from fear of another struggle. 'Destiny' would have done more for the glory of that 'mortal' by inspiring them with the idea of allowing him to enjoy his reconquered dignity. As to the 'bourgeoisie' and liberalism, we have shown what they were under the former reign of the emperor. In their helplessness, they could not sap the imperial throne; but, being crushed by it, they could not support it.

On his return from Elba, Napoleon, at the same time that he was proclaiming that his only object was to restore the national sovereignty, too clearly disclosed his notions of that sovereignty. It might be said of him, as of the Bourbons, that, in his exile, he had learned and forgotten nothing. Resuming the exercise of absolute power, in virtue of an election which, besides being vitiated in its principle, was annulled by his abdication; he only replaced himself in the isolated situation in which he was at the beginning of the preceding year, in presence of all the European monarchies arrayed against him, and persisting in the solemn declaration they had made of never again treating with him. Common sense and true patriotism would have pointed out another and a better line of policy. It was then, and not after the loss of the battle of Waterloo, that he ought

to have renewed and confirmed his abdication; surrendered to the people all the powers with which he had been invested; called upon them to prepare for their own defence against the invaders, who then would have been without pretence, and offered to fight the battles of his country as one of her generals, or to live in retirement and even exile, if his name and presence were made the grounds of a new European coalition against France. Louis Blanc and the Bonapartists might say, that such an abdication could not be thought of, as a popular measure, at a time when, in all parts of the country, his authority had been acknowledged. But when the votes of the citizens were collected, when, of seven millions of adult Frenchmen, only one million five hundred and thirty-two thousand voted in favour of his resuming the imperial dignity, according to the 'acte additionnel aux constitutions de l'empire,' was it not evident that the majority of the nation was not for him; that those who had refused their votes were not likely to lend him their support; and that, consequently, he would have to contend, at the same time, against the armies of all the foreign powers, and against the inertia of three-fourths of the French population?

The lists of the voters and the number of the non-voters contradict the statement of M. Blanc and his accusations against the 'bourgeoisie' and the liberals, who, by a great majority, adopted the 'acte additionnel,' whereas nine-tenths of the non-voters belonged to the lower classes of the people. Our author takes no notice of these facts, which, however, are of the utmost importance to history; he seems to be completely ignorant of them, and blind to every thing but his theory of the 'bourgeoisie,' which, as he says, after overthrowing Napoleon to restore the Bourbons, overthrew the Bourbons to give their crown to the Duke of Orleans.

In reviewing this work, our object is not merely to expose the inaccuracies, the errors, the prejudices, and the manifest falsehoods which fill it. The paltry gratification of dissecting a blundering and misleading author is beneath our character; and we should have silently passed by this production, had it not offered to us the opportunity of contributing the results of our experience and researches to the elucidation of historical truth, and to the triumph of those principles of freedom, morality, and justice which are dear to our readers, because these principles are the only basis of the welfare of their fellow-men. This it is which induces us to dwell at some length upon the causes and means of the last French Revolution.

The hundred days of 1815, with the Battle of Waterloo, sealed the doom of the elder branch of the Bourbons as much as that of Napoleon. There was an immense difference between their

first and their second restoration. In 1814, they had re-entered France in the rear of the invaders, but they were not the authors, the promoters of the invasion. The war which all the rest of Europe was then carrying on against France had not been undertaken to support the principle of legitimacy, and to subvert the national sovereignty. Napoleon alone was the instigator, the link of the coalition, and the cause of the invasion. Not only did not the allied sovereigns countenance the pretensions of Louis the Eighteenth, but also, when the Count d'Artois and his agents attempted to give a dynastic character to the war undertaken in the name of national independence against the scourge of Europe, they were disavowed and repulsed; and when Alexander and Frederic entered Paris, their very first words were a homage to the national rights, and a declaration that the French people were at liberty to establish whatever government they thought proper.

But in 1815, the avowed object of the war was not only the overthrow of Napoleon, but also the restoration of Louis the Eighteenth. The ambassador and plenipotentiary of Louis the Eighteenth at the congress of Vienna (Talleyrand) was a party to the declaration of that war. Louis the Eighteenth and his family personally interfered to hasten hostilities. The Bourbons, in one word, were placed at the head of the enemies of France: and from that moment they were held in execration by the immense majority of the people, including even those who most detested Napoleon.

The measures which they adopted on their second return were well calculated to increase, rather than to allay, the intensity of that feeling. Two hundred and fifty thousand officers and soldiers, ignominiously discharged, were dispersed in the towns and villages of France, where they maintained, and propagated among the lower classes, their attachment to and admiration of their leader, and their hatred and contempt of the legitimate rulers. Thousands of public functionaries dismissed from their offices, did the same among the middle and higher classes. The cruel vengeance exercised, excited the indignation even of the oldest and most devoted partisans of legitimacy; and here, we must acknowledge, to the honour of the noble legitimists, that they had no share in these horrors, and that even some interfered to save the victims. These atrocious deeds were committed by turn-coat imperialists, Pasquier, Barbé-Marbois, Louis, Corvetto, Clarke, Decazes, and their subalterns, Guizot, Bertin de Vaux, Bellard, Jarquinot, Barante, Dudon, and a few others. We have heard the Duc de Duras, on his return from a fruitless supplication for the pardon of Lavalette, say of these purveyors of the scaffolds: 'Les misérables, ils n'ont jamais exposé leurs fronts et leurs poitrines au fer et aux balles des ennemis du roi;

ils ne savent montrer leur dévoument qu'en livrant les têtes des autres!' and big tears were running down the pale cheek of the old nobleman.

Such were the beginnings of the new reign of Louis the Eighteenth, assisted by the apostates of liberty and the *transfuges* of Bonapartism. A man without heart, without principles, a free thinker, and a depraved libertine, he could not find more proper and more devoted instruments to carry on his government, than those who had so zealously ministered to his thirst for revenge; and with them he arranged that system, known under the name of 'doctrine,' and which consists in equally distrusting and enslaving the people, the clergy, and the nobility, and in persecuting, in turn, the Bonapartists, the royalists, and the patriots, who would not yield to their seductions, or silently submit to their rule, by concocting Bonapartist and royalist conspiracies, which afterwards they disclosed and punished. By those means, and by another intrigue worthy of the abandoned reign of Louis the Fifteenth, Decazes and the doctrinaires succeeded in maintaining themselves in power until the murder of the Duke of Berry (February 14, 1820). Decazes, accused of being implicated in that crime, resigned a few days afterwards (February 20). One of his accusers, Martainville, editor of the 'Drapeau Blanc,' was tried for the accusation and acquitted; the other, Clauzel de Coussergues, a deputy, instead of being prosecuted, was promoted to the court of cassation. A change of mistresses, the influence of Countess du Cayla, brought to power a pure royalist ministry, which continued after the death of Louis the Eighteenth until October, 1827.

The political struggle which, under Louis the Eighteenth, was between the doctrinaires, who had fallen into the ranks of the liberals, and the royalists, assumed another character under his successor. The bigotry of Charles the Tenth, and the increased influence of the clergy, divided the royalist majority. Many of them, and, singularly enough, those the most sincerely devoted to the royal cause, foreseeing the dangers likely to result from sacerdotal encroachments, opposed the measures which the government proposed, in compliance with the will of the pious monarch, and of the jesuits who ruled him. Their opposition was resented, and the resentment of the king and of his ministers increased their hostility. A dissolution of the chambers was the consequence; but the majority of the 80,000 electors having taken part with the rebel deputies, the ministry was compelled to resign. Charles the Tenth, who had certainly done more than enough to endanger his eternal salvation, and who yet was intent to secure it, could not long submit to the tolerant counsels of his new advisers, though there was a bishop among them,

(Feutrier, minister of public instruction,) and though they resisted the somewhat more liberal tendency of the chamber of deputies. In a mood of delirious fervour, he resolved to place Polignac at the head of the government. That name, in France, evoked the recollection of innumerable misdeeds, and prognosticated nothing but the establishment of civil and religious tyranny. The whole nation, hitherto indifferent to the squabbles between the doctrinaire and royalist rivals, was roused at the daring of the king, and prepared for another struggle, which every one foresaw as near at hand. Polignac, after an unsuccessful attempt to govern with the chambers, and according to to the charter, resolved to get rid of those obstacles; and, in the attempt, hurled and crushed legitimacy and three generations of kings against the barricades on which d'Orleans picked up their crown.

How that d'Orleans, a Bourbon, could not only escape in that memorable battle, which terminated at the cry, 'Plus de Bourbons,' but also, a Bourbon, succeeded in ascending the throne so long the object of his desires—this is what we are now going to explain; and, in so doing, we fulfil a promise we made in a preceding number*.

The Duke of Orleans, a young man, at the beginning of the French Revolution, had embraced, with all the ardour natural to youth, the principles, not of the majority of the constituent assembly, which were in favour of legitimate monarchy, with a truly representative government, but those of his unprincipled father, whose hatred for Marie Antoinette† and Louis the Sixteenth, prompted him to wish for their overthrow, when even no benefit would accrue to him from their degradation. A colonel at the beginning of the war in 1792, he was at the head of his regiment, under the command of Kellerman, and accompanied his general when he was ordered to join Du Mouriez opposing the invasion of the Prussians and of the French princes in Champain. The cannonade of Valmy, and the disastrous retreat of the Prussians, left Du Mouriez at liberty to march with part of his army against the Austrians, in Belgium. Young Egalité, who had at once remarked the superior abilities of Du Mouriez, requested to pass under his command; and the minister at war granted his request. His conduct at the battle of Gemmappes, and during the whole of the campaign of 1792, as well as that of 1793, till the battle of Nerwinden, had been that of an intelligent and brave officer, and had won for him the friendship of his general-in-chief, who detested and despised his father. He took part in the attempt to lead the army against the con-

* Article on the Secret History of Spanish Affairs. October, 1843.

† Her preference of the Count d'Artois was the cause of that hatred.

vention, and, on the failure of that plan, escaped with his general.

Referring to our preceding article for the details of his life and conduct until the Restoration, we come at once to his return to Paris in 1814.

While the Bourbons of the elder branch were surrounded by the old emigrants, and offended the national feelings by their marked predilection for the remnants of the army of Condé, and of the ancient court, the Duke of Orleans was surrounded by the most distinguished generals of the empire, all of them his companions and friends in the camp of Du Mouriez. At their head were Marshals Macdonald, Mortier, Beurnonville, Kellerman, Suchet, Jourdan, and Generals Valence, Gerard, Foy, Frègeville, Grouchy, and many others who found at the Palais Royal the hearty welcome which they did not receive at the Thuilleries, and the simplicity of manners, the ease, the equality which had been the charm of their younger days. There they could speak boldly of their past life, fight again their glorious republican or imperial battles, and even deplore their reverses, sure to receive from their attentive listener, praises for their bravery, and a tear for their misfortunes. The Duke of Orleans possessed, in perfection, the art of sobbing and shedding tears. We have three or four times been privately honoured with an exhibition of his abilities in this line; and we admit that we were ourselves on the point of crying.

The patriotism of the prince was soon the theme of all the military circles in Paris, and of their correspondence with the departments. The contrast of his manners and opinions with those of the royal family, was represented as a continuation of his conduct since the beginning of the French Revolution, and during the whole of his exile. The duke had arrived long after them, but not, like them, with the luggage of the invaders; and the delay of his return was represented as caused by the dislike and fear of his royal relatives, with whom he had always been on bad terms, on account of his consistency in his principles; and it was publicly stated that he had constantly refused the pensions of foreign governments, and never taken any part in the plots and hostilities against the consular or imperial government.* Everybody was convinced, for nobody could contradict the falsehood. Thanks to the strict censorship of Napo-

* In 1831, Dupin, the attorney-general at the Court of Cassation, and president of the chamber of deputies, dared to utter this falsehood in one of his speeches. One of the writers in the 'Tribune,' G. Sarrut, ventured to contradict the statement, and mentioned the English pension and the expedition to Spain. Sarrut, for his love of truth, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and fined 1000 francs.

leon, nothing was known of the Bourbons. Their names were never allowed to be mentioned; they were all forgotten; nay more, thought dead; and the censors of the Restoration could not allow the conduct of the princes during their exile to be inquired into by the newspapers.

The Duke of Orleans had hardly been five months in the Palais Royal when the news of the return of Napoleon disturbed his dreams of future elevation. The king, who had not seen with pleasure the military associations of his cousin, imagined that in the present circumstances they might be taken advantage of, and ordered the prince, with Marshal Macdonald, to repair to Lyons, where they would be preceded by Count d'Artois, to oppose the usurper. He obeyed, but the officers and soldiers received him so coolly, and showed such anti-Bourbonist dispositions, that not only did he not advance with them against the imperial bands, but he also prudently advised the Count d'Artois, on his arrival, to go back to Paris, he himself setting the example.

A fortnight afterwards, the Duke of Orleans, having witnessed at Lille the melancholy departure of the old king for Belgium, and convinced that their cause was for ever lost, prepared to take his leave in such a manner, as that a door should be open, at some future epoch, for his admittance into France. On resigning the superior command of the place to Marshal Mortier, he sent the following letter, after having verbally recommended him not to yield to the foreigners.

'I commit entirely to your hands, my dear marshal, the command which I was so happy as to exercise with you, in the department of the north. I am too good a Frenchman to sacrifice the interests of France, because fresh misfortunes compel me to quit it. I go to bury myself in retirement and oblivion. The king being no longer in France, I cannot issue orders in his name; and nothing remains for me, but to absolve you from all obedience to the orders I have already transmitted to you; requesting you, however, to do whatever your own excellent judgment and pure patriotism shall suggest to you, as most conducive to the interests of France, and most agreeable to the duties you have to fulfil.'

After these affecting adieus, the Duke of Orleans left the town; but, instead of going to meet the king and the princes at Ghent, he repaired to England, thus completely separating his cause from that of the elder branch of his family. In England, he freely indulged in severe accusations against the exiled king and his government, and openly declared, that, if restored again, he would again, by his foolish pride and his heartless and deceitful disposition, risk and lose his crown. It must be admitted, that, after the first burst of his discontent, and when the news received from Vienna left no doubt as to the determination of the foreign powers to crush Napoleon, the language of the prince

became more moderate; his liberalism cooled; he began to reflect upon the part he had taken, and to doubt of its propriety; he felt that he ought to do something else, but, not knowing what, he addressed a long letter to the Duke of Wellington, to explain his conduct and to ask advice. This letter, and the duke's unceremonious answer, are not in the correspondence published by Colonel Gurwood. We regret the suppression, and we recommend the colonel to seize the opportunity of the approaching royal visit, for the publication of that document, which would no doubt add to the popularity of the illustrious personage.

The most confidential agent of the prince, Chevalier de Broval, who had been left in Paris, did not fail to take advantage of the parting proclamation and of the absence of the Duke of Orleans from the court of Ghent, to extol the patriotism of his patron; and he did it with success. Napoleon himself condescended to speak in terms of approbation of the conduct of the prince;* and, in the beginning of May, when there was no longer a doubt of the determination of Austria to remain faithful to the coalition, and again to join in the invasion, the patriots, and even many of the generals, desirous of avoiding the war, began to think of the Duke of Orleans as the best, if not the only means, of maintaining peace between France, which would not submit to the Bourbons, and the rest of Europe, which would not bear with Napoleon. We have some reasons to believe, that, if the march of the armies and hostilities had not been hastened by the British government and the representative of Louis the Eighteenth at the Congress of Vienna, these views might have been carried into execution under the mediation of Alexander, who had misgivings as to the consequences of a second Restoration, and who, while in London, declared to the Duke of Kent, to Du Mouriez, and to many other persons, that, in his opinion, the Duke of Orleans was the only member of the family fit to govern France in a constitutional manner. It is certain, that, after the battle of Waterloo, an attempt was made to negotiate upon those terms; but the Duke of Wellington, whose dislike for the Duke of Orleans was extreme, immediately rejected the *overtures*, and said to the negotiators, *'Ce serait pire que Bonaparte; ce serait un usurpateur de bonne maison.'*

Louis the Eighteenth was not the man to overlook the conduct

* Napoleon, hearing on the 21st of March that the mother of the duke, who had a few days before broken her leg, and in consequence had not been able to leave Paris, was in the utmost anxiety, ordered one of his officers to repair to her residence, Rue de Tournon, to assure her that she should be unmolested and even protected, if necessary. Louis Philippe shows his gratitude by his treatment of the surviving relatives of Napoleon.

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of his unfaithful relative during those trying times; but his spite got the better of his vaunted prudence, when, on his return to Paris, in the course of his vengeance, he ordered the Duke of Orleans, who had also returned, to go back to his place of exile. This impolitic measure identified the duke with the party considered as national, on account of his opposition to the Bourbons, and to their supporters, the despots of Europe. The duke, who, at first, was indignant at this treatment, became tolerably reconciled to it, when he saw the advantages he might derive from his position; and that the severity of the king did nothing but set him up as the future leader of the opposition, and as an avowed pretender to the crown. He supported, with becoming resignation, his solitude at Twickenham, and employed his leisure in a most active correspondence with his friends in France, —a correspondence in which he expressed his horror at the cruelties perpetrated on the most illustrious of the French patriots, and his happiness, though himself an exile, in not witnessing the abominable reaction which deluged France with the blood of her best citizens. These letters, passing from hand to hand, were the theme of conversation in all the liberal circles, and thus was formed the new 'Orleanist party,' not by the 'bourgeoisie,' but by members of the old nobility, such as Girardin, Chauvelin, d'Argenson, Gilbert Desvoisins, de Canisy, and by generals of the empire, such as Valence, Foy, Dejean, Belliard, Guilleminot, and others.

This object being obtained, the Duke of Orleans thought that he would be quite as well in his Palais Royal, surrounded by his friends and partisans, as in the solitude of a foreign land; and he began to long for the termination of his exile. The Duchess of Berry, who was much attached to her aunt, the Duchess of Orleans, was requested to interfere; and she undertook to obtain the recall of her relatives. The only resistance she experienced was from Louis the Eighteenth, who at first firmly refused; saying with his customary malice, 'Non, non, je n'aime pas les piquûres de cousins.'* The indefatigable efforts of the young and kind-hearted princess at last conquered the obstinacy of the old king, and the duke of Orleans was permitted to reside in France. Louis Philippe discharged the debt of gratitude in 1833, by imprisoning and dishonouring his benefactress, in the citadel of Blaye.

The plan of conduct adopted by the Duke of Orleans after his return, was less adapted to maintain him in his position of pretender, than to avoid giving cause of complaint to the king: his avaricious disposition prevented him from giving parties, and

* Cousin, in French, means gnat, as well as relation.

living in a style becoming the first prince of the royal blood. This might be satisfactory to the king, who, at least, could no longer reproach him with making his Palais Royal the rendezvous of the revolutionists; but the liberals, the republicans, and the imperialists could not but be displeased with a system of economy which deprived them of all the advantages that a party had a right to expect from a princely leader. To the remonstrances made to him upon the subject, the prince answered, according to the personal situation or the political opinions of his interlocutor. To some he said, 'My income does not amount to 2,000,000 of francs (£80,000) a year, upon which I have to pay the debts of my father; and until the death of my mother, who has all the property of the family, I must live from hand to mouth' ('tirer le diable par le queue,' was the expression). To others he said, 'I am fond of retirement. I have no ambition; my only wish is to remain a private citizen, in a free country. If I follow your advice, I, like my father, shall be accused of aspiring to the crown, while I am a republican.' To others again, 'I cannot do what I please: I am incessantly watched. The Thuilleries see a plot in every one of my actions, a conventicle in every one of my reunions. 100 francs given to a poor officer is immediately represented as an attempt to bribe the army. But I feel with you; I suffered, and still do suffer with you. I will do what I can.'

These explanations, however plausible, could not long be considered satisfactory, while no act of his 'Sérénissime altesse' enabled his partisans to enlist their friends and acquaintances in his cause. He was told, that, unless he gave some public proof of his patriotic principles, and of his opposition to the government, he would soon be cast off by all. His most intimate friends convinced him that such was the fact, and determined him to seize the first opportunity for giving satisfaction to the public. That opportunity soon presented itself. Casimir Delavigne* had been dismissed from his post of librarian to the ministry of justice, for the publication of his patriotic and truly admirable poems, 'Les Messéniennes.' The Duke of Orleans gave him the same title, without requiring his services, only to give him the same emolument, £60 a year. The 'Messéniennes' were in the hands, or in the memory of all who were able to read poetry; and the patron of the poet was at once acknowledged as the head of the national party.

Louis the Eighteenth, who was himself an admirer of the poetry of Delavigne, did not resent the act of liberalism of the prince so much as was anticipated. Some even pretend that the

* He died lately in his fiftieth year, having refused to be made a peer, and remained true to his principles.

prince did not dare to confer the appointment, without first obtaining permission from the king, who, having had no share in the dismissal of the poet, did not object to the views of the Duke of Orleans, of which he probably did not then foresee the consequences. We are rather inclined to think that it was so, and that the prince would not otherwise, in such a case, have presumed to place himself so evidently in opposition to the government. But the concert of approbation which followed this political good action, operated upon the mind of the prince so as to induce him to continue in the same line, without, however, exposing himself too much. He placed at the head of his library a sub-prefect, also recently dismissed, Vatout,* the author of a charming allegory on the charter,—'Les Aventures de la Fille d'un Roi.' He admitted into the bureaus of his household, and into the administration of his forests, old officers on half-pay, or sons and relatives of old republicans or Bonapartists in disgrace; so that he might be considered as the representative of the republic and of the empire; while, at the same time, he cultivated the good will of the royalist opposition.

As we stated before, so unpopular was the government after the second restoration, and such was the universal hatred excited by the atrocities committed, that every one was persuaded that the least shake would overturn it, and that, for a certainty, it would be overthrown. Every one was anxious to hasten the event, and to take part in it: every one, in fact, was ready to become a conspirator for the liberation of his country. Nobody knew better than the doctrinaires, this opinion and this disposition of the people; and they were most anxious to destroy both, each by the other. Governing as they did, not only in the name of a detested race, but also in opposition to the interests and opinions of the oldest and most devoted partisans of that race, as well as to those of its enemies, they knew how well founded was the general opinion of their weakness, and the wish for their downfal; and they resolved to profit by the disposition of both parties to organize their conspiracies, in order to convince all of their own superior abilities in discovering them, and their own power in repressing them and punishing the pretended authors. Thus the insurrections of Grenoble and Lyons, and the royalist conspiracy of 1819 for giving the crown to the Count d'Artois, were the work of the ministry and of their agents; and the blood of hundreds of victims, shot or beheaded, cemented the power of the doctrinaires, who acquired, by those atrocious manœuvres, such an ascendant, that they ob-

* Now Conseiller d'état, Député, Directeur-général des bibliothéques du Roi, &c., &c.

tained from the king the dismissal of the Count d'Artois from the command of the national guards, as in 1831 they obtained that of Lafayette.

If by showing themselves as cruel as they were treacherous in those horrid transactions, they succeeded in proving, to a certain degree, that they were strong, they did not diminish the disposition to conspire. They only made the conspirators feel the more the necessity of prudence in their enterprises against a government which, by all its measures, added every day some new cause for increased execration. Prudence was the perpetual recommendation of the Duke of Orleans, who, however, after the revolutions of 1820 in Spain, in Portugal, in Naples, and in Piedmont, and after the expulsion of the doctrinaires, entered with a certain degree of resolution into the plan of a general and spontaneous military insurrection in the principal fortresses of France. His patronage of Horace Vernet, and the picture of the battle of Gemmappes, the first grand triumph of the tri-coloured flag and of the republican army, installed in the gallery of his palace, after being refused admittance at the Louvre, was a public profession of republicanism, which seemed intended to win to him all the leaders of that conspiracy. It is certain, however, that, when he was acquainted with the form of government which was to be established, his zeal relented. He openly expressed his fears, that such a government would not give satisfaction to Europe, but privately remonstrated on the want of confidence on the part of the men at the head of the conspiracy, who had left no place for him in their political system. He was answered, that his remonstrances did not tally with his profession of republicanism. This answer displeased him: he loudly complained, and was so little particular in the choice of the confidants of his griefs, that the government was soon let into the secret. The conspiracy was discovered; and, according to the doctrinaire tactics, some leaders were induced to begin the movement, when, all their plans being disorganized, there was no possibility of simultaneous action. They failed, and new vengeance was the consequence.

Louis Blanc, who is evidently ignorant of the secret history of that epoch, attributes that conspiracy to four or five madmen, unknown, even now, to most of their countrymen, and does not mention the real authors and the principal actors in the rising which took place in many parts of France; and, when mentioning that of Beford, he forgets the brothers Peugnet,* two brave young officers, who acted the principal part. All his account of

* They succeeded in making their escape to the United States of America, where they established a school, which they still conduct with the greatest success.

this conspiracy is a badly arranged story, to puff the unknown services of a few modern patriots and, of Bazard, the founder of St. Simonism.

The discovery and failure of the conspiracy was traced to the Palais Royal; the prince was accused of being the author of this piece of treachery; and from that time, the two great divisions of the liberal party, the imperialists and the republicans, would no longer confide in the party of Orleans, and included him in their hatred of the Bourbons. The Orleanists themselves were divided in consequence of these transactions. Some entertained the opinion that the Duke of Orleans ought to remain inactive, and patiently wait until some new misdeed of the Bourbons roused the people, and overthrew their government, in which case the duke would naturally and immediately be considered as the only man able to give stability to the new revolution. The prince himself was of this opinion, which agreed with his parsimonious disposition, with his fear of displeasing the court, and with his distrust of the political men likely to take a prominent part in all future attempts. His plan was, closely to observe the manœuvring of the other parties, and to disconcert their projects, when they were against the interests of his family, and, at the same time, to continue without éclat the exhibitions of liberalism which were sure to gain over to him the mass of the people.

The republicans, with the exception of a few, at the head of whom were Lafayette, Count d'Argenson, Count Charles de Lasteyrie, and some others, after the failure of their projects, in which they had obtained the co-operation of the Bonapartist officers, began to despair of their own cause, and to consider the establishment of a republic as impossible. They were told that no revolution could succeed without a name around which all parties would rally, and that the first thing to settle, in meditating a revolution, was the choice of a ruler, whose character and influence should promote the success of their views. After some hesitation, they agreed with the Bonapartists to adopt the ex-king of Holland, Louis Napoleon. It is certain that a more honourable, a better man does not exist; nor a man who could give stronger guarantees for a liberal government. One of his former friends was dispatched to him to sound his disposition, and, in case it was such as was desired, to inform him of the views and plans of the united party. Louis Napoleon immediately rejected the proposal. 'I have had enough, and, indeed, too much of royalty: my only wish is, to be allowed to live in France, as a private individual, as a Frenchman; but, however much I desire it, I would rather continue and die an exile than live in France

on condition of wearing a crown.'* After such an answer, the conspirators were obliged to apply in other quarters.

Their second choice was nearly as good as the first. Eugene Beauharnais had, in all circumstances, fulfilled the duties imposed upon him, so as to deserve the respect of every party; and perhaps he would have more easily succeeded, and governed France with greater advantage, than Louis Napoleon: he also rejected the proposals made to him, but not in such a manner as to discourage their renewal, and they were renewed many times, and always with an increased earnestness. At last, he yielded—with the assent of his father-in-law, the late king, and of his brother-in-law, the present king, who was then in all the fervour of liberalism, and who, in his political dreams, connected a Germanic union, under his own sceptre, with the successes of the French patriots. Unfortunately for them, a letter in cypher from the principal negociator, announcing the assent given by Prince Eugene, fell into the hands of a friend of the Duke of Orleans, in England. We have seen this letter, we have seen the copy and translation of it, which we know was sent to the Duke of Orleans in February, 1824. On the 26th of April following Eugene Beauharnais expired, after a very short illness accompanied with the most cruel suffering. Singular destiny of that family! His mother, Josephine, had died, much in the same manner, in 1814, just when she had implored the intercession of Alexander on behalf of Napoleon; and, a few years ago, his son died under similar symptoms, a few months after his marriage with Donna Maria of Portugal, whom Louis Philippe had coveted for the Duke of Nemours.—We relate facts—we do not accuse.

M. Louis Blanc alludes, but with his habitual ignorance, to the attempt in favour of Eugene, and pretends (p. 47) that he offered five millions of francs to Lafayette, for the success of his cause. We affirm that no such thing ever took place; and the character of Lafayette refutes the imputation, as well as that contained in the same page, of his having subsequently, during his journey to America, 'made overtures to Joseph Napoleon.' Having been honoured with the intimacy of Lafayette, we can assure our readers, that he never thought of doing any thing but for a republic.

From 1824 to 1827, the republicans and the imperialists were in a sort of despondency, and seemed to have resigned themselves to the hard necessity of submitting to the Bourbons, whilst the Duke of Orleans, who had been made a 'royal high-

* How different the conduct of his son! but he was educated far from his father. In 1815, the good man claimed the guardianship of his two sons, in order to employ his leisure in their education. The Court Royal of Paris, in violation of the law, rejected his prayer. We see the result at Ham.

ness,' on the accession of Charles X. to the throne, and who had come to an immense fortune by the death of his mother, seemed only intent to increase that fortune, and to gratify his taste for building. The pure royalists, having no longer any conspiracy to repress, nor any thing like opposition to their rule, began to quarrel among themselves; and, singularly enough, the majority of the chamber of peers rejected the laws passed by the majority of the chamber of deputies, for restoring the aristocracy to the rank which they are entitled to hold in a legitimate monarchy, for subjecting the press to a more severe control, and for giving to the clergy a paramount influence, a sort of omnipotence. The struggle between the royalists in both chambers, and between the majorities of the two chambers, was carried on with such violence, that it soon became evident, that, with the personal character of the king, but especially with his predilection for the clergy, he would soon be driven to extreme measures, which would bring about a catastrophe; and the hopes of the patriots of all parties were awakened; each preparing to profit by the first opportunity, for a change of government.

The Duke of Orleans was not the last to appreciate the situation of affairs, and to adopt a plan of conduct adapted to increase his chances of ascending the throne. In order to regain the support of the Bonapartists and of the army, who, having no candidate of their own, were fast joining the republicans, he resolved to add the pictures of imperial battles to those of his republican campaigns, which adorned his palace; he offered to General Drouot, the faithful companion of Napoleon, and one of the most honourable characters of our days, the highest office in his household, vacant by the death of General Albert; he opened the salons of his palace for their reunions, and even began to bestow some liberalities on poor officers, who, deprived of their pay, had long been in distress. He, at the same time, courted and endeavoured to gain over some old republicans, whose advanced years, little calculated to withstand the stormy agitation of republican institutions, had led them to dream of an alliance between the monarchy and the republic. The prince himself professed this doctrine. He said one day to us—and he used to repeat the same to every body, 'Now-a-days, royalty can be nothing else but the hereditary presidency of a republic.' With such words it was impossible not to make converts. Yet he did not succeed so much as he could wish with that party. The best part of the republicans, surrounding Lafayette, and acting upon his example, would hear of no compromise. An attempt was made on the part of the duke, to adjust the difference which had long existed between him and the old general, who rejected the terms.

Another party formed itself at that epoch, and was composed of men of all parties, who, distrusting the Duke of Orleans, and, at the same time, fearing the consequences of a revolution, which could not give satisfaction to all in the country, while it would again array the whole of Europe against France, had formed a plan, which, in a political point of view, was perhaps the most advantageous to the country. The King of the Netherlands, William of Orange, was to be proclaimed; and the following reasons in support of his claims were well calculated to promote the success of the enterprise.

He had hitherto, according to his family's motto, 'Je maintiendrai,' been faithful to his promises to his people; conscientiously observed the constitution; expressed on all occasions the most liberal opinions, and greatly contributed to the constantly increasing prosperity of his dominions. Simple in his manners, affable to every one, kind to the meanest of his subjects, he had treated the principal of the French *proscrits* with a benevolence which deserved the gratitude of all the French liberals. The results of his election would be—firstly, to conciliate the Russian autocrat, whose sister had married the hereditary Prince of the Netherlands; secondly, to restore France to its imperial grandeur and influence, by the reunion of Holland and Belgium to its territory; thirdly, to get rid of the jesuitical influence, which now was the most obnoxious grievance of the French, by the choice of a protestant sovereign. On the same day that Felix Lepelletier St. Fargeau, one of the *proscrits* of 1815, left Paris for Brussels, with a formal proposal, the Duke of Orleans was informed by one of his familiars of the object of the journey of Lepelletier. The Thuilleries were immediately thrown into a sort of consternation; the European diplomacy was set in action; the King of the Netherlands was scolded by his royal brethren, and recommended to change his system and to govern so as never again to inspire such designs. He obeyed, and his administration from that moment, not only ceased to induce foreign liberals to offer him a throne, but also determined his own Belgian subjects to expel him on the first opportunity. As to Felix Lepelletier, he proved to the satisfaction of every body, that he had been to Brussels *merely* for the publication of the life of his brother, Michel Lepelletier, member of the convention.

The dissolution of the Orangeist party in France, materially strengthened the party of the Duke of Orleans; but no sooner had the prince escaped that danger, than he again returned to his favourite and economical system of inaction and confident expectancy, confining his liberal manifestations to confidential lamentations on the deplorable system which enslaved and de-

guided France, and on the impossibility for him publicly to oppose, as a citizen, and as a peer, the measures of the government; being prohibited by royal ordinance even to appear in the upper house, unless authorized by a special summons from the king. The principal of his friends vainly urged him to assume a more decided attitude, which would gain over the impatient part of the republican party, and ripen the discontent of the people into an insurrectionary movement. He constantly resisted their importunities, saying the time was not yet come, and that they would find him ready when a proper occasion called him into action.

That proper occasion seemed to present itself when the national guards of Paris were disbanded by Charles X., after one of the most numerous and enthusiastic reviews ever held. More than 50,000 citizens had appeared in arms and in complete military array; most of them, after a long inaction, had been to considerable expense to equip themselves suitably, in the expectation that they would regularly resume the service which had been gradually restricted. Their indignation knew no bounds, when, on Monday morning, instead of the complimentary *ordre du jour* for their appearance on the preceding day, they saw in the *Moniteur* the ordinance of dissolution. The republicans and the Bonapartists determined to profit by the exasperation of the citizens, and the leaders, in the absence of Lafayette, met at the residence of Count Lasteyrie. At the same time, a friend of the Duke of Orleans hastened to Neuilly, and proposed to him immediately to go to Paris dressed in the uniform of a national guard, assuring him that he would instantly be followed by all the national militia and by the rest of the people; and that, without a struggle, an end would be put to the reign of the idiot Charles. There is no doubt that such would have been the case, had the prince followed that advice; but he refused; and, when afterwards he was taunted, by one of his most devoted partisans, who had summoned his battalion to meet the prince on his arrival, for having lost such an opportunity, he answered that he could not rely upon the generals of the party who would have had the duty of gaining over the army. Upon the gentleman expressing his astonishment and his doubts, he replied, 'Vous ne les connaissez pas comme moi: croiriez vous, il y a trois ans Foy, luimême, m'a pété dans la main.'

This explanation was considered as far from satisfactory, and the prince himself was obliged to find out another. He declared that the principal motive of his general conduct, and of his refusal, in this conjuncture, was the knowledge, which his position enabled him to obtain, that all the foreign powers were determined to renew their coalition, in case of a revolution in France;

and that therefore nothing ought to be attempted, until some means should have been devised for occupying those sovereigns in their own dominions, and thus preventing them from interfering in the affairs of France. The French patriots were already acting upon that plan, and, in concert with the patriots of other countries, were preparing, in all parts of Europe, insurrectional movements, which would immediately follow the French revolution, and thus begin in earnest the last struggle between the holy alliance of nations and the holy alliance of their rulers.

The formation of the Polignac administration greatly promoted the combinations of the coalition of the patriots of Europe. The most devoted partisans of the Bourbons themselves, struck with consternation at this bold measure of Charles the Tenth, proclaimed that a revolution was now unavoidable, and that the Bourbons were lost. All of them, with the doctrinaires, repeated the exclamation of the *Journal des Debats*, 'Pauvre France! Pauvre Roi!' In all parts of Europe, these words impressed upon the minds of all the liberals the necessity of hastening their organization. In Spain, in Portugal, in Italy, in Hungary, in Poland, in Germany, and in Belgium, committees were formed, plans proposed, and measures adopted, to rise in arms, as soon as the news of the French revolution should arrive. Nay, more; in the beginning of 1830, it was resolved, by the directing committee in London, that the movement should simultaneously begin in Spain, in Italy, and in France; and, for that purpose, arrangements were made for the landing of the Spanish and Italian exiles on several points of their respective countries, where they would immediately be joined by the population.* A most active partizan of the Duke of Orleans was, in some sort, the manager of this plot; and so certain was he of its success, that, in March, he publicly announced that the event would take place in September. [Westminster Review for April, 1830, on the 'Représentant des Peuples.']

The Duke of Orleans, although apprised of all that was going on, and apparently approving of all, was, however, pursuing a course which cannot be accounted for, but by the little confidence he had in the success of the plan, or by supposing him to be a man of the most treacherous character. He was courting the favour of Charles the Tenth, was on the most intimate terms with the Duchess of Berry, arranged with her a matrimonial alliance between her daughter and his eldest son, engaged in building and beautifying his residences, in purchasing estates, and planting forests, as if everything was to remain for ever undisturbed. As a proof that the revolution of July took him by

* Vide Eclectic Review. October, 1843.

surprise, we affirm, upon the best authority, that, when the ordinances were published and gave the signal of the fight, he had not 60,000 francs (£2,400) in his treasury, and besides owed to Lafitte 2,000,000 of francs (£80,000).

The prince was not only surprised, but also alarmed at the revolutionary outburst. His friends recommended him immediately to join the movement, by a protest against the ordinances, and to come to Paris. He refused, saying that all this would end in nothing. There is no doubt, that, had the duke acted upon this advice, and placed himself at the head of the people, the national guards would have immediately come forward. The soldiers would have refused to fire on them, and the struggle would have ended without effusion of blood. His refusal, known to many, and his absence, remarked by all, disconcerted his partizans and dissatisfied the people; and when it was reported that his eldest son was coming to Paris, at the head of his regiment, to compel the people to submit, the popular leaders declared against him; and, though some of the employés in his administration* were fighting with the people, they were told, 'Not only is your prince not with us, but he is against us: he is a Bourbon.' The feeling of the people was immediately made known to him, with the view of inducing him to alter his resolution; but it had a contrary effect. To fear of the triumph of the court succeeded fear of the triumph of the people; or rather these two fears mingled, and so worked upon his mind, that he left Neuilly, which was too near St. Cloud, to go and hide himself in his Swiss cottage, in the forest of Raincy, where he remained until he heard that victory had declared for the people, on the 30th.

M. Louis Blanc has devoted two hundred pages to this revolution of July, without giving to the public any new fact. We have, indeed, many supposed conversations,—his history is mere gossip arranged in the modern fashion, apparently for the purpose of puffing a clique of babbling politicians and coffee-house statesmen. In almost all his particulars, when he does not compile, and even sometimes when he does, he is wrong, and exposes his ignorance. The work of Sarrans† is certainly much better: though it does not give the whole truth, it does not contain many falsehoods. Both, however, seem to know little of the arrival of the Duke of Orleans in Paris, and of its causes. We must say what we have ascertained to be true.

After the victory of the people on the 30th of July, the

* Lieutenant-Colonel Boyer, Inspector, and Colonel Heymes, General Keeper of the Forests of Willers Cotterets, now Lieutenant-Generals, and Aid-de-camps to the king.

† 'Lafayette, Louis Philippe, and the Revolution of 1830.'

royalists who had opposed the Polignac administration, and the doctrinaires, were still dreaming of maintaining Charles the Tenth on the throne; that is to say, of seizing and exercising the governmental authority under the name of the humbled and helpless monarch; whilst, at the Hotel de Ville, Lafayette, and the men who had led the people, during the conflict, intent upon the expulsion of the Bourbons, were considering what government they should organize. All were in favour of a republic; and a republic would have immediately been proclaimed, had Lafayette consented to accept the presidency. Urged by all to assume the station to which his consistent patriotism entitled him, he objected that the weakness and infirmities attending old age, would render him unequal to the task under present circumstances; that, besides, they had no right to establish a permanent form of government; that acting so would be a usurpation of the national right; and that the only thing they could do was to choose a provisional government, which at the same time that it would attend to the affairs of the state, and adopt all the measures rendered necessary by the overthrow of the Bourbons, would call on the people to elect a constituent assembly to decide what government should permanently be established. The patriots could not but admit the soundness of the general's views, in point of principle; but they also knew that it was of the utmost importance to have immediately a rallying cry, which should put an end to all uncertainty; and they had no doubt that the REPUBLIC AND LAFAYETTE would obtain the approbation of all the people. Lafayette would not yield; the day was passed in discussing those matters which were to be settled on the 31st.

In the mean time, the Orleanists had assembled at Lafitte's, where they were soon met by a party of royalists and doctrinaires, some to oppose the project of the banker and his friends, some to give their assent; convinced, from what transpired as to the feeling of the people, that the cause of Charles the Tenth and his family was hopeless. Yet they could not agree with the proposals of Lafitte; and nothing had been determined at half-past nine o'clock on the evening of the 30th, when they left, to meet again on the following morning. Knowing what had taken place at the 'Hotel de Ville,' and that in all probability Lafayette would be prevailed upon to accept the presidency, Lafitte wrote a note to Chevalier de Broval, requesting him to send to the prince, and to tell him, that, if he did not come to Paris before next morning, nothing was left to him but to partake of the exile of the other Bourbons. Broval dispatched the head of the secretariat, Oudard, to Neuilly, recommending him to determine the prince, and to bring him back

with him. Oudard walked the whole distance; and, notwithstanding the reluctance of the duke and of his family, who were afraid for his safety, prevailed upon him to set off instantly. Both walked all the way to the Palais Royal, where they arrived at one o'clock in the morning.*

Immediately on his arrival at his residence, the duke sent for the Duke of Mortemart, who, by a royal ordinance of the 29th, had been appointed prime minister by Charles the Tenth, instead of Polignac. The person who had that mission was Colonel Peney, an officer of the company of the guards commanded by M. de Mortemart; and who, at the beginning of the insurrection, had retired to the apartments of Oudard, rather than lead his men against the people. After decorating Peney with a large tri-coloured ribbon, which he himself had worn to come to Paris, and dispatching him, the duke thought of his wife and family, whom he had left in the utmost anxiety. He begged Oudard to go back to Neuilly, in order to assure them all that he had arrived and was safe. Oudard again walked all the way, and was in hope of some rest when he arrived, at about 3 o'clock; but in this he was disappointed. The duchess, with her three daughters and the Princess Adelaide, told him that since the prince was in Paris, they wanted to go thither also. Oudard attempted to dissuade them, telling them that they could not go; that it would be highly imprudent to use their carriage, and that no vehicle went to Paris. 'My husband went on foot,' answered the duchess; 'we will do the same;' and a few minutes afterwards all were on their way to Paris. Fortunately, on leaving the park, Oudard saw the conductor of a *Caroline*,—an omnibus plying between Neuilly and Paris, and so called after the Duchess of Berry. He persuaded him to put his horses to his vehicle, and to drive the party to Paris; and thus the Orleans family were on their march to the throne. †

When, in the morning, the royalists and the doctrinaires heard of the arrival of the Duke of Orleans, they lost all hope of successfully defending the cause of the elder branch, and all hastened to the Palais Royal, where they were anxiously expected by the partisans of the duke. After a short discussion, they resolved to give the general lieutenancy of the kingdom to the Duke of Orleans, as a preliminary measure to his election as

* Sarrans says, that the Duke of Orleans came to Paris attended by Colonel Berthoix; and Louis Blanc states, that he was accompanied by three persons. We have our account from Broval and from Oudard themselves, as well as from Colonel Peney.

† We beg to assure our readers that we are not, in this account, imitating our author, and inventing anecdotes for their entertainment. The facts were as we relate them.

king, and to the drawing up of a new constitution. Their object in doing so, was to deceive the people, by promising, in some sort, that the national will should be consulted as to the new institutions, and the choice of their ruler. While, however, they were busy in settling these matters, and taking possession of the principal functions in the government, they were informed that Lafayette and the patriots, at the Hotel-de-ville, were organizing another provisional government, and taking measures which would have completely upset the new monarchy so hastily raised. No time was to be lost in baffling their projects. A bold measure was proposed. It was, to repair, all together, to the Hotel-de-ville, and to introduce the future king to the leaders of the republicans, in the stronghold of republicanism. The Duke of Orleans demurred at the proposal, as well as many deputies, who were in fear of being shot in the Place de Grève. But Lafitte and Benjamin Constant stated, that, if they did not immediately go, they would soon find another government installed; and, at the same time, they made themselves answerable for the safety of all. They no longer hesitated; they formed into a procession, and went to the headquarters of the revolution.

Lafayette, who, since the beginning of 1792, had not exchanged a word with the Duke of Orleans, could not, on seeing him with his followers, dissemble his discontent; but, solicited by men whom he was accustomed to consider as honest and sincere in their patriotism, shaken by the liberal protestations of the Duke, even moved by the cordiality of his manners, he surrendered to the prince, who called him 'Father,' and promised never to desert his principles—never to forfeit his promises to France and wisdom.

We have redeemed our pledge. We have shown, as well as our limits permit us, how the Duke of Orleans contrived to defeat in turn the combinations of all parties, and to reap all the benefits of a victory in which he had no share; of a revolution, which threatened his own ruin. We have no space to follow up the subject, and to expose the conduct of the king as a sequel to that of the prince. M. Louis Blanc does it, but, unfortunately, under the same hallucinations respecting the influence of the 'bourgeoisie,' with the same ignorance of the causes of the facts, and with the same propensity to give what he imagines for realities. The greater part of his work is a compilation, without order and without discrimination, from the newspapers and the other publications of the times. The revolutions of Belgium, of Spain, of Italy, of Poland, are related more in the fashion of historical novel-writers, than in the spirit of an intelligent, investigating, and severe historian. We were lately reading, with

M. Misley,* the account of the insurrection of Modena; and our friend could not help laughing at the inaccuracies, the blunders, and the inventions which the author has collected upon the subject. As to the affairs of France, though professing to carry his account to the beginning of 1833, the narrative seems to stop short at the death of Casimir Perrier. There is not a word upon the death of Lamarque, upon his funeral, and the insurrection which ensued (5th and 6th of June, 1832), upon the martial law established in Paris, although, in fact, these were the principal events of that memorable year, which brought on France the scourge of the cholera and that of the doctrinaires.

The author's detestation of the unprincipled and cruel men who now rule the country, would be a redeeming point in his work, if the frequent expression of that just hatred were the result of a due consideration of the violation, by those men, of the great political principles for which the people have contended ever since 1789. But we have been unable to discover the principles of the author. He tells us in his preface, 'I belong by conviction to a party that has committed blunders, and sorely has it atoned for them: but I did not enter that party till the morrow after its last defeat.' We confess we are at a loss, after the reading of the work, to find out what party the writer alludes to. He does not belong to the party which claims for the people the right of managing their own affairs by their representatives; for, in many parts of his book, he inveighs against deliberative assemblies—he advocates a system of centralization, which always ends in governmental despotism, and in turn praises and abuses all parties, without much consistency. The St. Simonians alone might claim M. Louis Blanc as their partizan. The heads of that sect, their genius, their plans, are uniformly spoken of in terms of approbation, amounting almost to admiration. We confess, that, on seeing a considerable part of the work devoted to such a subject, we could not but think that this is the party our author alludes to; and this idea certainly did not increase our regard for him, or our confidence in his judgments. History is degraded when made the record of low and immoral intrigues, of swindling transactions; but, when it eulogizes the authors of those intrigues and of those transactions, it excites the disgust, and calls forth the reprobation, of all good men.

* M. Misley is the gentleman we alluded to, in the article on Spanish affairs, as having, in 1830, come into England to combine, with the Spanish patriots, the insurrectionary movements meditated at that time. He was in England four months ago, and we saw him almost every day. He is still what we found him in 1830. Exile, confiscation of his property, persecutions of all kinds, have not humbled his noble mind, nor damped his love of liberty and of his country.

We have done with the first volume of the history of ten years. Many others will probably follow; but our decided opinion is, that M. Louis Blanc is not the man to handle such a subject, and therefore we shall not revert to his productions.

Brief Notices.

The Poetical Works of Robert Southey. Complete in one volume. London: Longman & Co.

In our notice of the former edition of Mr. Southey's poetical works, we entered at some length into a consideration of their merits, and stated our estimate of his genius. We see no reason to dissent from the opinions then expressed: on the contrary, a renewed examination of his writings has strengthened our conviction that it is as a descriptive rather than as an epic or dramatic poet, that he will be referred to in future times, and have a high place assigned him amongst the frequenters of Parnassus. The present edition, consisting of one volume only, includes the contents of the former ten, prefaces as well as poems. It is got up in an exceedingly beautiful style, with a clear though small type, and is adorned with a portrait of the author, and a vignette engraving of his residence at Keswick. Altogether, it forms a handsome drawing-room, or library book, whilst its reduced price, as compared with the ten volume edition, will render it highly acceptable to a large class. No lover of elegant literature will now content himself without possessing a copy of works which, however various the opinions entertained respecting some of them, have taken their place amongst the enduring productions of our age.

The Life and Adventures of Jack of the Mill: commonly called Lord Othmill; created for his eminent services Baron Waldeck, and Knight of Kitcottie. A fireside story. By William Howitt. With 40 illustrations on wood. 2 vols. London: Longman & Co.

This 'hatchup,' as the author facetiously terms his story, will be a great favourite with a large class of juvenile readers. The character of 'Jack of the Mill' is a singular compound of qualities rarely put together, and his adventures are equally extraordinary. His humble origin and strange antics, his passion for enterprize, and early efforts to raise himself from obscurity, the transmigrations he undergoes, the marvelous feats he performs, the gradual development of a character generous high-minded, and full of moral health, his intercourse with the Lollard teachers, search after his benefactor's son, and seizure of the stronghold of the notorious robber Von Stein are described with a vividness and

force which, in spite of the improbability of some parts of the story, sustain the unwearied interest even of readers who have passed the season of youth. Our own boys have literally devoured the volumes, and we ourselves have sympathized somewhat with them. The style is racy, animated, and sparkling, the story never flags, and the moral of the tale is good. A few exceptionable words and phrases occur, the omission of which we strongly counsel in a reprint of the work. Designed for youth, and well adapted for their entertainment, it should contain no expressions, however appropriate to the character uttering it, which are not consistent with the strictest propriety. We need not add, that in their descriptions of scenery and rural life, the volumes evince a keen relish of natural beauties, and an unwonted power of awakening a similar feeling in their readers.

Commentary on the Psalms. By E. W. Hengstenberg, Dr. and Prof. of Thelogy in Berlin. Part I. Translated by Rev. P. Fairbairn. Edinburgh: Thomas Clark. 1844. 8vo. pp. 272.

Every minister of the gospel and every intelligent christian must have frequently felt the want of a sound and judicious commentary on the book of Psalms. Those who undertake to explain these divine songs generally evade the difficulties, or grievously distort the meaning. If any one part of the Old Testament more than another needs to be unfolded in all its amplitude and spirituality, that part is the collection of Psalms. In Germany, different expositions of it have lately appeared from the pens of Hitzig, Ewald, Maurer, Tholuck, and others. All these, however, are deficient in many important characteristics; and, with the exception of the last, are not equal to the fourth edition of De Wette's. There is no living writer better fitted in most respects for commenting on the Old Testament than Professor Hengstenberg, of Berlin. The specimens given in his *Christology* show the hand of a master.

The volume before us, the first of a new series of the Biblical Cabinet, embraces nearly seventeen Psalms. It is pervaded by the same sterling qualities which mark the author's former writings. Great philological ability, sound practical sense, a reverence for the divine utterances of the inspired bards, and a desire to penetrate into the spiritual recesses of the word, distinguish this *fasciculus*, which we hope to see soon followed by the remainder, as far as published in the original. We are glad to find that there is a modification of the author's views in regard to the principle of expounding the Messianic Psalms, and that he promises several *excursus* at the end of the work in which the most important topics connected with the interpretation of the book will doubtless be treated. Each Psalm is preceded by a brief summary of contents, and afterwards every verse is separately expounded. A new and more exact translation is also given. Though the author cannot divest himself of his strong philological propensity, which is indeed his great excellence, yet he has most seasonably interwoven more practical remarks than are to be found in his other writings. The quotations given from Venema, Calvin, and Luther, we rejoice to see. Perhaps for an English taste, there is too frequent allusion to the discordant, incorrect inter-

pretations of other German commentators; although this is both opportune and useful to the author's countrymen.

The commentary, as far as we can judge of it by the present part, is destined to occupy a very high place in the esteem of Biblical scholars. Its great merit must ensure its abundant approbation and undoubted success among all who are competent judges of true commentary. It will supply a desideratum, which, though long and lamentably needed, has never yet been filled up. Hereafter we may enter into its merits in detail. We shall then have an opportunity of pointing out inaccuracies and defects. In the mean time, it may be confidently recommended to the reader as the best that can be obtained.

The translator appears on the whole to give the sense of the original. He is not, however, very competent to his task. His sentences exhibit many Scotticisms and awkwardnesses, and even bad, ungrammatical English. As to elegance or neatness, they have it not. A translator should be able to write good, perspicuous, Saxon English himself, in order to do justice to a German book. Why has he omitted the vowel-points? Have our Scottish professors of Hebrew, and Scottish kirk ministers, *moderate* and *evangelical*, never yet learned pointed Hebrew? Verily they are perfunctory Hebraists.

Spain under Charles the Second; or, Extracts from the Correspondence of the Hon. Alexander Stanhope, British Minister at Madrid; 1690—1699. Selected from the originals at Chevening. By Lord Mahon. Second Edition, enlarged. London: John Murray.

Alexander Stanhope, the youngest son of the first Earl of Chesterfield, was appointed British minister at Madrid in 1689, where he remained till 1699, when he was ordered to quit the country, in consequence of the deep displeasure of the Spanish government at the conclusion of the Treaty of Partition. The extracts contained in this small volume have been selected from his letters and despatches, preserved at Chevening; and present, certainly, a very melancholy view of the statesmen and grandees of Spain at the period alluded to. 'The correspondence now presented to the reader,' remarks the noble editor, 'will, it is hoped, in a compendious form, display a vivid and authentic picture of Spain during the ten years so interesting to all Europe, which precede the death of the last of the Austrian kings.' To all who are interested in European history, and more especially, that of Spain at the close of the seventeenth century, Lord Mahon's volume will be highly acceptable; whilst the general reader will gather from its pages a much more accurate view of the state of parties, and the character of men, than the ordinary course of his reading will otherwise supply.

History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigne. A New Translation, (the only one containing the author's last improvements). By Henry Beveridge, Esq., Advocate. Vol. I. 12mo. Glasgow: W. Collins.

This is the fourth translation of D'Aubigné's Reformation which has been given to the English public. We have already expressed our

opinion on the impolicy and injustice of this multiplicity of editions, and have been strongly confirmed in our view by some facts which have recently come to our knowledge. The present translation, however, has a powerful plea to urge in its own behalf. To say nothing of its cheapness, to which we attach little importance, it is founded on the author's edition of 1842, that differs in several material points from its predecessors. So far Mr. Beveridge makes out a case which we are the more ready to admit from the strong view we take on the point already referred to. The form and type of this edition greatly reduce its price, though much cannot be said for the smoothness and elegance of the translation. We have as yet seen only the first volume.

Thoughts chiefly designed as preparative or persuasive to Private Devotion. By John Sheppard. Eighth Edition.

Christian Encouragement; or attempts to console and aid the Distressed and Anxious. By John Sheppard. Third Edition. London: Religious Tract Society.

Two volumes, which it would be idle to praise, the former having attained the eighth edition, and the latter, the third, facts, equally creditable to the talents of the authors, and the discernment of the public. The *Tract Society* have done wisely in placing them on their list.

Fifty Days on Board a Slave-vessel in the Mozambique Channel, in April and May, 1843. By the Rev. Pascoe Grenfill Hill, Chaplain of H.M.S. Cleopatra. London: J. Murray.

If any of our readers are incredulous respecting the continued prevalence of the African slave trade, and the horrors with which it is rife, we recommend their immediate perusal of Mr. Hill's small volume. It contains a melancholy and horrifying narrative, in which human crime and wretchedness are equally conspicuous. Mr. Hill's official position on board one of Her Majesty's ships of war, brought him into contact with this monster evil, the fruits of which he has detailed with simplicity and truthfulness. He was present at the capture of the 'Progresso,' a Brazilian slaver, of about 140 tons burden, on board of which were found 189 men, 45 women, and 213 boys. The gratitude and exultation of these miserable captives, on their deliverance, was unbounded. 'They crawled,' says Mr. Hill, 'in crowds, and rubbed caressingly our feet and clothes with their hands, even rolling themselves as far as room allowed on the deck before us; and when they saw the crew of the vessel rather unceremoniously sent over the side into the boat which was to take them prisoners to the frigate, they sent up a long universal shout of triumph and delight.' A terrible mortality subsequently prevailed amongst them, mainly caused by suffocation, arising from four hundred being crammed into a hold twelve yards in length, seven in breadth, and only three and a half in height. This was induced by the approach of a squall, and was followed by 'fifty four crushed and mangled corpses,' being taken out on the succeeding morning. We have seldom read so horrifying a

narrative, and earnestly pray the 'Father of the spirits of all flesh,' to put it into the hearts of the rulers of the earth to terminate this most diabolical traffic.

Youthful Consecration; a Memorial of Rosalinda Phipson. With an Introduction by the Rev. John Angel James. London: Hamilton and Co. Birmingham: B. Hudson.

The design of this brief narrative 'is to delineate the formation and gradual development of a religious and useful character, in harmony with intellectual improvement and the cultivation of those tastes which refine the intercourse of life.' This object is effected to an extent not common with religious biographies of young persons, and we strongly recommend the volume to our readers. Miss Phipson was endowed with many qualities adapted to promote the happiness of domestic life, and to render her early removal a source of poignant regret to her friends. These were sanctified by the early infusion of religious principle, which operating on such elements, gave a loveliness and attraction to her character, which awakened the sympathy and affection of all about her. Her piety was at once intelligent and active, based on a scriptural model and in beautiful harmony with the capabilities of her nature, and the requirements of the divine word. We congratulate her surviving parent and relatives on her tranquil and felicitous end, and commend her example to the imitation of the young. This brief memorial of her sojourn on earth, is admirably suited to interest the feelings, and to benefit the heart of every juvenile reader. Mr. James's introduction is full of pastoral tenderness and wise counsel, and may be advantageously perused by persons of all ages.

Select Poetry for Children: with brief Explanatory Notes. Arranged for the use of Schools and Families. By Joseph Payne. Third Edition. London: Rolfe and Fletcher.

This edition has been carefully revised, and its bulk increased by the insertion of several additional pieces. It will be found well suited to its proposed object, free from all that is objectionable in sentiment diversified in its contents, and well adapted to secure the attention, and deeply to interest the juvenile readers. On one point it is open to exception. Mr. Payne has ventured on alterations which we deem wholly unjustifiable—a dishonour to the dead, and a deception on the living. We strongly recommend his restoring the original readings, even though it may be at the cost of some editorial vanity.

True Stories. From the History of the Church. Second Series. London: Charles Haselden.

An instructive little manual, which may advantageously be placed in the hands of young children. In the event of another edition we advise the author to exclude, as far as possible, all technical words, so as to interpose no unnecessary barrier to the ready comprehension of his statements.

Two Treatises on the Church: the first by Thomas Jackson, D.D., the second by Robert Sanderson, D.D., formerly Lord Bishop of Lincoln, to which is added a letter of Bishop Cosin, on the validity of the orders of the foreign reformed churches. Edited by William Goode, A.M. London: Hatchard and Son.

Mr. Goode deserves the thanks of the christian public for these seasonable republications of valuable treatises. Dr. Jackson has been commended by Dr. Pusey as 'one of the best and greatest minds our church has nurtured.' and we hope therefore that his sound statements on the catholic unity and true apostolicity of the church may be read even by half fledged Romanists on the wing to Oxford. With an eagerness which often leads them into acts of at least apparent dishonesty, the tractarian party associate their opinions with names of authority and learning. A vast number even of their favourite authors might be fairly quoted against them, and such light missiles of warfare are as likely to do a certain amount of execution as the heavy artillery to be derived from sound argument and scripture.

Western Africa; its condition, and christianity the means of its recovery. By D. J. East. London: Houlston and Stoneman.

Parties who are desirous of obtaining accurate knowledge of the condition of Africa, and have not time or opportunity to consult numerous and expensive works, may here peruse within a small compass the contents of many volumes. In a future edition we should be glad to observe the fulfilment of the author's original design, in a map of the country, and a chapter on its topography. An introductory table of contents might also, with great propriety, follow the preface, and some of the reflections which terminate almost every chapter, and have belonging to them something of sameness, might, with advantage, be curtailed. These, however, are trivial defects in an interesting and highly-useful volume. We cordially desire that its circulation may sustain and increase the efforts of pious minds for the amelioration of Africa.

The Way which some call Heresy; or, Reasons for Separation from the Established Church. A Letter to the Christians of Hull. By Andrew Jukes, late Assistant-curate of St. John's, Hull. London: Whittaker. 1844.

This book, containing rather more than a hundred pages, foolscap 8vo., is an interesting exposition of the manner in which a sincere and upright man has been led to renounce his connection with the state-church. There is in it a rigid examination of the baptismal service, and of the theories which have been framed to defend it. The schismatical principle of the establishment is clearly and powerfully set forth as compelling its ministers and members not only to tolerate, but to sanction imperfection and errors; to call evil good. The common objections of evangelical churchmen to renounce their participation in the sins of the community to which they belong, are stated and refuted by one who has often heard them

from the lips of others, and maturely considered them himself. Occasionally in his judgment of dissenters, perhaps the writer has fallen into the common error of attributing to all the faults of a few, and of regarding the inconsistencies of some practices among them, as intimately connected with the principles which are professed. Many of his remarks on this subject are of value, and may teach those to whom they relate, to practice better things. Such books as this, published from year to year, are highly useful, as explanatory of the perplexities and difficulties of sincere opponents. It is highly important at this crisis, that accurate ideas should be entertained of the professed principles of the various sections of religious men who cling to the establishment, and of the arguments which they employ to silence the restless consciences of themselves and others. Some few methods of access yet remain, by which earnest and consistent nonconformists can address themselves to the decreasing party of evangelical clergymen in the establishment. Mr. Jukes's volume will provide them with a temperate, unanswerable, and christian remonstrance.

The promised Glory of the Church of Christ. By the Rev. E. Bickersteth, Rector of Watton, Herts. London: Seeleys.

The consummation of this future glory, according to Mr. Bickersteth, will consist in the personal reign of Christ at Jerusalem. We cannot but account it a far more sublime and august conception, one more befitting the spirituality of his kingdom, and the dignity of his person, that he should come the second time as the 'Judge of quick and dead.' An earthly throne, and localised dominion, would be degradation rather than honour to the Son of God. The whole hypothesis is based on arbitrary and unsound principles of scriptural interpretation, it is instinct with anthropopathism, nor can we see that any commensurate moral influence is bound up with its belief. Our author affirms, that one great object of that kind of millenial kingdom to which he looks forward, is the subjugation by the Redeemer of all his enemies; yet he admits (as we conceive all must do under the recollection, that the wheat and the tares are to grow together till that harvest, which is expressly declared to be the end of the world,) that there will be no universal subjection of the heart, but in a large proportion of instances a merely feigned obedience. To our minds, there seems anything rather than exaltation in this. Just such submission flows in the every day course of events, from physical power. It needs no revelation of the Lord from heaven; and surely, instead of the mockery of nominal allegiance subsisting under his prolonged and immediate reign, it would be destroyed by the spirit of his mouth, and consumed before the brightness of his coming.

Mr. Bickersteth evinces such sincerity of regard for all who hold the head, that we shall not remark severely on the strong leaven of Church of Englandism apparent in the earlier part of the volume. We are willing to believe, that much of it springs from the use of the *argumentum ad hominem*, against the tractarian party. In the practical sections, there is much which is excellent, and the great purpose of the whole has our hearty approval.

Moments of Thought on Subjects spiritual, experimental, and practical. By Samuel Alexander Bradshaw. London: G. Virtue.

A selection, we suppose from sermons, of what the author accounts the best sentences. Some are pithy, very many exceedingly quaint. Verbal antithesis is often mistaken for point; and now and then we come upon metaphors so curiously intertangled, that it is impossible to repress a smile. The work has no pretensions to literary merit, but Mr. Bradshaw says, it will suffice him to know, 'that what has been attempted in much weakness, is the offspring of sincere desire to be useful to society, and tributary to the glory of God.' These are motives which we cannot but honour.

Letters from Madras, during the years 1836—1839. By a Lady. London: Murray. 1843.

Pleasant and agreeable reading by candle-light. The type is large, and the style easy and graceful. The letters are twenty-seven in number, and contain much interesting general information concerning our eastern possessions, together with a fair proportion of amusing incident.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR AUGUST, 1844.

Art. I. 1. *History of Rome, from the First Punic War to the death of Constantine.* By B. G. Niebuhr—in a series of lectures. Edited by Leonhard Schmitz, Ph. D. 2 vols. (forming 4 and 5 of the entire history). London: Taylor and Walton. 1844.

2. *History of Rome, to the end of the Second Punic War.* By Thomas Arnold, D.D., Head Master of Rugby School, &c., &c. 3 vols. 1838-1843. Fellowes, London.

IT is an unexpected surprize and pleasure to the admirers of Niebuhr,—that is, to all earnest students of ancient history,—to recover, as if from the grave, the lectures before us. Until we had actually perused them, we felt a not unnatural incredulity as to the possibility of regaining from the notes of youthful hearers any trustworthy record of a mind so peculiar as Niebuhr's: but we are bound to say, we are agreeably disappointed. Although we have to complain of occasional abruptness, in which the lamented historian makes new and rather paradoxical statements without a clue to his reasons,—although also in a few instances a suspicion may enter that he has been misapprehended,—yet the general tone of the book is pervaded by the fullest internal evidence that we have the true Niebuhr before us. Moreover, while its pages abound with instances of that sagacious divination, or at least that acute perception of the places in which divination is needed, for which Niebuhr is so celebrated; the wonderful learning upon which all his conjectures are based, and by which the restlessness of caprice is controlled, is perhaps more striking in this work than in the earlier history, from the evidence which continually presses on us, that his researches were limited to no one period; and that there is nothing that can illustrate his subject

too small or too recondite for his notice,—a coin or a piece of sculpture, a treatise of a Greek rhetorician, or of a Latin father of the church. Considering also that the lectures occupy only two moderate sized volumes, with not a very small type, we are gratified at the great quantity of valuable information which they contain. It may indeed seem surprising that out of this space, so many as twelve introductory lectures could be afforded, (occupying ninety-three pages), on the *sources* of Roman history; a subject on which no man in Europe,—perhaps no man who ever lived since the loss of the sources themselves—could write like Niebuhr; and we feel that a peculiar value attaches to this part of the work. Moreover, in each successive period, the notices given of the literature of the day are much fuller than the ordinary practice of historians might lead us to expect. His judgment of writers is always marked by freshness and personal knowledge, which give a value to his remarks, even when they may not be acquiesced in. His very low esteem of Virgil is not solely a result of taste, but it turns upon an abstract doctrine concerning 'Epic' poetry, which we think he has no business to apply to the Æneid. The compression of matter in the history is effected chiefly by his adherence to the self-denying and for us most expedient plan, of narrating at large nothing which can be learned from the great standard writers of antiquity still extant. Whatever can be easily read in Polybius or Livy, Sallust or Tacitus, is rather hinted at than told by him; while all that needs to be gleaned from orations, letters, biographies, scholiasts, besides fragments, inscriptions, and other secondary sources; all that needs to be pieced together before it can be available for a historian, is elaborately brought forward by him; with his own, (generally rather authoritative,) comments on the characters of the authors. Finally, if his learned editor, Dr. Leonhard Schmitz is not too accomplished an English scholar to accept that as a compliment,—the English style is, with extremely few exceptions, fluent and clear.

The unfortunately imperfect work of the lamented Dr. Arnold is strikingly different in its mode of execution from these lectures of his great master. Arnold's volumes, as far as they go, are elaborately finished by the author himself; and, with the exception that we miss his foot-notes in the third volume, he seldom makes an assertion without amply assigning his reasons for it. Wherever his materials are such, that without inventing it is possible to narrate, he never satisfies himself with discussion or allusion, but lays the whole at full before the reader, with only a partial exception of military operations.

The same beautiful spirit is conspicuous in Arnold as in Niebuhr; an intense and unaffected love of truth, a hatred of

injustice and oppression, in whatever party or person it may be found, and a sympathy with those who are despised and trodden under foot. As they have the same excellencies, so we are disposed to ascribe to them some defects in common:—a degree of wilfulness or prejudice towards certain characters, (with which, however, Niebuhr is the more chargeable,) and what we regard as an unsatisfactory mode of alternately quoting destiny and panegyrizing Providence. A recent able writer has complained that Niebuhr is deficient in power of portraying the peculiarity of Roman character in social life; and we admit that in picturesque writing he is greatly surpassed by Arnold. But a warning has already been justly given by another accomplished writer, that modern historians are in danger of losing sight of what is common to human nature, while laboriously depicting what is peculiar; and the volumes before us shew how anxiously Niebuhr studied (with what success we do not now say) to see Romans as *men;* to discover the good and bad side of their moral temperament, and to realize them in society, not as affording a picturesque exterior, but as living members of the human family, enjoying and imparting happiness or sorrow. In this respect also, Arnold appears to us at least his equal; while in the fulness and finish of his portraits, the circumstances of the two works make comparison unfair.

A great debt is due to both writers for the honest warmth with which they hold up to abhorrence the treachery, meanness, and cruelty of the Romans towards all foreigners,—even to those of Italian blood. Equally energetic are they both (although Arnold had barely reached the stage in which the subject could be treated) as to the permanent and unrequited desolation which the Roman conquests inflicted on countries which are among the fairest on earth,—Italy and Sicily,—at the very door of their homes. But this is a lesson which needs to be much more insisted on; and we cannot help thinking, that if Arnold had given it due weight, he would have modified some of the complacency with which he views the victories of that ferocious people. We cannot digest what we have called his panegyrics on Providence in this matter; for we see nothing but an empty compliment towards the divine predestination, in asserting that what has been is best, if the mind takes this for granted, *à priori*, without examining the facts. But if piety need not scruple to inquire freely, whether it would have been better for Carthage or for Rome to have conquered in the first or second Punic war, we must profess ourselves quite unconvinced by such arguments as Arnold adduces, that this would not have been far better for the welfare of the human race. It is useless to put forward the faults or

sins of Carthage. Even if our judgment, based so largely on ignorance and calumny, were far more trustworthy than it is, we have not here to chose between a universal Roman, or a universal Carthaginian empire. Carthage, as a commercial state, chiefly coveted all maritime positions, and carried on war much more by necessity than by choice. Her citizens were unwarlike; her troops mercenaries; her generals, seldom possessed of common ability: and, if Hannibal had prevailed in the struggle against Rome, this could never have made his nation master of Italy; no, nor of Greece. It would merely have cast down that ambitious power which in the end swallowed all up. It would have probably brought about what was the great desideratum of the ancient world,—the co-existence of many states in a similar stage of civilization, each forced to tolerate the existence of the rest. It is with nations, as with the several classes of the same nation. Every one, as soon as it becomes conscious of power, tries to devour all the others; if it succeeds, it before long dies, itself, of internal decay. But if all fail in the attempt, they at length become convinced that they must make the best of what they cannot help, *i. e.*, each must acquiesce in the independence of the others; and from this moment a sense of reciprocal right establishes itself, and moral relations begin to grow up. *Before* that moment, their mutual position was like that of wild beasts. Now in ancient history, nowhere, except partially in Greece, did any such international relations exist: and as for the Romans, from the instant that their victory over Carthage was certain, they displayed every evil and hateful principle with a rapidly increasing intensity; so that Niebuhr does not scruple to say, that their state loses its interest from the very crisis when it swallows up all ancient history. The occasions are not very numerous, at which the reader can, without absurdity, hope and wish some check to have been given to the remorseless tyranny under which the Western World was so long to groan. *If*, originally, the brave Samnites had maintained their liberties; *if*, Carthage had withstood the war; *if*, the kings of Macedon had, in the century which followed the final settlement of Alexander's dominions, succeeded in organizing all Greece into a united nationality; *if* the Italian allies had prevailed in the hard-fought and critical war against Sulla; nay, *if* Sulla himself had known how to use his victory in the social and civil wars for the permanent welfare of the Roman people; possibly even then, deeply as the evil had penetrated, Italy and Europe might have been saved the sufferings of a thousand years. If the allies had conquered in the social war, the event would have been to Rome, what the independence of her American colonies is to England. Two martial and civilized

states would have stood, where there was one before; and, ere long, neither would have dared to question the right of the other to exist. The misery of a universal monarchy would have become an impossibility, and under the rivalry of two great powers, similar in arts and language, less civilized nations would have had a chance of growing up in independence, and gradually attaining their higher knowledge and arts. So too, if Sulla had seen, (what any fresh eye cannot help seeing) that the same causes, unchecked, which made him supreme master of the Roman state, would infallibly make some one else its master after him; if in short, he had seen, that it is impossible for a small state to maintain armies that shall conquer the world, and not become enslaved to those armies, and their generals: he might, in the fulness of his power, have carried out great and cutting reforms, in the provinces as well as in Italy, enormously beyond anything that the Gracchi had attempted; which should have given to Rome an immensely increased breadth of basis, and might have postponed the evil day, until new powers grew up to avert it for ever.

In any such speculations, we do not for a moment impeach the wisdom and goodness which has ordered things otherwise. We are most deeply convinced that all evil is to work out good; but we entirely deprecate the attempt to say that evil is *not* therefore evil: and we regard the conquests of Rome as the worst evil which at that time was capable of befalling Europe. But not so in the retrospect. It is in the nature of good to be incorruptible—hence, whatever elements of good the Romans introduced, remain to us—and as for the suffering, the violence, the sorrow, the treachery, it is passed for ever, and survives only in record, for our warning and instruction. We do not, therefore, with Arnold, see the wisdom of God in the fall of Carthage; but we are satisfied to rejoice in the belief, that both then and always, even though the right cause should fail, in the end the bitter shall yield strengthening food; and when we bow with wonder and sorrow over a calamitous event,—as over the suppression of the reformation by brute force in Spain, Italy, and Southern Germany,—we can believe that what is, is good, without thinking that nothing conceivable could have been better.

Considering how many writers follow each other in the same strain of admiration, as though the Roman conquest of the western world was a most beneficent arrangement of Providence, we are tempted here to enlarge on that subject. And first let us guard ourselves from being supposed to alledge that *all* conquest is necessarily as injurious, as it is morally for the most part indefensible. We distinguish two cases of large extent, in which the conqueror is often the unconscious agent of good, in the

hand of divine wisdom; *first*, when he brings about the incorporation of homogeneous tribes into a single nation, in which all mutual enmity is soon forgotten, and something at least of national liberty is generally achieved, far better than the unending wars of savage life. Yet even here, if the national unity which is effected by the sword, is not cemented by moral principles and by the establishment of many co-ordinate powers, the benefit of the conquest is lost.—*Next*, when a whole people is sunk in degenerate civilization, and has lost all power of elevating itself from within, its conquest by ruder and free tribes may be a process, however full of suffering, yet necessary for its purification. Such was the conquest of the Roman empire by the nations of the North, and we may add, of Canaan by the Hebrews. But we cannot bring the Roman conquests under either of these classes. The nations whom they trampled under foot were in part homogeneous with them, namely, the Italians, and the Siculian tribes of Sicily: yet so far were the Romans from fusing all into a single nation, that they half extirpated the population of these two countries—turned vast tracts into permanent solitudes—kept up rigid lines of distinction—not merely between freeman and slave, but between Roman and Latin, Latin and Italian; dealing out the right, even of Latin citizenship, with parsimonious hand, and founding Roman colonies (with the *name* of Latins) over Italy, as a miserable substitute for the population which they had exterminated. Neither the aristocracy nor the populace of Rome ever endured the idea of making all Italy an undivided nation: they meant to establish an unjust and absurd dominion of one city; and, as the Caledonian orator complained of them in the remote north, 'they made a wilderness and called it peace.' Viewed even internally, their constitution was, from the second Punic war onward, an overbearing oligarchy under democratic forms. Niebuhr has usefully called attention to the shows offered by the Ædiles at vast expense, as being nothing but a mode of *selling* all the high offices to the rich;—under the pretence of popularity, an ingenious device for shutting out all men of moderate fortune from any fair chance of promotion. Much less had the provincials of more foreign blood any cause to rejoice in their subjugation to the insulting, avaricious, and cruel Roman. It is not uninstructive to observe, that the absence of any custom of primogeniture increased the sufferings of the subjects; for as the estate of the highest nobility underwent large curtailment in division between several children, none were too high to be above the temptation of enriching themselves by plunging the state into war, and plundering the neighbouring nations under any pretext. Whatever may be pre-

tended concerning the benefits of the civilization which she is said to have imparted to half barbarous Europe, the broad facts prove that Rome was incapable of doing any thing in the long run but ruin her own provinces. Before she established her dominion, Spain and Gaul were advancing, gradually and surely, by the safe and natural process which has elevated modern Europe, towards a superior civilization. The Germans, it is true, would have conquered Gaul at a much earlier period, but for the interference of Rome; this, however, would not have been an event to be regretted, for an immediate fusion of the races would have taken place; and in fact to this day a controversy exists, whether the Belgians were Gaulish or German, so hard was it to fix the limits. The Germans would have infused new blood into Gaul, which had been weakened by the serfdom of its people under the priesthood and the knightly order, and in fact would have given to the mass an increased hope of freedom. But unless Rome had extirpated the brave freemen of Italy, and exceedingly crippled those of the rest of her provinces, it is not probable that the Germans would have been able to destroy the civilization of the south. In free confederation, the Italians would have had little to fear from the nations of the north, especially as the Gauls of Italy would have grown up into a settled and civilized people before those great inroads took place: and with Carthaginians, Greeks, Spaniards, and Italians, not to add Gallo-Germans, co-existing as political powers—(a necessary result, we think, had Carthage been victorious in either Punic war)—the political system of modern Europe would have been forestalled by nearly two thousand years, with the best guarantees for the permanence of its good fruit. Add to this the Roman wars and conquests gave the most hideous extension to slave-cultivation and the slave-trade; insomuch that instead of nations of freemen, the cultivators of the soil in Italy and Sicily became, to a prodigious extent, slaves. In short, to undo all the evils which Rome had organized in Europe, the invasion from the north and the passage through the dark ages became unhappily indispensable.

There cannot be a greater delusion than that of forcibly usurping power, whether over our own or over foreign nations, *with a view to do good.* In fact, it is scarcely possible to point to the good which usurpers have ever been able to do, however great their desire, and however eminent their talents: as Cromwell in England, or Cæsar in Rome. And the reason is plain. A usurper meets with a resistance so disproportionate to that which ordinary authorities incur, and is exposed to so much personal danger, that he cannot allow to his subjects their former freedom; consequently, he cannot secure for them the permanence

of his best regulations. We need hardly add, that the example of successful usurpation is a great evil, which multiplies itself with prodigious increase on each successive repetition; but even in countries where despotic sway has become established, as in the later Roman empire, it is instructive to see how hopeless is improvement, or even stability of strength, under the very ablest rulers. Augustus, Tiberius, Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian, the Antonines, Sulpicius Severus, Diocletian, Constantine, were all men of great, or at least good abilities, and excellent intention; and several of these have earned the title, Restorer of the Empire; which Niebuhr justly gives to Vespasian, as well as to Trajan and Diocletian. Yet not one of them made even the *attempt* to secure his best institutions from being overturned by the caprice of his successor; not one of them could infuse the least vitality into any of his ordinances. This in fact is no new discovery: the dictator Cæsar knew it as well as we: it is as manifest in the career of Alexander, as in that of Cyrus. But if neither Cæsar nor Octavian could give to the empire what they certainly had not taken away—liberty (for, in a Roman mouth, that word meant, the license of Romans to trample down all the world beside;) much less can we look with complacency on the enslavement of free barbarians to the Roman yoke; men who, if in the infancy of civilization, were often extremely superior to their conquerors in honour, in generosity, in forbearance, in true dignity, and at least their equals in bravery.

We are apt to be so dazzled by the false glory of a conquering nation, as little to realize, if we have even read, what a compound of deliberate cruelty and treachery the Roman state was. Both Arnold and Niebuhr, we have already said, honestly exhibit the facts. With a meanness incapable of admiring a brave enemy, when a nation had been forced to sue for peace, the Romans were accustomed to demand that they would give up their ablest generals to be beheaded. Thus was it that they demanded of the Samnites the noble Brutulus Papius, who slew himself,—as Ovius and Novius Calavius in Capua, and afterwards Vibius Virrius and his coadjutors in the war of Hannibal,—rather than fall into the hands of the merciless foe.

The story of the brave Caius Pontius of Telesi a is well known. He had intercepted two consular armies in the defile of Caudium, and released them all, on condition of their agreeing barely to restore to the Samnites their own towns and their own territory: yet when the armies were safely recovered, the senate disallowed the treaty, but kept all the advantages of it. It is true, they delivered up to the Samnites the officers who had taken the oath; but Pontius nobly refused to harm them, saying that the Romans must give back the armies too, if they did not like the

terms. Yet, atrocious to tell, thirty years after, the Romans having captured him, after dragging him through their streets in triumph, put him to death in cold blood. As Arnold observes, vol. ii.—p. 365.

'Such a murder, committed or sanctioned by such a man as Quintus Fabius, is peculiarly a *national* crime; and proves but too clearly, that, in their dealings with foreigners, the Romans had neither magnanimity, nor humanity, nor justice.'

If the senate and higher orders of Capua were butchered by the executioner for no other offence than that, like Rome, that city preferred to be free rather than enslaved;—it may be pleaded that the Romans were infuriated by the severe danger from Hannibal, which they had recently escaped. But the deep and irrefutable condemnation of this savage people, is found in the conduct of their more exemplary and admired generals; such as the great Marcellus, the greater Scipio, the accomplished Flamininus, the much admired Æmilius Paullus, and his equally exemplary son the younger Africanus. We must dwell awhile on these great characters.

The city of Syracuse had been the most valued ally of Rome, through the first Punic war; indeed for nearly fifty years had yielded free assistance to her, often in times of deepest distress, and had never incurred blame. But on the death of the aged king Hiero, his boyish grandson was persuaded to join the Carthaginians; and the factions of the court and of a few magistrates carried affairs alternately towards the one or the other scale. The desperate atrocities of those who favoured the Roman alliance so disgusted the Syracusans, that after several revolutions, the Carthaginian party prevailed. A nominal hostility to Rome followed, but no active war had commenced, when the Roman forces marched down on Syracuse. A lengthened siege took place; and when at last two quarters of the city capitulated, Marcellus would not guarantee to the inhabitants more than their personal safety, but claimed every article of property as plunder for the army. Whether their lives were really held sacred, says Arnold, 'can only be conjectured;' but as soon as the last remaining quarter had surrendered, and the public treasure had been secured, Marcellus sent in his soldiers to slay or plunder as they pleased; besides the horrors of judicial execution, for rebellion against the majesty of Rome.

'Old as Archimedes was, the Roman soldier's sword dealt kindly with him, in cutting short his scanty term of remaining life, and saving him from beholding the misery of his country. It was a wretched sight to see the condition of Syracuse, when the sack was over, and what was called a state of peace and safety had returned. Every house was laid bare, every temple stript; and the empty pedestals showed how sweeping

the spoiler's work had been. . . . . Those fathers and mothers who were so happy as to gather all their children safe around them when the plunder was over, had escaped the sword indeed; and they and their sons and daughters were *not yet* sold as slaves: *but their only choice was still between slavery or death.* They had lost everything. What food was still remaining in the besieged city, the sack had either carried off or destroyed; and if food had been at hand, they had no money to buy it. And this came upon them after a heavy visitation of sickness. . . . . Many therefore *sold themselves* to the Roman soldiers, to escape dying by hunger; and the family circle, which the sack of the city had spared, was again broken up for ever. . . . . Syracuse was now become subject to barbarians, whom she had helped in their utmost need, and who were repaying the unshaken friendship of Hiero with the plunder of his city and the subjugation of his people.'—Arnold, vol. iii., p. 309.

Such was the conduct of Rome to a city from which they had never received any thing but benefits; yet notorious as were the events, Marcellus was really believed by the Romans to have behaved with peculiar humanity; and both historians and orators, including Cicero, delight to extol his magnanimity and refinement.

New Carthage—the modern Cartagena—had been founded by the Carthaginians on the coast of Spain, and was supposed to be beyond fear of danger. On this important town the young Publius Scipio made a most unexpected attack, and having stormed it,

'The soldiers, according to the Roman practice, commenced a deliberate massacre of every living creature they could find, whether man or beast, till, after the citadel had surrendered, a signal from their general called them off from slaughter, and turned them loose upon the houses of the town to plunder.'—Arnold, vol. iii., p. 403.

The violence and cruelty of Scipio and his tool Lælius towards Massinissa, in the matter of the unfortunate Sophonisba, was richly merited by the crafty and wicked Numidian; but towards Sophonisba herself, the heartlessness of Scipio is afflicting. Her sole guilt consisted in being a beautiful Carthaginian, lately the queen of Syphax, and espoused by Massinissa on the very day of her capture, while her royal husband was still in chains: Lælius attempted to drag her by violence out of the bridal bed; and the next day she was poisoned, because Scipio did not trust her.

Titus Flamininus was a man of very mild temperament; yet under the following atrocious case he did not scruple to defend his brother Lucius, and to persecute the elder Cato, because as censor he had removed him from the senate. While Lucius was at supper, a despicable favourite of his complained, that he had never seen a man killed, although he had often desired the gratification. Just then a Gaulish deserter came with his wife

and children to the door, desiring protection. Lucius ordered the man to come into the parlour, and there slaughtered him with his own hand in order to show the favourite how a murdered man looked. Yet the republic was not yet in its corrupt state! Hannibal was still alive.—Soon after, Flamininus being by accident ambassador at the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia, Hannibal betook himself thither as a fugitive; and Flamininus, without any orders from Rome, for which there had been no time, insisted on Prusias's giving up Hannibal to be put to death, under the penalty of war from the Romans. Hannibal, it is well known, preferred, like Brutulus Papius, to perish by his own hand. The same Flamininus, after proclaiming the independence of Greece, artfully formed a Roman faction in every town; and when these traitors to their country had murdered the chief of the patriotic party, he protected the murderers from justice. Niebuhr laments this sad stain on his character, (p. 245), yet (p. 238) he speaks of Flamininus as 'a general who bore in his heart a love of the Greeks,' and declares that no other Roman would have acted so mildly as he.

The conduct of Æmilius Paullus towards the Epirots, after the war against Perseus was ended, in which they had committed no other offence than that of holding to a Macedonian sovereign, and that, with no remarkable tenacity; we will relate in the words of Livy:—

'He sent forward centurions to the separate cities, who at his order gave out that they were come to place garrisons in them, *thereby to secure that the Epirots, like the Macedonians, might be free;* and summoned to Æmilius ten chief men from every city. When they came, he ordered them to have all the gold and silver brought forth, and sent bands of Romans into the several towns. Of these, those who had to proceed to the more distant places set out on an earlier day, so as to arrive all of them on the same day. Orders had been given to the tribunes and centurions how to act. Early in the morning all the gold and silver was collected: at the fourth hour the sign was given to the soldiers to plunder the cities; and so great was the booty, that every horseman received as his portion 400 denarii, every foot soldier 200, while 150,000 human beings were led off as slaves. The walls of the plundered cities were then pulled down: *they consisted of about seventy towns.* The whole booty was sold, and from the proceeds the soldiers were paid. Paullus then went down to the sea at Oricum, having by no means satiated his soldiers as he had hoped, &c.'—xlv. 34.

Well* may Niebuhr say, (vol. i. p. 281,) 'After such a cruelty, I cannot see why many persons call Æmilius Paullus a mild and humane man:' yet certain it is, that the Romans saw no

* Thirlwall, in the last volume of his Greece, published since the above was written, throws the guilt of Æmilius on the senate, and calls it 'a melancholy example of *military servitude.*'

cruelty in it, and that with Livy and Cicero, he is an exemplary character.

'It was by the same kind of policy,' continues Niebuhr, 'that ten commissioners were sent to settle the affairs of Macedonia and others to Achaia, who compelled the Achæans to pass a decree, that all those who had been the supporters of Perseus should be put to death. The Achæans gave a very appropriate answer, requesting the Romans to name the offenders, that they might be tried. But the Roman Commissioners refused to condescend to this, and *insisted on a decree being passed, pronouncing death upon the Macedonian party in general*, before they would bring forward a list of them. When the Romans were pressed further, they declared all those who had been captains-general to be guilty. One man, Xenon, who had been captain-general himself, now rose, and declared that he was so convinced of his own innocence, that he would willingly submit his case, not only to a court of his own countrymen, but to the Romans themselves. This offer came opportunely for the Romans, and they immediately made out *a list of more than a thousand persons* who were to quit their country and go to Italy. On their arrival at Rome, however, *they were not placed before a court of justice*, but were distributed as hostages in the towns of Etruria. Seventeen years after this, not more than three hundred of them were surviving: some of them, who had attempted to escape, had been convicted and put to death.'

And this was towards a people whom the Romans, as if in bitter mockery, had a little while before proclaimed free, when it was their policy to separate them from the interests of Macedonia.

The destruction of the Numantines is a tragedy, not more horrible than twenty others, to be easily culled from the Roman annals, but more distressing through the noble character of the people. This also we shall tell in the words of Niebuhr, or with slight abridgment.

'During its first years, the war against Numantia was carried on by the Romans without success. The consul Quintus Pompeius was unfortunate in his undertakings, and the Numantines even conquered his camp. His position was so desperate, that he thought it advisable to offer peace. The Numantines, *who wished for nothing else*, accepted the offer; and in order that the peace might obtain the sanction of the Roman senate, they were obliged nominally to submit to Rome, to pay a certain sum of money, to promise to serve in the Roman armies as auxiliaries, and to give hostages, who however were to be sent back afterwards. But this reasonable peace did not satisfy the Romans, and it was not observed by M. Popillius Lænas, Pompeius's successor. The Numantines then sent ambassadors to Rome, appealing to the treaty of Pompeius; but the senate annulled it, and war was renewed. The consul, (C. Hostilius Mancinus,) in the year after, was, with his army, cut off by the enemy, and left entirely in their mercy. But the Numantines had now lost their confidence; and they were not satisfied either with

the promise, or with the oath of Mancinus, until Tiberius Gracchus, who was in the Roman camp as quæstor, and in whom alone the Numantines put trust, had pledged his own honour also. The army was then dismissed in safety, but the Senate once more rejected the peace, and decreed that Mancinus should be delivered up to the enemy in order to annul the treaty. The Numantines, however, refused to accept him, and sent him back, that the curse of the perjury might fall on the Romans. After this, the war lingered for a few years, until Scipio Africanus (the younger) was made consul. He at length, with 60,000 men, succeeded in blockading the town. All attempts of the Numantines to break through the Roman fortifications failed. On one occasion, however, some men succeeded; and forced their way to the town of Lutia, where their courage met with so much admiration that several hundred young men offered their assistance. Scipio pursued the fugitives to Lutia, and *cut off the hands of about four hundred youths, who were brought before him as friends to the cause of the Numantines.* After the Numantines in the city had been for some time living upon the corpses of their enemies and of their own friends, they at length wished to capitulate; but Scipio *demanded that they should surrender at discretion.* The Numantines then begged for a truce of three days to consider the proposal. This time they employed, especially the persons of the higher classes, in destroying their wives and children, that they might not fall into the hands of the Romans: on the third day only a small number came forth, their features scarcely human. Scipio selected fifty for his triumph, and the rest were sold as slaves. Numantia vanished from the face of the earth, and was never rebuilt by the Romans.'—Vol. i. p. 312.

Niebuhr is right in protesting that these Spaniards were not barbarians. In material civilization and in experience of war, they were inferior to the Romans; but in every moral quality they appear to have been superior, and from the information which Strabo furnishes, concerning the Turdetani, as well as from coins and inscriptions, it is reasonably inferred that they had a literature of their own. It is, however, a shocking fact, that the philosophic historians of Rome appear unable to think any deeds against foreigners atrocious, which are for the moment expedient to their country. We should not appeal to the conduct of C. Marius to the people of Capsa in Numidia, (considering the character of the man,) but for the comments of Sallust. Capsa was a town, separated from the Roman province of Africa by so wide a desert, that the Romans heard of its name for the first time when Marius was consul. So far off was it, that Jugurtha treated it almost as an independent city, and it had given him little or no help in the war. Marius with extreme danger crossed the desert and surprized the place. Since he had intercepted great numbers of the citizens in the fields, those within the town were induced to surrender, in order to recover their friends. But Marius immediately slew all the adult males, sold the women and children as slaves, plundered the town, and then burned it in a heap. 'This deed,' says the philosophic

and calm Sallust, 'was certainly a violation of the laws of war, yet *it was not perpetrated from any avarice or crime of the consul;* but *because* the place was accessible to Jugurtha and difficult of access to us, and the inhabitants were previously fickle and faithless, and such as we could not control either by kindness or by terror.' The invectives of the Romans against *Punic faith* have seduced many persons into a belief that the Romans themselves, however violent, were honourable and true to their solemn engagements; but their own narratives prove the very opposite; while it is difficult to alledge a single clear case in which the faith of Carthage towards them was stained. The remark will hold equally of individuals and of the state. The intrigues of the great Scipio with the perfidious Massinissa, through whom principally he broke the power of Carthage, are as despicable a tissue of treachery as any Libyan chief or Indian rajah ever wove; and his subsequent horrible destruction by fire of the armies of Syphax and the Carthaginians,—thirty thousand men,—was managed by the hollow pretence of a negociation, in which he disguised his soldiers as slaves, to act as spies, and acquaint themselves with all the localities of the camps. The terms which he imposed upon Carthage at the end of the war, were expressly devised with a view to insure that the encroachments of Massinissa on the Carthaginians should afterwards give the Romans a pretext of war, if Carthage dared to defend herself. Some ten years later, when the case occurred, the unhappy Carthaginians sought to avoid the snare by an embassy to Rome, entreating that Scipio might arbitrate between them and Massinissa. He was sent out, with two other commissioners, to decide how far the territory of Carthage reached; which (Livy observes) he could have easily determined if he had pleased; but with a truly satanic spirit, he returned without giving any judgment; since, says the author, it was clearly expedient to leave the quarrel undecided.

The noble Metellus Numidicus employed against Jugurtha all his own arts of treachery, and used every sort of bribery to induce the king's own intimate friends to assassinate him; yet it cast not a shade of ignominy on his reputation in Rome. Nor indeed in cruelty of punishments do the Romans seem to have fallen short of the Libyan nations. They did not indeed kill by crucifixion any but slaves; they ordinarily only scourged their noblest enemies before beheading them. Yet they had no conscience against greater cruelty. Philip, the son of Perseus, an unoffending youth, against whom they had no pretext whatever, was carried by them into Italy, and there killed by perpetually disturbing him in his sleep. Jugurtha was starved to death by them in a cold dungeon. In the war of Spartacus, the prætor Crassus impaled the bodies of his captives

all along the high road from Capua to Rome. Even in decency of behaviour towards the dead, the Romans were inferior to their great rivals. Hamilcar, when in Sicily, tried, but it seems in vain, to teach them a more chivalrous spirit, by the courtesy with which he returned the bodies of the slain. Hannibal carefully sought out, and buried with honour, the bodies of the noblest Romans; but when his brother Hasdrubal had been slain, the Romans cut off his head and carried it half the length of Italy, for the sake of flinging it over the lines into Hannibal's camp. And such stories they tell in the height of their civilization and philosophy, two centuries later, when all the excitement of the contest is past, and when the territory of Carthage has long been absorbed into the empire,—without a single emotion of shame.

The succession of horrors will, we fear, be too much for the reader; yet it is salutary to contrast with them the happier scenes in which we live; and some acquaintance with the atrocities of ancient times is important for enabling us to appreciate our own advantages. With the evidence offered by the history of the crusade against the Albigenses, and the later wars against Protestantism, to say nothing of modern France and Spain, we fear that the Christian religion can be no guarantee to Europe, against the most savage enormities. Our only human guarantee, we believe, against the permanence of such things, is found in the multiplication of civilized nations, of which each keeps the other within certain restraints; quite insufficient, we grieve to say, yet of great and increasing importance. Niebuhr's lectures are well suited to impress on the mind, the self-ruining character of all despotism; but his limits keep him from expatiating, as much as his inclination and ability would have led, on the similarities and the contrasts of older and of more recent history. His biographical sketches we greatly value, although we cannot *always* convince ourselves of their fidelity. His character of Africanus the elder, as here set forth, is different from, and we are persuaded more correct, than that, which Archdeacon Hare, in his preface to Arnold's third volume, anticipated. Niebuhr, while allowing Scipio's superiority to his countrymen,—except, perhaps to Cato, who was younger than he,—regards him as a mere soldier.

'Hannibal's greatness,' says he, 'was no less striking in times of peace, than of war: [but in peace] Scipio was a useless citizen; nay, the dangerous example which he set in despising his lawful accusers may have led the Romans to despise the laws of their country. He showed his haughty pride from the moment he began to take part in public affairs, until he became a candidate for the consulship [against the *lex annalis*] . . . This feature in his character is visible throughout his life;

he wanted to set himself above the laws, and submission to their sovereign power was quite foreign to him. We do not hear that he was the author of any institution or law to benefit his country, although he might have bestowed great blessings upon it by his influence;—and Rome was surely in need of blessings.'—(p. 160.)

Scipio's pretended divine communications are regarded by Niebuhr, as having been, like those of Mahommed and Cromwell, the fruit, partly of enthusiasm, and partly of hypocrisy: but, adds he, God only knows the truth in these cases.

We wish we could quote in contrast the noble eulogy on Hannibal, which is conceived in words of even higher admiration and esteem, than pervades the pages of Arnold: we do not ourselves think, that it is *too* high; and great as is our general hatred of war, we are disposed to think no more righteous or sacred vow of enmity was ever taken than that of Hannibal, against a nation, which, as he and his father discerned, was like a fierce beast, incapable of being bound by oaths and treaties; and, which left nothing for others to choose, than to annihilate or be annihilated.

The great men who act a part in the period of the civil wars, from the Gracchi downward to Marius and Sulla, Crassus, Lucullus, Pompey, Cicero, Cato, Cæsar, Brutus, Antony, Octavian, of course, attract a large share of Niebuhr's attention. We rejoice in his vindication of the often misunderstood or calumniated Gracchi. He confesses his strong dislike to Pompey, in words which almost betray a consciousness, that he cannot justify the strength of his aversion: and, we think that he wrongs him. The difference between Pompey and his great rival Cæsar, was immense; but, if general intellectual superiority lies with the latter, moral excellence, we are persuaded, was with the former. Pompey was a child of fortune from his youth; and stept so early into authority more than regal, that he had many indeed of the frailties, but very many also of the virtues of a hereditary sovereign. Accustomed to be a central object of admiration, he imbibed the habitual selfishness of monarchs, and a jealousy of all who divided popular applause with him. Yet he wished that applause to be given him freely; and had no desire to grasp power by the sword. His wars were never made by him for his own aggrandizement; nor continued without occasion. Again and again he disbanded his armies with prompt punctuality, beyond all expectation; and indeed the more extravagant the authority granted him, the more zealous was he to use it strictly for its right object, and to give it up as speedily as possible. Such at least was his conduct, until Lucullus persuaded the senate to refuse to ratify his acts, and until Cæsar coalesced with him, and certainly taught him many bad lessons. Pompey did not possess the judgment of a statesman, and all his

laws were failures; but his wise humanity towards the unhappy and dangerous Cilician pirates, is immeasurably beyond anything that Cæsar, or any other Roman that we remember, devised in like case; and it was rewarded by complete success. That Niebuhr should go so far as to question whether Pompey was an able general, is curious indeed. To us it appears, that Cæsar's own history unwillingly proves, that, in the whole war of Dyrrachium, Pompey's generalship was superior to his. If he was at last defeated, it was owing to circumstances clearly detailed by Cæsar: chiefly, first, the great inferiority of his raw or Asiatic levies to the veterans of Cæsar; next, the interference of the stupid aristocracy who encumbered his camp. But, on every point, Niebuhr chooses to interpret Pompey's character for the worse. On the other hand, we equally marvel at his overwrought admiration of Cæsar and of Cicero. Not that we like to name the two men together. For Cicero we have a regard and esteem, which we feel towards few of the Romans: but, when Niebuhr would make out that he was not intoxicated with self-admiration,—in short, fairly upset by his exploits against Catiline,—and far too vain to be a great man,—we think he is labouring to no purpose. If Cicero could have forgotten *self*, he would have been the greatest, as he was among the best, of the Romans; but the figure of self, constantly reflected on his mind, often perverted his judgment, and made him vacillating and weak. As for Cæsar, we cannot tell what right any one has to panegyrize him as a feeling and humane man. When prætor in Spain, he attacked peaceful cities in his own government, and plundered them for personal gain. His shocking cruelties in Gaul are reluctantly bewailed by Niebuhr. But suppose all this forgotten, since he was a Roman;—and yet we *cannot* forget it, for like Alexander, he knew no difference of race between men, as soon as they became his subjects—what avails it to say, that Cæsar did not shed Roman blood in time of peace, when he deliberately entered a civil war for no other object than to overthrow the liberties of his fellow Romans? He was prepared to massacre on the field of battle the first senators of Rome, when their sole offence against him was, that they did not like to have their lives and fortunes at his absolute disposal. This is what he and they alike knew that he was aiming at; yet Niebuhr treats it as highly unreasonable, that they should demand of him what the constitution demanded of every one,—to lay down his armies before becoming a candidate for the consulship! Niebuhr says he was no intriguer: yet he allows that he bought over the tribune Curio, with Gaulish gold, to betray the public liberties; nor do we know what else, but a tissue of intrigues, to call his whole civil conduct for twelve years

together; until, in short, he was prepared to declare war on his country. He boasts of his power of attaching friends—but he forgets that he made friends of the vilest—like Curio and Anthony, Vatinius, Calenus, and Gabinius, whenever it suited his purposes, and put them into places of power, where he knew that they would commit gross oppression. Nay, we must deny that Cæsar wished to have a true friend—a virtuous and independent friend. He wished for friends who should be his creatures—loaded with his bounty, and submissive to his will: and his mistake consisted in fancying that high-born Romans were ripe for being thus bought into slavery. His virulence towards Cato, against whom, when dead, he wrote the malignant and slanderous work called *Anti-Catones*, shows how little he could endure real truth and goodness: for Cato was no enemy to Cæsar's person, but was a warm-hearted conscientious man, who would have rejoiced to honour Cæsar, if he had asked what could be given honourably. Equally discreditable to Cæsar, are the personal insults which he lavished, when prætor, on the moderate and virtuous Quintus Catulus, chief of the senate; whose greatest offence consisted in having competed with him for the office of chief pontiff. In fact, the countless adulteries of Cæsar, and other impurities, stamp him—whatever may be said to the contrary—as a thoroughly heartless man, while the divorce of his own wife, barely on suspicion, (as he publicly pretended), and his continued good understanding with Publius Clodius, her presumed paramour, are an aggravation of his conduct. How infinite is here the superiority of Pompey! Cæsar was of the true Sullan and Catilinarian breed.—Moreover, the bloody wars of Cæsar were essentially personal. He did not attack Gaul, to make Rome great, but to get for himself plunder and an attached veteran army. For this end he destroyed by the sword and by starvation some two millions of persons; and then unhesitatingly abandoned the province,—to revolt, if it pleased, behind his back,—while he led his legions far away to waste their blood in civil war: and this is the hero, whose humanity it pleases historians to extol. Niebuhr also swells the general chorus of praise upon Cæsar's Latin style: and in truth it is dangerous to question this, lest the writer's own scholarship be doubted. Nevertheless we do not scruple to assert that the Gallic war and the civil war are written in an obscure *slipshod* Latin, in which perpetually the sense cannot be determined by the grammar, and needs to be picked out laboriously by other sources of knowledge. Of course it is an idiomatic Latin: no Roman patrician could easily help speaking his native dialect; that at least is no merit to any one. Having said thus much to qualify the praises of Cæsar, we fully admit his wonderful sagacity, and the excellence

of his laws. He was trained in the school of adversity: (this was his great advantage over Pompey;) and there learned a free cordiality of manner, a *bonhommie*, towards his comrades such as Labienus, which he ever retained. Niebuhr also justly praises both him and Cicero for being above the feeling of *envy*: this is a great virtue in them both, and if it be ascribed to conscious superiority, perhaps that is no disparagement of it. Till his thirty-seventh year Cæsar gathered up experience, and saw the working of the state machine from beneath; and if he could have been elected dictator at that age, he would no doubt have been a very wise legislator. But no laws, founded upon usurpation, could be of use; and his own experience proved it: he was slaughtered, as it were, on the steps of the throne. His friends, like himself, had been willing to shed Roman blood without limit, as long as they thought they were to share the fruits of victory with him; but from the moment when they understood that he was to be free, at his pleasure, to crush even them also, they conspired and slew him. We do not understand the complaint of ingratitude against Trebonius and Decimus Brutus. Stupid they may be called, in not having seen that they were warring to make a despot of him: this, however, they did not see. With them it was a fair bargain of common guilt and common spoil; and when they found out that he meant to be their sovereign, they resented this as a breach of compact. Marcus Brutus indeed was in great measure a fanatic, an unpractical bookworm, an ape of Greek patriotism, and to him these remarks have no application whatever. As Goethe and Niebuhr rightly declare, the murder of Cæsar was a calamitous event for Rome: yet had he lived out a reign of beneficence, the fortune of Rome and of the world could not have been the happier. In fact his wild project of subduing Parthia and Southern Russia, makes it probable that he would have lived merely to curse those countries, as he had cursed Gaul, by his ambition, with no possible good result to the empire or to Rome.

Our space will not permit us to remark the wilfulness with which Niebuhr acquits the profligate and needy Cæsar of having any part in Catiline's project, 'because he was too humane;' and greedily believes that the wealthy and cautious M. Crassus was in the plot. We acquit both of them; Cæsar, because he was too shrewd to commit himself to so desperate a scheme, in which he would have acted only a subordinate part. Not to follow characters, (and in fact we have said the worst we have to say,) we complain of the crudeness of Niebuhr's remarks whenever he touches on the different races of mankind. 'Thus,' he says, 'the foolish conduct of the Ætolians can only be accounted for by their being a southern nation!' and takes occasion from the

inability of the Cimbri and Teutones to bear the Italian sun so well as the Romans, to moralize on the superior muscular strength of the southerns!' We may here add that Arnold also has a great, and we think exaggerated contempt, for the Celtic nations. It has not, as far as we know, been sufficiently remarked, that the Gauls and Germans were always superior to the Romans as warriors, considered individually. 'Against other nations,' says Sallust, 'we contend for glory and empire; but against the Gauls we have always had to fight for existence.' This was true, though the Gauls were immeasurably inferior in discipline and arms, and all the arts of war; and from their first appearance to their final destruction of the empire, the Germans proved to the Romans more terrible than the Gauls.

One of the most startling results of Roman conquest, was the extreme profligacy of the noblest ladies in Rome. This seems to have arisen out of the ambition of the men, and the dissolution of all other ties than those of blood, so that one who wished to attach himself to another, tried to effect it by marriage; and if one or both of the parties were already married, it was brought about by divorce. The extreme frequency of divorce caused a depravity hardly equalled in any other state; and to the fact that it was confined to the *noble* ladies Niebuhr attributes the remarkable result, that for the first century of the empire the great men of Rome would not unite themselves to their equals in rank, but lived in left-handed marriage with a humble and faithful concubine. Although we have already exceeded our limits, we are tempted to add a striking story from Plutarch, concerning a person so pure and virtuous as the really-unparalleled Cato of Utica. It appears that the orator Hortensius conceived so high an admiration of Cato, that he longed to become connected by marriage with him, and therefore begged him to take away his daughter Porcia from her husband Bibulus and give her to Hortensius, or at least lend her to him until such time as she might bear him a child 'for the better cementing of love between the two families.' When Cato could not bring himself to anything so unreasonable as to deprive Bibulus of his wife, Hortensius then said that Cato's own wife Marcia would do as well, if he would spare her, since Cato had probably already as many children as he wished! In short, he persecuted him so much, that Cato at last gave up the decision to Marcius Philippus, his wife's father, by whose consent Hortensius finally gained his end. We must add that Hortensius was a highly-respectable man in his domestic character, and that Cato was afflicted by very disreputable female relatives.

In conclusion we will say that there is no nation in Europe for whom the history of Rome contains more instruction than

for the English. We do not refer now to our conquering spirit in India, although there also it will apply; but to the whole internal state of society; the relation of England to Ireland, and of one class of Englishmen to another. In fact, Niebuhr again and again avows that he understands Roman history by studying the corresponding phenomena in England. We hope, therefore, that the perusal of these valuable works will not be confined to the few who are students of ancient languages; and whatever blemishes we may venture to criticize in so great a genius as Niebuhr, there are few writers indeed in whom they may, with so little flattery, be called 'spots in the sun.'

Art. II. *Ecclesiastica; or, the Church and her Clergy.* By Edward Mahon Roose, of Lincoln's Inn, Esquire. With a portrait of His Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Hatchard and Son, London. 1842.

Tens of thousands are at length beginning to see and feel the force of a fact which seemed for ages to escape notice. The entanglement of things religious, with things civil and political, would appear to have been deemed a pious duty for many generations. It might have been imagined that confusion, and not order, was to be the grand characteristic of society; and that with respect to the nobler portion of our nature, that through which we approach the most High, the world was to be the Great Teacher of the soul,—the state was to keep the keys of the door of mercy; that kings and princes were to be the dispensers of heavenly wisdom; or that over the portals of eternity were to be emblazoned the frail emblems of earthly grandeur. Alas, for the fatal error! We do not mean just now to enter on the general question of religious establishments, but to ask for the attention of our readers to some matters of detail: and propose showing how the public and private character of the established clergy, within the limits of our native land, becomes more or less affected by that union between church and state, which until of late years it was almost thought blasphemy to impugn; and which still forms a standing toast at tithe audits, chapter-meetings, clerical dinners, and conservative associations. The shortest way, to the hearts of farmers at least, must be down their throats; or else they could never be brought to clap, and roar, and cheer, at that master-piece of hypocritical subtlety, which under the mask of religion, extracts large monies from their pockets, and accelerates the rapidity with which our smaller agriculturists are hurrying into debt and bankruptcy. Let it

however at once be understood, that none can deprecate, more than we do, any approaches to acrimony or personality. Our warfare is exclusively directed against systems, and not against individuals. If we mention a fact, it shall be accurately stated, and upon our own knowledge, whenever possible. But we wish to diffuse the largest amount of truth in our power, with as little collision, as may be, even with the prejudices of our fellow-creatures. We certainly desire to allure others to our way of thinking,—yet by the kindness of ratiocination, rather than the bitterness of controversy.

It is notorious, that the professed object of a religious state establishment, like our own, is the welfare of souls; the instruction of the people for both worlds. Bunyan, in his matchless allegory, makes the Interpreter take Christian into a private room, where 'he saw the picture of a very grave person hang up against the wall, and this was the fashion of it:—it had eyes lifted up to heaven, the best of books in his hand; the law of truth was visible upon its lips, the world was behind its back, it stood as if it pleaded with men, and a crown of glory did hang over its head! Then said Christian, 'What means this?' The Interpreter answered:—'The man, whose picture this is, is one of a thousand; he can beget children, travail in birth with children, and nurse them himself, when they are born. And whereas, thou seest him with his eyes lifted up to heaven, the best of books in his hand, and the law of truth written on his lips, it is to shew thee, that his work is to know and unfold dark things to sinners, even as also thou seest him stand as if he pleaded with men. And whereas thou seest *the world as cast behind him*, and that a crown hangs over his head; it is to show thee, that despising and slighting the things that are present, for the love that he hath to his master's service, he is sure in the world that comes next, to have glory for his reward.' 'Now,' said the Interpreter, 'I have showed thee this picture first, because the man whose picture it is, is the only man whom the Lord of the place whither thou art going, hath authorized to be thy guide in all difficult places thou mayest meet with in the way: wherefore, take good heed to what I have shewed thee, and bear well in thy mind what thou hast seen; lest in thy journey thou meet with some that pretend to lead thee right, but their way goeth down to death.' How the supporters and opponents of the present order of things may study such a portrait with advantage, must be sufficiently obvious: whilst our convictions are also very strong, that *ex necessitate rerum* the generality of any state clergy will be found lamentably unlike the conceptions of the author of 'Pilgrim's Progress.' Let us glance, for a moment, at the manner in which the mass

of such ministers must be affected as preachers,—on platforms,—as parochial pastors,—as too frequently magistrates,—as occasional politicians,—as religious authors,—as members of cathedral chapters,—or as prelates: for all these are departments connected with their public character amongst ourselves.

And first, with regard to the established clergy as preachers, we are not going to deny, but that there are amongst them a goodly multitude, who now divide the Word of God aright, giving to each division of their flocks a certain portion of meat in due season. But it must be remembered, that their evangelical pulpits have grown up in spite of a religious establishment, through the operation of other causes, frowned upon and resisted, all but to the death, by the heads and lords of that establishment itself, which for three hundred years has persecuted the puritans and their successors. The state fed the church with loaves and fishes, exacting from the latter in return either silence or subserviency. About a century since, John Wesley blew a trumpet, which whether he intended it or not, awoke from profound slumber sundry principles of vital godliness, whose complete developement, as well amongst episcopalians as nonconformists, will work out that solemn declaration of our Lord, *My kingdom is not of this world!* Down to that moment, the so-called church of England might have been suitably typified by one of her own cathedrals:—a pile of massive masonry, magnificent to the eye, cold to the sensations, domineering over all around, mouldering without, forsaken within, as though the genius of formalism had enshrined itself in fretted stone. Alliance between the church and state had effected all this: for how could the former realize her union with Christ as her only living head, when articles, formularies and subscriptions, all subjugated her to another master,—to the king or queen who might be the reigning monarch of the time? Nor was this earthly sovereign a mere *caput mortuum*. On the contrary; the iron hand of a ruthless prime minister controlled both directly and indirectly the ordinations of more than a myriad of clergymen,—avowing indeed that they were influenced by the Holy Ghost to take upon them their sacred offices, yet notoriously treating that grave avowal as something worse than a practical dead letter. Hence of necessity ensued hypocrisy, secularity, latitudinarianism, heresy, and spiritual death. To preach at all, once in a week or fortnight, or even in a month, or a quarter of a year in some rural districts, was esteemed a meritorious action; confining our remarks as we are now doing to the generality of those denominated strictly orthodox, and untainted with methodism. Of what sort the sermons were, throughout these dreary periods, let collections of dusty volumes testify, found only in the libraries of ecclesiastical

dignitaries, and even there consigned to the obscurity of upper shelves and dark closets. When at length better days arrived through the divine blessing on the instrumentality of such men as Romaine, Scott, Venn, Grimshawe, Simeon, Cecil, and a number besides, did the Establishment bless or curse their labours? And if we are told, that now at least episcopalian evangelism walks abroad in silver slippers, wrapped in the rich robes of opulent patronage, mingling with canons, deans, and archdeacons, or ascending to the lordly bench, whilst at home in the snuggest parsonages of our towns and villages, it reads the 'Record,' denounces dissent, and swears cordial allegiance in its very soul to things as they are;—our sorrowful rejoinder is, that true as all these allegations are, they make the heart sad and sick to look upon them. The fine gold has become dim. The precious sons of Zion, who could once love all that loved their common Saviour, seem almost to have passed away. Taking the criterion of our Lord, *Hereby shall all men know whether ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another,* to test the precise circumstances of the case, it must be admitted, that the state of genuine individual piety is low amongst many: that depth has been sacrificed to surface: that profession and practice have gone far towards a dissolution of partnership: that christian heroes of large stature and comprehensive vision have been succeeded by purblind pigmies: that instead of glorying, as the Milners used to do, in coming up from the valleys of separation to the platforms of union at our public meetings, our present clergy have qualms about mingling with nonconformists, and are more intent about the cut and colour of ecclesiastical vestments, than the promotion of harmony and concord. We may safely appeal both to the metropolis and provinces, as to whether or not this coldness, and this exclusiveness, have not seriously told upon their preaching. Since Bishop Wilson left Bedford Row, we would ask whether the episcopalian pulpit in London imparts an influence, powerful and palpable as it formerly did, to our learned professions? Have not tenuity bad taste, an oratorical imitation of Chalmerism, declamatory attacks upon opponents, whether Romanist or Protestant, usurped those spheres of usefulness, where Newton, or Owen, or Leigh Richmond would labour, were they now alive, in another spirit? We see plenty of religious amiability, perhaps, in certain well known quarters: but where is the power—where is the love—where is the sound, enlarged, catholic mind? The state has touched even the revival of this century with its wand of torpor. The anglican church has, it is true, multiplied its rites and ceremonies, but there has been any thing rather than a correspondent increase of vigour and fruitfulness. That there

are exceptions to such statements we most frankly admit; yet that the general view is overdrawn few we think will be found to affirm.

But let us listen to the speakers upon episcopalian platforms; which, it will be remembered, were once rarely countenanced by those in authority; whilst now, the Christian Knowledge Society, and that for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, venture to hold their provincial assemblages, and attend the addresses of deputations, or even hired agents,—employed most honourably, as we conceive, for the promotion of their respective purposes. We have heard and read many of these orations, delivered, as may well be imagined, by individuals of rank and station, and highly cultivated minds. With the exception of some, by Archdeacon Wilberforce, and one or two others, their main features appeared to us to be unimpressiveness and short-sightedness. No one would suppose, that any machinery existed in the world for missionary objects, besides the funds and committees, and officers, of these venerable associations. They are generally alluded to in the same sentence, or the same breath, as the Siamese twins of the Church of England. Eloquence on their behalf, can scarcely fail to move in a very contracted field. Any germinating ardours, on behalf of missionary enterprise, quickly wither away amidst the gravity, formalism, etiquette, and exclusiveness of the whole affair. The genius of state patronage takes the chair: decency and dullness perform the part of vergers, drilling both those who speak, and those who hear, into the decorum of ecclesiastical propriety: whilst zeal and spiritual-mindedness remain comfortably at home, lest they should be mistaken for enthusiasm and fanaticism. Fancy but some stray Rowland Hill to rise in support of a motion: how would secretaries gaze and stare; what looks would be exchanged, and whispers circulated; deans would elbow prebendaries, or wait for the frowns of right reverend fathers in God, with mute amazement: the orator would be deemed out of his wits, as most undoubtedly he would find himself out of his place; and the end would be, a reprimand from his superiors, for breaking through the fences of order, although it were to proclaim truth, or save souls. Within the last three years, an amalgamation was attempted, between the British hierarchy, and the Church Missionary Society in Salisbury-square. Never were consequences more ludicrous, if anything could be ludicrous in connection with such subjects. Surely the evangelical clergy have, since that event, had to make as many wry faces as if they had eaten Ezekiel's roll. But so it is, even with the most pious men; if they will run to the State for that shelter and assistance, which ought

only to be sought for from the ark and sanctuary of the Lord of Hosts, they may for a while get stroked and petted for their pains, yet there lies no mode of escape from the penalty which they will have to pay for it. The episcopal advocates of the Bible Society are diminishing, rapidly, we imagine; and, with the exception of the grand May meeting in Exeter Hall, those in holy orders are by no means prominent as they once were on its platforms, even where they continue a subscription to its funds. An instance occurred the other day, when, with an eminent prelate as president, the ministers of his lordship's own parish, although decidedly evangelical in their principles, declined to sit by his side, and would only listen to what passed from the lower benches of a very moderate audience. The argument of all such persons is, that from any and every contact with nonconformity, the 'Church is in danger;' by which they mean, the union between their denomination and the government of the country.

But, in the far more important department of pastoral visitation, are the evils of this fatal union to be discerned. Throughout the 10,000 parishes of the land there are placed, rectors, vicars, or curates, as spiritual instructors; without the slightest notice of the fact, as to whether they may prove acceptable, or otherwise, to the flocks over which they are to preside. These sheep may happen all to belong to other shepherds, except as to their fleeces, about which there is sure never to be any misapprehension. The wool goes all one way: but let that pass. There are at least scores of cases in Ireland, where the parishioners to a man are Roman Catholics; besides a number in Wales and Cornwall, where something like seven-eighths of the inhabitants are dissenters. The intrusive teacher, in these instances, can exercise no beneficial influences. Human nature is human nature; so that every bristle stands upon end against the flagrant and insulting anomaly. Yet, what is all this to the man of the University, who comes among his people with a rod of power, bound up by the law of the land. Even where episcopalians and nonconformists are merely mingled together in not unequal proportions, a most injurious result ensues upon the pastoral character. He, who ought to be the minister of peace, quickly feels his position to be more or less one of antagonism towards a large portion of his parishioners. There is a consciousness within him, that he must walk up and down his village, as the personification of a principle, which he knows to be impugned. The right hand of fellowship can only be held out towards those who differ from him, however excellent they may be, by a considerable effort; which, in these days, a less number of pious clergymen than formerly are disposed to make. Hence, tithes, and

church-rates alone, are enough to compromise the most angelic minister. His pastoral character catches an infection, almost whether he will or not. His bearing, even towards his own congregation comes to evince an increasing sense, that he is clothed with authority, derived from secular, as well as spiritual sources. The laity are looked upon by his Order, as has been once remarked, but as ashes under the soles of their feet. Tradesmen and the lower classes are given insensibly to understand, that his office invests him with no inconsiderable rank: which, moreover, leads him onward to court the great far too frequently, however a sense of duty may compel him to care for the humbler members of his church in the way of charity, superintendance, and condescension. An episcopalian commentator of admitted piety, the late Thomas Scott, very candidly observes, that 'perhaps Satan never carried a more important point, than when the opinion was adopted of the clergy being gentlemen by profession; and, when he led them to infer from it, that they and their families ought to live in a genteel and fashionable style. When they were thus taught to imitate the appearance of the affluent, the most effectual step was taken to reduce them to abject dependance; to convert them into parasites and flatterers; to render them very indulgent to the vices of the rich and great; or even to tempt them to become the instruments of accomplishing their ambitious designs: *and no small part of the selfishness and artifices of the clergy, have in fact originated from this fatal mistake!*' Worldliness can scarcely be escaped, where the pastor is lifted up above the heads of his fellows, by the very law under which he lives; where his subsistence from the altar is secured, whether he serves that altar, or declines doing so; where a golden ladder of ecclesiastical promotion is for ever set up before his eyes; and, where, from his exclusive education, habits of thought, as well as general associations, the distance is too great for habitual sympathy between the minister and an ignorant population. His intercourse, even with the meanest of his communicants, may be conscientiously frequent, and of the most benevolent kind: but daily experience tells us, that something must be wrong; that vice in our rural districts is not repressed; that the blind in heart are not instructed; that the tears of the poor are not wiped away; and, that affection for an established clergy is getting less and less, throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom.

That they are too often magistrates is undeniable; nor, can those of our readers who may be only cognizant of the state of society in towns, conceive with what emotions that awful personage whom men call a Justice of the Peace, is contemplated in the country. No peasantry can ever be brought to love,

however they may naturally fear such an official. Their minds perpetually connect him with the game laws and poaching,—with the licenses of public houses and beer-shops,—with the cage, the stocks, and the whipping-post. Of individual exceptions we are not now speaking: but what we aim at, in a broad general view of the subject, is that more curious compound of rustic admiration,—the parson-squire! He may be the most amiable person alive,—the most accomplished and best educated man in the neighbourhood: which of course all goes for nothing with regard to the fitness, or rather atrocious unfitness, of putting preachers of the gospel of Christ into the Lord Chancellor's Commission of the Peace. The imagined eligibility, however, for this coveted, though troublesome office, very often produces its reflex operation upon the clergyman. It places him in mental approximation with the squirearchy and aristocracy. It augments and inflames the sensitiveness, to which we have already alluded, respecting his rank and position in the social world. His secular affections soar with a higher and brighter feather. He oftener remembers, and more cordially clings, to that adulterous connection between Church and State, which confers upon him so much of his consequence: and just so far as this occurs, his incapacity will appear more manifest for pastoral and pulpit occupations. This is not the way to qualify for attendance upon death-beds, for binding up broken, or healing wounded consciences; nor ought the genuine minister of religion to fear the lord-lieutenant of his county, who may possibly exact rather more subserviency than may be pleasant, where the clerical country gentleman has got entangled among the temptations of the Quorum! Public opinion seems at length taking some beneficial direction with regard to these matters. Hunting, shooting, and coursing, are not in vogue as they used to be with such as wear gown and cassock; fewer incumbents than formerly are found applying for, or issuing out their *dedimus potestatem:* which are the incipient symptoms, perhaps, of that mighty revolution, which will one day prohibit our civil and spiritual authorities from entrenching upon each others' boundaries. Mankind will presently acknowledge, that they have tolerated more than enough of such absurdities: nor will pious and enlightened episcopalians be then slow to perceive, whatever may be their existing prejudices, that the cause of genuine and vital godliness must be an immense gainer by the change.

Akin to the magisterial dignity is the question of politics. There can be no just reason, we conceive, that ministers of religion should abstain from the exercise of civil rights, so that the higher claims of their holy functions be not lost sight of, and all be done from right motives for general edification. We are

not amongst those who quarrel with a clergyman for giving his vote; but it is to the influence of the establishment upon his character, in acting as an occasional politician, that we wish to attract attention. This has brought him unhappily so to confound things which differ, as that he has become incapable of discerning between good and evil. His patriotism, supposing him to be sincere, has lost its reality, through the false medium in which an alliance between church and state makes everything appear. Ask him in his own parlour, whether Christianity has its fonndation in certain acts of parliament; and his notions, down to a given point, will probably develope the most satisfactory theological soundness. But on the hustings, or during the preparatory bustle of an election, he walks and talks, as though the existence of the kingdom of heaven upon earth, altogether turned upon state endowments, great and small tithes, the exaction of vexatious rates, the lawn sleeves of the prelacy, or the denunciation without discrimination or mercy, of those whom he calls papists, heretics, or schismatics. Hence confusion and exclusiveness, bigotry and monopoly, nervous fearfulness of popular freedom, and attachment to arbitrary notions of government, obtain paramount ascendancy over his mind. He ranges his name, his influence, his subscription, countenance, and exertions, under the banners of whatever may be selfish and illiberal. We have known instances, where a pious, evangelical, episcopalian candidate, has not only been denied support from the clergy of his own communion, and way of thinking generally,—but they have one and all, in a large and populous district, given their suffrages to his opponent, although a concealed Unitarian, simply because there was a profession of conservatism on that side, whilst liberalism formed the characteristic of the other. Nor is this all; since the temporary obliquity to which it leads is fearful; and goes materially to shake the confidence of large masses in the genuine honour and fair dealing of their spiritual guides. Amidst the excitement and turmoil of the moment, the end comes to be considered as justifying the means; although, of course, this would not be either secretly or openly admitted. Some popular war-cry is caught up, of a nature to alarm the timid, or disconcert those who, without having much opportunity to reflect, are easily puzzled. An instance occurred not very long ago, at the contest for Kendal, of this kind; but we were ourselves privy, in one of the earlier reform struggles, to the following circumstance. There was an individual of unexceptionable claims, who aimed on that occasion at the representation of an eastern county. No offence could be found in him, but that he was liberal in his politics, and had voted against Sir Andrew

Agnew; not because he was himself a low sabbatarian but simply because he rightly conceived that the vagaries of the Scotch baronet would interfere with the rights of conscience. A resident clergyman, renowned for his popularity as an author, and equally so for his unwearied practice of all that the parochial ministry requires, carried six freeholders to the poll out of his own parish on behalf of toryism, all got together under the erroneous impression that the liberal aspirant was *opposed to the Christian sabbath!* But apart from this case, we have heard and seen enough to convince us, in contests for large cities, that where once apprehension is awakened for the destiny of the most unhallowed covenant amongst all human institutions, the clergy, whether evangelical or otherwise, have no bowels for the claims of the oppressed, the welfare of commerce, or the liberties of mankind. Hence, in an age of politicians, when the hour of danger arrives, it will be seen that their hold upon popular affections has long been at an end. Should the tempest ever seem to demand such a step, we apprehend that their privileges, revenues, and worldly gear, will be thrown overboard, or else appropriated, without ten minutes opposition from any but themselves, and their unenlightened followers.

We believe that they rarely come forward into the political arena, as authors, with some very striking allowances for the periodical press, and some occasional pamphlets on tithes or the corn-laws. But as religious writers, we have never been slow in admitting their merits; associated indeed as those are with an exclusive possession of advantages, for which the nonconformists have so long sighed in vain. And yet with regard to these last, we firmly believe that so great is the deterioration produced by the anomalous system under which they are dispensed, that few dissenters would purchase admission to the universities, beyond what is rather grudgingly afforded them at Cambridge, if the literary honours of the Isis and the Cam were only to be worn by putting their necks into an ecclesiastical yoke, which neither our fathers nor ourselves have been able to endure. Whatever enthrones exclusiveness in the intellect of a nation, or any considerable portion of a nation, will surely tend to realize the Japanese result of dwarfing natural productions. Let any candid observer ponder over the pages of our current religious literature, issuing as it does weekly, monthly, quarterly, and annually, from fountains overshadowed by the establishment. Works on science may be excluded from present consideration for obvious reasons. Can the history of the church of Christ by the two Milners, a most admirable and important publication in its way, be deemed a work worthy of its title-page, with its continuation by the Rev.

John Scott, and others? Are the Memoirs, the Abridgements, the Narratives, the Travels, the Essays, which almost surpass calculation as to their number, and *weight in a certain sense*,—illustrations of mental power or weakness? or are not the best of these specimens of mediocrity,—reproductions of what went before them,—a serving up of other men's ideas,—a resurrection of old folios and quartos, in the more convenient forms of neatly printed, and handsomely bound hand-books, and duodecimos? How are the streams of controversy not defiled with the secular argumentation, intended to defend that which will sooner or later cease to be defended? Is not the pen of Puseyism more than a match for the puny, hobbling publications, which vainly endeavour to weave ropes out of sand, and read the book of Common Prayer backward? Has not the 'British Critic' in many a pungent and powerful paper impaled the writhing correspondents of the 'Christian Observer;' not that the former is doctrinally right, or the latter wrong;—but just because, for purposes of its own, it can see and boldly point to the mischiefs rather than the advantages resulting from what religious episcopalians idolize. The Tractarians have actually made the discovery, that the church might be severed from Queen Victoria, and live on, perhaps more healthily than before, after its visible head were cut off! We are well aware what these Oxonians would be aiming at; but just on this point they are more potent than their antagonists, as being nearer the truth than they are. Yet, meanwhile, as to religious authorship generally, one may easily predicate that the mantle of Puritanism, in the strength of its simplicity, the amplitude of its learning, and the celestial fervour of its theology, will never impregnate our present episcopalian evangelicals, until they break off the fetters and manacles, with which church and state slavery has hampered them. Whenever this felicitous event shall have happened, there will be bright prospects perhaps of originality superseding imitation. Few things, in our humble judgment, can be more unsatisfactory than the general religious press is at this moment.

Yet that press has not unfrequently opened up a path of preferment leading at least to what are called the silver stalls of our cathedral chapters. In these high stations, as is well understood, a crowd of dignitaries repose in ecclesiastical ease, from all labours, except that of preaching about half-a-dozen times in the year, and dividing the ample revenues which may be attached to their canonries. Even the moderate amount of six sermons, or sometimes we believe eight, may be delivered by proxy, and on the most moderate terms conceivable; since the minor canons have to eke out their wretched pittances by

catching at such stray bones, which their superiors may not care to pick. The silent effect of our great chapters upon the clerical character is deplorable. Their duty, in fact, is neither more nor less than that of drones. If the dean, whose period of residence, under the new regulation, is three months; or the archdeacons and prebendaries, be worldly persons, there ensues a dull routine of liturgical performances, onerous to themselves and uninteresting to others. Absenteeism to the uttermost legal extent, card-playing conscientiously restricted within certain equivocal bounds of decency, together with the ostentatious observance of the anniversary of King Charles the martyr, and the Fifth of November, fill out the rolling year, and exhaust its golden showers. Should they be religious individuals, as is now sometimes the case, a revival of Laudian pharisaism ensues, if high church principles prevail; or if low ones get the ascendancy, the choir remains neglected. The singing-boys are pretty much left to themselves, their shirts are allowed to get as dirty as their hands, and the only difference seen on Sundays is, that fair congregations attend upon very good discourses. But are any of these evangelical preachers hostile to the abuses around them? Alas, no, in nowise! There is a Chapter with which, from circumstances, we happen to be acquainted, where, on pointing out some lamentable deficiencies with regard to the tenor and counter-tenor voices, the answer was, that it was impossible to pay adequate salaries towards securing them: the rate of remuneration being no more than a sovereign a week for constant attendance twice a day in the cathedral. It never once occurred to our worthy informant, himself a truly devoted minister of the gospel, that whilst twenty shillings were grudgingly paid for seven days labour in the church service, those reverend individuals who *did not so labour*, received the following incomes, taken from the printed returns, and notoriously understated: namely, the lord bishop £10,500 per annum, besides a princely palace in the country, and a noble metropolitan residence; the dean £1,500 a year and his deanery; twelve canons, including a chancellor and two arch-deacons with separate stipends in addition, each £750 per annum, and all enjoying those most comfortable prebendal houses, which, with their gable ends and antique oriels, are the admiration of architects and all tasteful tourists: and yet, forsooth, funds are not forthcoming to render effective that single plea upon which these minster establishments are ever attempted to be defended! Now, in this very city, there are four parish churches where the clerical income only ranges from £60 to £90 per annum: the remuneration deemed sufficient for brother clergymen, who take two or three full duties every Sabbath, in addition to their paro-

chial toils every day amongst the rich and poor of a dense municipal population. Who can help discerning the inevitable effects upon the pastoral character thus produced by our Chapters; both upon those who taste their honey, and those who have the honour of merely looking on, in the faint hope, perhaps, that some day or other they also may be permitted to sweeten their fingers in it? We have not pitched upon an extreme or solitary instance: far from it. The Canterbury Chapter, consisting of a dozen canons, enjoys about £15,000 per annum; whilst the dean is also a bishop. At Durham the same apostolic number share about £30,000 a year: the deanery alone being no less than £3,000 per annum besides. London is nearly the same. Westminster and Windsor come very close to £20,000 a year each. The warden and ten Winchester fellows share about £10,500 for positively doing nothing*. Not a sermon can be exacted from one of them that we are aware of. The entire income of our cathedral and collegiate bodies stands in the parliamentary reports at £284,241, exclusive of fines, leases, residences, and the like; which, as is well known, and was demonstrated in the House of Commons by Lord Monteagle, would add another £250,000 of annual revenue to the amount by a fair change of leaseholds into freeholds. It is not too much, therefore, to take the gross sum, comprehending within it about sixty sinecure rectories, at £550,000 per annum, representing a capital of about eighteen millions sterling at the present prices of landed and real property. We maintain that no clergy could be connected for generations with such masses of the mammon of unrighteousness without consequent corruption and secularity.

What, then, shall we say, when we approach the spiritual peerage? There must surely have been a lapse of the original manuscript of the Greek testament in certain well known passages! Nor could Our Lord have spoken otherwise than, 'I say unto you, call those who call themselves successors of my apostles upon earth, master, master, rabbi, rabbi!' Whilst St. Peter must have had the negative interpolated in his text, when he seems to have uttered the strongest prohibition possible

* The abuses of Winchester College are most extraordinary. William of Wykeham enacted that all the scholars should be *pauperes et indigentes;* and that if any one of them, except the relatives of the founder, *possessiones spirituales vel temporales annui valoris centum solidorum pacifice adeptus fuerit,* he was immediately to withdraw from the institution, as being no longer among the objects intended to be relieved and assisted. The present scholars comprize the sons of some of the most opulent gentry in the kingdom! Nor should another cognate atrocity be forgotten in the same neighbourhood, that of St. Cross, and the misapplication of its magnificent endowments, bequeathed for the poor, and appropriated by the noble and opulent.

against elders *lording* it over God's heritage! We would only, however, wish to excite a momentary smile, that no asperity may rest upon our assertions. The subject is indeed too serious for aught but the most humiliating lamentation. Here is a church professing protestantism *par excellence*, as against the Romanist, and disciplinary orthodoxy as against nonconformists. 'We are the people, and wisdom will die with us,' loudly exclaim Doctor Hook and his ingenious coadjutors. 'We are the catholics of England,' re-echo all the Oxford tractarians! 'Ours is the vanguard of the host of the Lord, going forth to illuminate heathenism in general, and India in particular,' cry the evangelicals, who at home look coolly upon those with whom they once took sweet counsel, and from whose missionaries abroad they are more and more withdrawing themselves, because dissenters resist abuses, and are declared to have become political! This church avowing, on its own behalf, that it is wiser than Daniel; that it is the anointed cherub to cover with its wings, and illuminate with its light the whole land; this very church, which even in the matter of national education claims the nomination of every teacher, male or female, that nothing but sound genuine christianity may be dispensed; this very church is the bond-slave to the state, openly defies as well as violates the precepts of her founder, and revels in the glories of the present world. Being episcopal in her constitution, it might have been taken for granted that her machinery for ordination would be kept undefiled; since without this, the leprosy of corruption must pass from her bishops to the entire pastorate. We have already alluded to this painful point, as to which there can be no mistake. The premier, whether a Bolingbroke, a Walpole, a Pitt, or a Pelham, whether Lord Melbourne or Sir Robert Peel, nominates to each vacancy in the right reverend bench precisely that clergyman, who will best suit his purpose. From that hour he is metamorphosed into a prelate—a lord of parliament—a compound of secular and ecclesiastical anomalies—enthroned in a cathedral, lodged in a palace, encumbered with a diocese rather comprehending territories than districts, and endowed with enormous revenues. Protestant mitres, beyond all question, eclipse popish ones, with here and there an exception. His holiness at Rome has not more available funds at his command, for private purposes, than the Archbishop of Canterbury; whose archbishopric, after the life of its present occupant, is to be cast into the furnace of reformation, and will be most parsimoniously curtailed and pinched for the next holder, to the minimum of only £17,000 sterling per annum! If such is to be its future poverty, what must be its present opulence? The metropolitans of Russia, Germany, France, Spain, and Portugal, never dream of any approximation to such revenues. The see

of London is conceived to be rapidly on the road towards an amount of revenue ranging from £20,000 to £30,000 per annum. The palatinate of Durham used to be the same; and the Earl of Bristol for twenty-seven years extracted similar incomes from the sinecure of Derry, in Ireland. In this last unhappy country, what, indeed, have been the effects of the Anglican episcopate; and what are they at the present moment? The protestant episcopalians there are not more than equivalent to the population of Wales—about 800,000. Lord Grey, amidst the panic which his measures struck into the heart of conservatism, obtained an ungracious consent from the house of lords for cutting down the Irish church from twenty-two to twelve prelacies. Yet still the primate and metropolitan retain almost royal allowances. Our princesses have generally drawn £9,000 per annum from the treasury; but Armagh rejoices in £14,494—Dublin in £7,786—Clogher in £8,668—Derry in £8,000—Kilmore in £6,253—Meath in £7,000—and several more in upwards of £5,000. The see of Clogher has forty-five parishes, twenty-nine of which are in the patronage of the bishop! We shall probably have another opportunity of enlarging upon the peculiar enormities connected with the establishment of the Emerald Isle. The evils of patronage are about equal in both countries. That of Winchester is equivalent to the pecuniary proceeds of his lordship's diocese. The Options*, as they are termed, of the British primacy, enabled Archbishop Moore to provide ten sons and nephews with £2,000 per annum each, besides the private fortunes left them, all gathered out of ecclesiastical property; since, as is well known, his father was only a butcher. Three Irish prelates, within our own recollection, have died worth half a million sterling between them, who had commenced the world with nothing but their talents for getting rich. We repeat it, and that without fear of contradiction,—that the spiritual coronet, in which the elders and supporters of the church of England so notoriously glory, is neither more nor less than a tiara of iniquity, against which nonconformity may as properly protest, as the Anglican establishment itself professes to do against the triple diadem of the Pope of Rome. It is a golden, and secular, and therefore incestuous identification of the mystical body of

* *Options*, in ecclesiastical language, are abuses very little heard of, and still less are they understood amongst the generality of our readers. The archbishop of each province fixes on the best piece of preferment, attached to any one of the mitres within the twenty sees of Canterbury, or the four of York; and has it for his own; or at least it remains at his disposal, and may even be left by will to his executors. Some of the presentations in the case of Archbishop Moore, for example, were posthumous. Hence the indirect patronage, held by the British primate, exceeds even his revenues in annual value: and has no parallel in enormity since the days of the Popes at Avignon!

Christ with the principles of that fallen world which lieth in the wicked one. And now we would request our readers to carry all these circumstances, upon which we have touched, into the house of the Interpreter. Let the pastoral portrait of John Bunyan serve as an index to our inquiries: so that in all plainness and fidelity the results may appear of the alliance between church and state upon the public character of our established episcopalian clergy.

With regard to its influences upon their private conversation, we shall venture to glance at the manner in which the system works at our public schools—at our colleges and universities—in their parsonages, where they settle down in town or rural life—how it operates as to the far too frequent plan of taking pupils—and lastly, how it affects their behaviour in general society. First, as to our great seminaries for those nondescript personages, who are not to be treated either quite as boys, nor yet as young men. Winchester, Harrow, Eton, Westminster, Christ's Hospital, St. Paul's, Rugby, and Shrewsbury, are the foremost of their kind; some of them very affluent in their endowments, and some exceedingly profligate. Besides these, there are the other numberless free grammar-schools, and houses for private tuition, where the clergy, acting as pædagogues, educate those who are to be clergymen like themselves. Here applies the old proverb, 'as the twig is bent, so the tree is inclined.' The strongest church and state principles are imbibed in almost all these nurseries and hotbeds of education as matters of course. The mode in which religion is represented before the youthful mind is essentially that of formalism. All that is said, heard, seen, read, and written has this tendency. Classical studies are made to shed a baleful influence in this direction. The pictured pages of Livy, if commented upon at all, go to illustrate the religious bearings of the old Roman character; in that the government patronized gods many, and lords many; expending large sums for the support of flamens, augurs, vestal virgins, sacred chickens, and a splendid ritual. Ideas are not merely engendered, but they are fostered, that after all, affairs of faith and worship should be under the guidance of temporal governors: that a priesthood, or in other words, a clergy, ought to be paid and protected by the powers that be: that kings and queens should be fathers and mothers to churches: that by how much christianity is better than paganism, by so much ought it to be better taken care of by sovereigns: that personal religion is a topic never to be spoken of through fear of fanaticism or [illegible]: that the clergy rank as gentlemen, being connected [illegible] the state; whilst dissenting ministers, being not so con- [illegible] must fall into their places lower down in the scale. [illegible] know the *semina malorum incunabulis rerum!* The

establishment essentially educates her youth for this world, rather than for that which is to come. Shadows of time get so intermingled with the grand realities of eternity, that the former stand or flit between the eye and the latter; until these come to be little or seldom thought of, except just at prayers, or on a Sunday. Intellect, mind, affections, associations, are all thus suffered to be developed amidst the phantasies of a social phantasmagoria; for which selfishness and the flesh afford the necessary screen; whilst Satan manages the lanthorn and shifts the glasses. The microcosm of an academy, whether great or small, thus prepares its victims for the mighty frauds and impostures of subsequent life. Those, who are to teach others, are first moulded from the very commencement for a specific purpose. The established clergy act themselves, after having been acted upon by others, in upholding the artificial machinery, which is to secularize that which is spiritual. The mischief goes on from generation to generation; and the son of an ecclesiastic at school just presents us in embryo with what his father has been before him, and what his descendants are destined to be after him. It is a revolution rather than a reformation, which must be effected in our entire educational system, with regard to the middle and upper classes, before the claims of the country at large, or the aspirations of christian philanthrophy can hope to be fully realized. As things are, the clerical schoolboy lives, moves, and has his being, in an atmosphere fatal to genuine patriotism—fatal to all fair future respect for the rights of conscience—fatal to that humility of soul which may be the mother of vital godliness—fatal to every faculty for duly appreciating the relations of religious liberty to civil government.

But from school, in nine cases out of ten, he goes to college, where all that was before injurious is strengthened, and all that was the contrary is diminished or weakened. He is still further removed from pure female sympathies, which so often correct practically the theoretic obliquities of our own sterner sex. Woman is the visible angel to childhood and youth; but the university forthwith stifles her voice, lest it should interfere with its own sublime title of Alma Mater! We are not going to dwell upon the abuses at Oxford and Cambridge, where segregation from all domestic influences, and attachment to monopoly and exclusiveness, are the main objects aimed at. Let the coerced celibacy of our fellowships attest the one; and the oaths or subscriptions, on matriculating, or taking degrees, answer for the other. Our plan is rather to point out, in passing, the mode in which the character of an episcopalian pastorate, or that of any other established denomination, must of necessity be affected. There the future preacher of the gospel forms his habits, and acquires

his divinity. Does the apostle declare that 'he is not a Jew that is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh;' in other words, that true religion is and must be essentially a matter of the heart,—in the spirit, and not in the letter, whose praise is not of man but of God?—the commentary afforded by our universities and colleges would seem to tend altogether the contrary way! Let any candid, unsophisticated spectator spend a calendar month among them, and then be made to give testimony as to his genuine impressions. Why, until the revival of what Laud propounded before the commonwealth, and with the exception of the Simeonites at Cambridge, those vast twin institutions, sometimes termed the two eyes of our beloved country, were, with regard to all that constitutes spiritual religion, cities of the dead—sepulchres of godliness! Their influences were admitted to be petrific, in relation to the life of God in the soul of man. The palpable postponement of theological to mathematical and classical studies; the style of expense and general living; the conversation and habitual character of the combination rooms; the slight regard paid to the oath on admission, which universal outcry has at length succeeded in altering; the mode of management with regard to collegiate property; the absence of effective discipline, except as to the merest outside of the cup and platter, nor indeed always even that; all tend to the consequences already intimated. The young master of arts carries away with him the strongest impression that he is a privileged person; that his religion is that of the state, whose secular arm turns a lottery-wheel replete with golden prizes,—some one of which may fall to his share. At all events he is about launching on the sea of life *a gentleman by profession*, a minister irresponsible to the people, unhaunted, and therefore undaunted, by the horrors of the voluntary system; an instructor licensed to be listened to; a spiritual Adonis to be followed, or perhaps flattered, by the fair. A worthy living clergyman has frequently mentioned an anecdote of his Oxford life to the following effect. Descending one day his staircase, he perceived the door of an undergraduate's apartments left ajar at an improper hour. Hearing an audible voice alluding to females and large fortunes, he at once entered, as having a right, from some tutorial office he then held, to do so. His amusement became extreme at finding himself still unperceived, so engrossed was the future curate in soliloquizing before a large mirror, with his fingers stroking his whiskers,—'This face is worth five thousand pounds at least; and why not fifteen, or possibly fifty!' Let the correspondence, which has recently occupied the public journals, still further illustrate the wretched results of current university abuses, in pretending to train the flower of our young men for that sacred

plough, to which whosoever putteth his hand, and looketh back, is not fit for the kingdom of God. The spots of Oxford and Cambridge are indeed those of the leopard.

But from college, after entering upon deacons' and priests' orders, we may follow the new clergyman to his parsonage. And here we will take our first glimpse of him as an incumbent, whether in town or country it may not much matter. If in the former, the living will be, in the majority of instances, a vicarage, the best brick house in the best and quietest street; or else like the palace of Anchises at Troy, *Secreta domus arboribusque obtecta*, with a neat iron railing, adjacent to the churchyard, fronting the pavement where a mail coach used to pass before railways were invented. Should rural preferment have fallen to his lot, that pretty comfortable residence is his, exactly midway between the old grey mansion of the squire, and the handsomest farmhouse in the parish. There are about 3,700 benefices in England worth from £400 to £4,000 a year, and he has got one of these: but how did his reverence acquire it? If a fellow of a college, he obtained it in rotation, at the age of forty-five, after spending twenty of his best years in waiting as a bachelor curate, playing proxy for an absentee; or else his university had the benefit of his protracted labours in absorbing port wine and venison during term-time, whilst thoughout the long vacation he expended his allowance of from £200 to £700 a year in travelling. If he were not a fellow, then the case stands thus: his father, uncle, aunt, trustee, or guardian, purchased for him this cure of souls, exactly as a military commission is secured at the Horse Guards. Innumerable are the advertisements which may meet the eye in every newspaper, setting forth that the advowson or next presentation of such and such a parish is to be sold by auction or private contract—that the tithes are ample — the glebe rich land — the parsonage a capital one for a genteel family—the inhabitants of the village or hamlet so many—the neighbourhood perfectly unexceptionable—and the surrounding country picturesque or favourable for sporting. One often sees it mentioned, that the trout streams are plentiful, or that one or more packs of hounds are within ten miles of the favoured spot. An enormous price is paid down, the rectory falls in, and the happy presentee, after swearing that simony had nothing whatever to do with the business, is regularly inducted. There is yet a third, or even a fourth avenue to these matchless incumbencies. Perhaps there is a fat living attached to the family estate; and if that be a large one there may be three, thirteen, thirty, or even more rectories or vicarages to dispose of. Some of our magnates have fifty: the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster has as many; and the Lord

catching at such stray bones, which their superiors may not care to pick. The silent effect of our great chapters upon the clerical character is deplorable. Their duty, in fact, is neither more nor less than that of drones. If the dean, whose period of residence, under the new regulation, is three months; or the archdeacons and prebendaries, be worldly persons, there ensues a dull routine of liturgical performances, onerous to themselves and uninteresting to others. Absenteeism to the uttermost legal extent, card-playing conscientiously restricted within certain equivocal bounds of decency, together with the ostentatious observance of the anniversary of King Charles the martyr, and the Fifth of November, fill out the rolling year, and exhaust its golden showers. Should they be religious individuals, as is now sometimes the case, a revival of Laudian pharisaism ensues, if high church principles prevail; or if low ones get the ascendancy, the choir remains neglected. The singing-boys are pretty much left to themselves, their shirts are allowed to get as dirty as their hands, and the only difference seen on Sundays is, that fair congregations attend upon very good discourses. But are any of these evangelical preachers hostile to the abuses around them? Alas, no, in nowise! There is a Chapter with which, from circumstances, we happen to be acquainted, where, on pointing out some lamentable deficiencies with regard to the tenor and counter-tenor voices, the answer was, that it was impossible to pay adequate salaries towards securing them: the rate of remuneration being no more than a sovereign a week for constant attendance twice a day in the cathedral. It never once occurred to our worthy informant, himself a truly devoted minister of the gospel, that whilst twenty shillings were grudgingly paid for seven days labour in the church service, those reverend individuals who *did not so labour*, received the following incomes, taken from the printed returns, and notoriously understated: namely, the lord bishop £10,500 per annum, besides a princely palace in the country, and a noble metropolitan residence; the dean £1,500 a year and his deanery; twelve canons, including a chancellor and two arch-deacons with separate stipends in addition, each £750 per annum, and all enjoying those most comfortable prebendal houses, which, with their gable ends and antique oriels, are the admiration of architects and all tasteful tourists: and yet, forsooth, funds are not forthcoming to render effective that single plea upon which these minster establishments are ever attempted to be defended! Now, in this very city, there are four parish churches where the clerical income only ranges from £60 to £90 per annum: the remuneration deemed sufficient for brother clergymen, who take two or three full duties every Sabbath, in addition to their paro-

chial toils every day amongst the rich and poor of a dense municipal population. Who can help discerning the inevitable effects upon the pastoral character thus produced by our Chapters; both upon those who taste their honey, and those who have the honour of merely looking on, in the faint hope, perhaps, that some day or other they also may be permitted to sweeten their fingers in it? We have not pitched upon an extreme or solitary instance: far from it. The Canterbury Chapter, consisting of a dozen canons, enjoys about £15,000 per annum; whilst the dean is also a bishop. At Durham the same apostolic number share about £30,000 a year: the deanery alone being no less than £3,000 per annum besides. London is nearly the same. Westminster and Windsor come very close to £20,000 a year each. The warden and ten Winchester fellows share about £10,500 for positively doing nothing*. Not a sermon can be exacted from one of them that we are aware of. The entire income of our cathedral and collegiate bodies stands in the parliamentary reports at £284,241, exclusive of fines, leases, residences, and the like; which, as is well known, and was demonstrated in the House of Commons by Lord Monteagle, would add another £250,000 of annual revenue to the amount by a fair change of leaseholds into freeholds. It is not too much, therefore, to take the gross sum, comprehending within it about sixty sinecure rectories, at £550,000 per annum, representing a capital of about eighteen millions sterling at the present prices of landed and real property. We maintain that no clergy could be connected for generations with such masses of the mammon of unrighteousness without consequent corruption and secularity.

What, then, shall we say, when we approach the spiritual peerage? There must surely have been a lapse of the original manuscript of the Greek testament in certain well known passages! Nor could Our Lord have spoken otherwise than, 'I say unto you, call those who call themselves successors of my apostles upon earth, master, master, rabbi, rabbi!' Whilst St. Peter must have had the negative interpolated in his text, when he seems to have uttered the strongest prohibition possible

* The abuses of Winchester College are most extraordinary. William of Wykeham enacted that all the scholars should be *pauperes et indigentes*; and that if any one of them, except the relatives of the founder, *possessiones spirituales vel temporales annui valoris centum solidorum pacifice adeptus fuerit*, he was immediately to withdraw from the institution, as being no longer among the objects intended to be relieved and assisted. The present scholars comprize the sons of some of the most opulent gentry in the kingdom! Nor should another cognate atrocity be forgotten in the same neighbourhood, that of St. Cross, and the misapplication of its magnificent endowments, bequeathed for the poor, and appropriated by the noble and opulent.

against elders *lording* it over God's heritage! We would o
however, wish to excite a momentary smile, that no asperity n
rest upon our assertions. The subject is indeed too serious
aught but the most humiliating lamentation. Here is a chu
professing protestantism *par excellence*, as against the Roman
and disciplinary orthodoxy as against nonconformists. '
are the people, and wisdom will die with us,' loudly excl
Doctor Hook and his ingenious coadjutors. 'We are
catholics of England,' re-echo all the Oxford tractaria
'Ours is the vanguard of the host of the Lord, going forth
illuminate heathenism in general, and India in particular,'
the evangelicals, who at home look coolly upon those with wh
they once took sweet counsel, and from whose missiona
abroad they are more and more withdrawing themselves,
cause dissenters resist abuses, and are declared to have beco
political! This church avowing, on its own behalf, that it
wiser than Daniel; that it is the anointed cherub to cover w
its wings, and illuminate with its light the whole land; t
very church, which even in the matter of national educat
claims the nomination of every teacher, male or female, t
nothing but sound genuine christianity may be dispensed; t
very church is the bond-slave to the state, openly defies as v
as violates the precepts of her founder, and revels in the glo
of the present world. Being episcopal in her constitution
might have been taken for granted that her machinery for o
nation would be kept undefiled; since without this, the lepr
of corruption must pass from her bishops to the entire pastor
We have already alluded to this painful point, as to which th
can be no mistake. The premier, whether a Bolingbrok
Walpole, a Pitt, or a Pelham, whether Lord Melbourne or
Robert Peel, nominates to each vacancy in the right rever
bench precisely that clergyman, who will best suit his purp
From that hour he is metamorphosed into a prelate—a lord
parliament—a compound of secular and ecclesiastical anomalie
enthroned in a cathedral, lodged in a palace, encumbered wit
diocese rather comprehending territories than districts, and
dowed with enormous revenues. Protestant mitres, beyond
question, eclipse popish ones, with here and there an excepti
His holiness at Rome has not more available funds at his co
mand, for private purposes, than the Archbishop of Canterbu
whose archbishopric, after the life of its present occupant, is
be cast into the furnace of reformation, and will be most pa
moniously curtailed and pinched for the next holder, to
minimum of only £17,000 sterling per annum! If such is
be its future poverty, what must be its present opulence? T
metropolitans of Russia, Germany, France, Spain, and Portu
never dream of any approximation to such revenues. The

of London is conceived to be rapidly on the road towards an amount of revenue ranging from £20,000 to £30,000 per annum. The palatinate of Durham used to be the same; and the Earl of Bristol for twenty-seven years extracted similar incomes from the sinecure of Derry, in Ireland. In this last unhappy country, what, indeed, have been the effects of the Anglican episcopate; and what are they at the present moment? The protestant episcopalians there are not more than equivalent to the population of Wales—about 800,000. Lord Grey, amidst the panic which his measures struck into the heart of conservatism, obtained an ungracious consent from the house of lords for cutting down the Irish church from twenty-two to twelve prelacies. Yet still the primate and metropolitan retain almost royal allowances. Our princesses have generally drawn £9,000 per annum from the treasury; but Armagh rejoices in £14,494—Dublin in £7,786—Clogher in £8,668—Derry in £8,000—Kilmore in £6,253—Meath in £7,000—and several more in upwards of £5,000. The see of Clogher has forty-five parishes, twenty-nine of which are in the patronage of the bishop! We shall probably have another opportunity of enlarging upon the peculiar enormities connected with the establishment of the Emerald Isle. The evils of patronage are about equal in both countries. That of Winchester is equivalent to the pecuniary proceeds of his lordship's diocese. The Options*, as they are termed, of the British primacy, enabled Archbishop Moore to provide ten sons and nephews with £2,000 per annum each, besides the private fortunes left them, all gathered out of ecclesiastical property; since, as is well known, his father was only a butcher. Three Irish prelates, within our own recollection, have died worth half a million sterling between them, who had commenced the world with nothing but their talents for getting rich. We repeat it, and that without fear of contradiction,—that the spiritual coronet, in which the elders and supporters of the church of England so notoriously glory, is neither more nor less than a tiara of iniquity, against which nonconformity may as properly protest, as the Anglican establishment itself professes to do against the triple diadem of the Pope of Rome. It is a golden, and secular, and therefore incestuous identification of the mystical body of

* *Options*, in ecclesiastical language, are abuses very little heard of, and still less are they understood amongst the generality of our readers. The archbishop of each province fixes on the best piece of preferment, attached to any one of the mitres within the twenty sees of Canterbury, or the four of York; and has it for his own; or at least it remains at his disposal, and may even be left by will to his executors. Some of the presentations in the case of Archbishop Moore, for example, were posthumous. Hence the indirect patronage, held by the British primate, exceeds even his revenues in annual value: and has no parallel in enormity since the days of the Popes at Avignon!

Christ with the principles of that fallen world which lieth in the wicked one. And now we would request our readers to carry all these circumstances, upon which we have touched, into the house of the Interpreter. Let the pastoral portrait of John Bunyan serve as an index to our inquiries: so that in all plainness and fidelity the results may appear of the alliance between church and state upon the public character of our established episcopalian clergy.

With regard to its influences upon their private conversation we shall venture to glance at the manner in which the system works at our public schools—at our colleges and universities—in their parsonages, where they settle down in town or rural life—how it operates as to the far too frequent plan of taking pupils—and lastly, how it affects their behaviour in general society. First, as to our great seminaries for those nondescript personages, who are not to be treated either quite as boys, nor yet as young men. Winchester, Harrow, Eton, Westminster, Christ's Hospital, St. Paul's, Rugby, and Shrewsbury, are the foremost of their kind; some of them very affluent in their endowments, and some exceedingly profligate. Besides these, there are the other numberless free grammar-schools, and houses for private tuition, where the clergy, acting as pædagogues, educate those who are to be clergymen like themselves. Here applies the old proverb, 'as the twig is bent, so the tree is inclined.' The strongest church and state principles are imbibed in almost all these nurseries and hotbeds of education as matters of course. The mode in which religion is represented before the youthful mind is essentially that of formalism. All that is said, heard, seen, read, and written has this tendency. Classical studies are made to shed a baleful influence in this direction. The pictured pages of Livy, if commented upon at all, go to illustrate the religious bearings of the old Roman character; i.e. that the government patronized gods many, and lords many, expending large sums for the support of flamens, augurs, vestal virgins, sacred chickens, and a splendid ritual. Ideas are not merely engendered, but they are fostered, that after all, affairs of faith and worship should be under the guidance of temporal governors: that a priesthood, or in other words, a clergy, ought to be paid and protected by the powers that be: that kings and queens should be fathers and mothers to churches: that by how much christianity is better than paganism, by so much ought it to be better taken care of by sovereigns: that personal religion is a topic never to be spoken of through fear of fanaticism or hypocrisy: that the clergy rank as gentlemen, being connected with the state; whilst dissenting ministers, being not so connected, must fall into their places lower down in the scale. Here are sown the *semina malorum incunabulis rerum!* The

establishment essentially educates her youth for this world, rather than for that which is to come. Shadows of time get so intermingled with the grand realities of eternity, that the former stand or flit between the eye and the latter; until these come to be little or seldom thought of, except just at prayers, or on a Sunday. Intellect, mind, affections, associations, are all thus suffered to be developed amidst the phantasies of a social phantasmagoria; for which selfishness and the flesh afford the necessary screen; whilst Satan manages the lanthorn and shifts the glasses. The microcosm of an academy, whether great or small, thus prepares its victims for the mighty frauds and impostures of subsequent life. Those, who are to teach others, are first moulded from the very commencement for a specific purpose. The established clergy act themselves, after having been acted upon by others, in upholding the artificial machinery, which is to secularize that which is spiritual. The mischief goes on from generation to generation; and the son of an ecclesiastic at school just presents us in embryo with what his father has been before him, and what his descendants are destined to be after him. It is a revolution rather than a reformation, which must be effected in our entire educational system, with regard to the middle and upper classes, before the claims of the country at large, or the aspirations of christian philanthrophy can hope to be fully realized. As things are, the clerical schoolboy lives, moves, and has his being, in an atmosphere fatal to genuine patriotism—fatal to all fair future respect for the rights of conscience—fatal to that humility of soul which may be the mother of vital godliness—fatal to every faculty for duly appreciating the relations of religious liberty to civil government.

But from school, in nine cases out of ten, he goes to college, where all that was before injurious is strengthened, and all that was the contrary is diminished or weakened. He is still further removed from pure female sympathies, which so often correct practically the theoretic obliquities of our own sterner sex. Woman is the visible angel to childhood and youth; but the university forthwith stifles her voice, lest it should interfere with its own sublime title of Alma Mater! We are not going to dwell upon the abuses at Oxford and Cambridge, where segregation from all domestic influences, and attachment to monopoly and exclusiveness, are the main objects aimed at. Let the coerced celibacy of our fellowships attest the one; and the oaths or subscriptions, on matriculating, or taking degrees, answer for the other. Our plan is rather to point out, in passing, the mode in which the character of an episcopalian pastorate, or that of any other established denomination, must of necessity be affected. There the future preacher of the gospel forms his habits, and acquires

his divinity. Does the apostle declare that 'he is not a Jew that is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh;' in other words, that true religion is and must be essentially a matter of the heart,—in the spirit, and not in the letter, whose praise is not of man but of God?—the commentary afforded by our universities and colleges would seem to tend altogether the contrary way! Let any candid, unsophisticated spectator spend a calendar month among them, and then be made to give testimony as to his genuine impressions. Why, until the revival of what Laud propounded before the commonwealth, and with the exception of the Simeonites at Cambridge, those vast twin institutions, sometimes termed the two eyes of our beloved country, were, with regard to all that constitutes spiritual religion, cities of the dead—sepulchres of godliness! Their influences were admitted to be petrific, in relation to the life of God in the soul of man. The palpable postponement of theological to mathematical and classical studies; the style of expense and general living; the conversation and habitual character of the combination rooms; the slight regard paid to the oath on admission, which universal outcry has at length succeeded in altering; the mode of management with regard to collegiate property; the absence of effective discipline, except as to the merest outside of the cup and platter, nor indeed always even that; all tend to the consequences already intimated. The young master of arts carries away with him the strongest impression that he is a privileged person; that his religion is that of the state, whose secular arm turns a lottery-wheel replete with golden prizes,—some one of which may fall to his share. At all events he is about launching on the sea of life *a gentleman by profession*, a minister irresponsible to the people, unhaunted, and therefore undaunted, by the horrors of the voluntary system; an instructor licensed to be listened to; a spiritual Adonis to be followed, or perhaps flattered, by the fair. A worthy living clergyman has frequently mentioned an anecdote of his Oxford life to the following effect. Descending one day his staircase, he perceived the door of an undergraduate's apartments left ajar at an improper hour. Hearing an audible voice alluding to females and large fortunes, he at once entered, as having a right, from some tutorial office he then held, to do so. His amusement became extreme at finding himself still unperceived, so engrossed was the future curate in soliloquizing before a large mirror, with his fingers stroking his whiskers,—'This face is worth five thousand pounds at least; and why not fifteen, or possibly fifty!' Let the correspondence, which has recently occupied the public journals, still further illustrate the wretched results of current university abuses, in pretending to train the flower of our young men for that sacred

plough, to which whosoever putteth his hand, and looketh back, is not fit for the kingdom of God. The spots of Oxford and Cambridge are indeed those of the leopard.

But from college, after entering upon deacons' and priests' orders, we may follow the new clergyman to his parsonage. And here we will take our first glimpse of him as an incumbent, whether in town or country it may not much matter. If in the former, the living will be, in the majority of instances, a vicarage, the best brick house in the best and quietest street; or else like the palace of Anchises at Troy, *Secreta domus arboribusque obtecta*, with a neat iron railing, adjacent to the churchyard, fronting the pavement where a mail coach used to pass before railways were invented. Should rural preferment have fallen to his lot, that pretty comfortable residence is his, exactly midway between the old grey mansion of the squire, and the handsomest farmhouse in the parish. There are about 3,700 benefices in England worth from £400 to £4,000 a year, and he has got one of these: but how did his reverence acquire it? If a fellow of a college, he obtained it in rotation, at the age of forty-five, after spending twenty of his best years in waiting as a bachelor curate, playing proxy for an absentee; or else his university had the benefit of his protracted labours in absorbing port wine and venison during term-time, whilst thoughout the long vacation he expended his allowance of from £200 to £700 a year in travelling. If he were not a fellow, then the case stands thus: his father, uncle, aunt, trustee, or guardian, purchased for him this cure of souls, exactly as a military commission is secured at the Horse Guards. Innumerable are the advertisements which may meet the eye in every newspaper, setting forth that the advowson or next presentation of such and such a parish is to be sold by auction or private contract—that the tithes are ample—the glebe rich land—the parsonage a capital one for a genteel family—the inhabitants of the village or hamlet so many—the neighbourhood perfectly unexceptionable—and the surrounding country picturesque or favourable for sporting. One often sees it mentioned, that the trout streams are plentiful, or that one or more packs of hounds are within ten miles of the favoured spot. An enormous price is paid down, the rectory falls in, and the happy presentee, after swearing that simony had nothing whatever to do with the business, is regularly inducted. There is yet a third, or even a fourth avenue to these matchless incumbencies. Perhaps there is a fat living attached to the family estate; and if that be a large one there may be three, thirteen, thirty, or even more rectories or vicarages to dispose of. Some of our magnates have fifty: the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster has as many; and the Lord

Chancellor no less than seven hundred, great and small! Hence the younger branches of our gentry and aristocracy crowd into the sanctuary. *Put me into one of the priest's offices that I may eat a piece of bread,* comes to be realized every day. Hungry applicants for clerical employment besiege the ears of the wealthy and powerful. The charge of souls passes from hand to hand, or from generation to generation, like a bale of goods, a pipe of Madeira, or a patrimony of manorial acres. An Irish prelate used regularly to sell his patronage: in avoiding the open scandal of which conduct, he pleasantly gave out that the vacant place would be bestowed on that divine, who could inform him about the real father and mother of Melchisedec! Until his lordship was understood, most deep and learned were the researches of his clergy amongst critics and lexicons: when an old fox, more cunning than the rest, found his way to the palace, and at a very private audience unladed his right pocket of £500, with the remark that, 'This, my lord, was the father,' and emptying the left of another £500, with the avowal, 'This, my lord, was the mother to the personage you mentioned:' the bishop acquiescing in the interpretation, applauding his acumen, pocketing the money, and presenting him to the benefice. What were the procedures the other day with regard to the great deanery of our northern ecclesiastical province, but precisely analogous to this, except that there was the presence of all the wickedness, with an absence of all the humour? But in some one of these methods nine-tenths of our parsonages in England, Ireland, and Wales, are filled up: and then, what, we would ask, may be fairly expected? That their inmates may be frequently amiable, learned, charitable, or even influential, and truly pious functionaries, as exceptions, we are happy to acknowledge; but that the blessed Spirit of God must be grieved and rendered indignant at the whole, as a system, we most fully and firmly are persuaded.

Large numbers, however, of our clergy in the establishment, settle for years on mere curacies; whilst it is in fact as a curate, that the first orders are always conferred, except as to fellows of colleges. Then follow, in far too many instances, a variety of plans for eking out the scanty income; such as taking pupils and the like. If people will have an ecclesiastical establishment, one would imagine that it ought to be at least upon something approximating to equitable principles, so far as regards the labourers themselves. The tithe income of England and Wales will this year be about £5,000,000 sterling, which would afford every episcopalian pastor his manse, (as they say in Scotland), and £300 per annum. But no; our government, which is essentially aristocratic, has imparted its genuine spirit to the

church, with which it is united. Inequality and unfairness are therefore to be held in solution throughout the whole mixture. An enormous portion of our parochial ministers find it absolutely necessary to dedicate the bulk of their time, and the full flow of their health, to other engagements, than those to which they have sworn unreserved devotedness. If they marry without ample fortune, (for an apostolic or primitive one will not answer the purpose), there may be scenes of difficulty, trial, and embarrassment, which we dare not dwell upon. Tuition also neither improves the temper nor promotes the piety of a pastor, in our humble judgment. Immense mischiefs very often ensue to a rural district from it. Meanwhile episcopal power hangs over the heads of poor curates, like the rock of Tantalus. Towards beneficed clergymen, transformed as our political bishops are into prelates—this power is a cat'o-nine-tails; but towards unbeneficed ones, it is a positive scourge of scorpions. Hence all manliness and independence expire in the lapse of years. Mental and spiritual thraldom come at last to neutralize almost the sense of discernment between injustice and moral rectitude. It happened within the sphere of our own knowledge, that a village wanted a good plain school for needle-work, reading, writing, and scriptural instruction. It was suggested that a meeting should be summoned, which the leading persons in the place attended accordingly. Resolutions were agreed to, a committee was nominated, the farmers were canvassed for subscriptions, and several were promised, upon the general understanding that a certain humble amount of contribution should qualify for membership. Meanwhile the worthy clergyman, who had acted as chairman throughout, began to fear his own views with respect to a governess might be thwarted; and so without any regard for the machinery, which had been thus called with his own approval into existence, he took the whole concern into his own hands and made the appointment himself! On being remonstrated with, his reply was,—'Oh, I know I am legally wrong—I never ought to have consented to a committee at all; but I consulted the bishop about it, and his lordship thinks there had better not be one!' Had this prelatical counsel been resorted to at first, and followed, there would have been no such ground of complaint, as that which has now naturally imparted a complete shock to all cordial confidence between minister and parishioners in this instance. It is no answer to say, that many such parishioners care for none of these things. The professed object of an establishment, like our own, is that they should be taught to care; that they should learn to value knowledge; that they should resort 'to the priest's lips' for instruction; that the influences of the parochial system, according to Dr. Chalmers,

should be brought home to every door, and made to enter into every heart. It is pretended by the Quarterly Review and its readers, that the parsonage becomes a little centre of civilization; that around it most generally extends a circle of affectionate and christian sympathies; that honesty, and conscientiousness, and goodwill, salute each other upon its threshold. We venture to contend, on the other hand, that no such associations of necessity occur; that the very contrast is too frequently the consequence; that our best episcopalian pastors are worse off than they need be, through their social position; that people would love and respect them much more than they do now, were it not for the various reasons and circumstances we have touched upon; and that the best arrangement is a voluntary system, which would render the parties respectively dependent upon each other: the labourer being worthy of his hire; the flock having the power of discrimination between false and faithful shepherds.

Let us, in conclusion, just lift the veil for a moment, to peep at the way in which all this works in general society. The established clergyman, we have already said, can hardly fail to consider himself a privileged person. In plain sober truth he is such. He takes precedence before his seniors in age, his superiors in fortune or talents, who may chance to be but laymen; and this not merely by courtesy, which would be granted in any well disposed company to the minister of religion, probably,—but he does it by law. Hence the tone, and air, and manners, of episcopalian pastors in this country, are strikingly different from what they are in America; or at least in the United States. Allowance, we conceive, should be made for this, more than is now the case; because, however we may deplore the fact, men are the creatures of habits, in the worst of which our ecclesiastical dignitaries, rectors, vicars, and curates, are born and educated. Their sphere is one vast scene of aristocratic temptation, varnished over with the pomps and vanities and spiritual formalism of a state religion. Perhaps they do not think and reason as though they were infallible; but, to a certain curious extent, they are taught to act, as if they were so. Hence an obliquity of intellectual vision will almost always ensue. They imagine themselves pious persons, *ex officio*; but it must be in connection with that sort of piety which will handle the sacred lyre according to the notes prescribed by those occupying high places. The present, or late Bishop of London, was never heard to rebuke dukes or marquisses, or other peers at court, for profane swearing. Henry of Exeter has slumbered over royal and noble delinquencies in a manner utterly inexplicable, but upon the exposition furnished through the union between church and state. Prelates, who attained their sees by the influences of

titled courtezans, have never been known to preach upon the seventh commandment before George the Fourth! And yet it is because the country and government must have a conscience, that the supporters of a church establishment struggle for its perpetuation. We once heard, with our own ears, an earl, still alive, give utterance to the most shocking blasphemies, accompanied with a perfect shower of oaths, any one of which would have subjected a poor man to the fine of a shilling, before the most ordinary bench of magistrates. We are sorry to add, that his lordship was then engaged as president in some private legal proceedings, without any peculiar cause of excitement; and still more sorry are we to state further, that the late excellent Bishop Ryder was present in the same apartment, with two others! But not a murmer was observed to rise, nor a single feature to frown. The impression of such scenes can never wear away. Occasional zeal on the part of our prelacy against chartism, socialism, and sabbath breaking, occasions us pain rather than pleasure. There is a hollowness within which always reminds us rather of hypocrisy than holiness and good works. Nor is it difficult to perceive, that as are the dignitaries, so will their subordinates be. Contagion in the head will descend naturally to the very heels. The bishop fulminates at the brothel or beershop, but spares the paramour of the prince or the peer. The prebendary palliates the delinquencies of deans and chapters, but scourges the smallest breach of the decalogue in his assize sermons. The rector has a rod of iron for poachers, fence-breakers, deer-stalkers, and sheep-stealers; whilst for the transgressions of knights and gentlemen there is observed a generous silence. The curate takes his cue accordingly, and preaches with such prudent zeal, such discretion as well as energy, that every plebeian scandal receives full flagellation at the whipping-post of his oratory,—whilst he neither offends his diocesan, disgusts the squire, nor stands in the light of his future preferment. In one word, we may depend upon it, that wherever religion embraces the state, she imbibes the genius of the world, and betrays her own sovereign. It is the old story of endeavouring to serve two masters,—of blowing hot and cold with the same breath,—of pleasing God and choosing mammon,—of reconciling engagements, which in themselves are not merely opposed to each other, but in their very essence and nature are absolutely irreconcileable.

And now let us for the last time lift up our gaze to that divinely painted portrait which hangs upon the wall in the house of the Interpreter. Bunyan has graphically delineated the genuine minister of the gospel, and our own feeble pen has attempted to touch some of those various particulars in which the public

should be brought home to every door, and made to enter into every heart. It is pretended by the Quarterly Review and its readers, that the parsonage becomes a little centre of civilization; that around it most generally extends a circle of affectionate and christian sympathies; that honesty, and conscientiousness, and goodwill, salute each other upon its threshold. We venture to contend, on the other hand, that no such associations of necessity occur; that the very contrast is too frequently the consequence; that our best episcopalian pastors are worse off than they need be, through their social position; that people would love and respect them much more than they do now, were it not for the various reasons and circumstances we have touched upon; and that the best arrangement is a voluntary system, which would render the parties respectively dependent upon each other: the labourer being worthy of his hire; the flock having the power of discrimination between false and faithful shepherds.

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and private character of a pastorate are injuriously affected, through its connection with the civil government of our own country. Let our readers candidly look on this picture, and look on that. We have ourselves nothing either personally to lose, or personally to gain by the painful comparison. There can be but one description of feeling, we should suppose, about the matter. 'Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted,' said our Lord, 'shall be rooted up;' and it would seem manifest, that under the new dispensation, the evil complained of in these pages will fall within that category. Where then, we must inquire, is the adequate protest of protestantism against this unholy alliance, in this our noble island, the fairest field of christendom? Is the mischief a mere speculation, fraught with no practical results? Let the history of three centuries supply a pregnant answer to the query. Where is our adequate recollection of the atrocities of Henry and Elizabeth? We only omit the weak and sanguinary Mary, for the same reason that we go no further back than the reformation, simply that there may be no evasion of the interrogatory, through making mere popery responsible for more than it deserved. The true genius of persecution has sprung from the union of the church, or any section of it, with the world; from a profession of the gospel of peace being clothed with secular power and endowments by the state; from the covetousness and exclusiveness inseparable from such a misfortune, operating in connexion with the worst passions of fallen man. Where was the love of Christ when Cranmer burnt unitarians; his young sovereign summoning him, as it were, to the tribunal of the King of kings, by anticipation, for his error? Where was it, when the arch-bishops of the maiden queen oppressed the feeble commencement of puritanism? Where was it, when the acts of uniformity were passed; when the protestant St. Bartholomew's day, in 1662, consigned to poverty and prisons two thousand conscientious ministers; a noble 'cloud of witnesses,'—an army of confessors, whose names are written in heaven? Where was it, through the ignominious days of the last Stuarts; when to be a non-conformist, or a catholic, or aught beside professing the established faith, rendered the most blameless person an object of scorn and ridicule, a victim to be mocked at or insulted, an individual holding his religious freedom, or rather suffering his religious slavery at the law's mercy? Upon what principle were the Test and Corporation acts clung to,—as though the life and destinies of the land were wrapt up in their maintenance? And even now how much remains to be done on behalf of the LIBERTY OF THE MIND. The outward man of spiritual tyranny may have dwindled to a skeleton, but his inward heart remains unaltered. The victory is yet

to be won! We still trust that the time can be at no great distance, when the trumpet of triumph will be blown over the successful issue of a struggle, which shall proclaim the Magna Charta of conscience, in all the plentitude of its rights and freedom, from pole to pole.

Art. III. *Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs. Grant of Laggan, author of 'Letters from the Mountains,' &c.*, edited by her son, J. P. Grant, Esq. 3 Vols. Longmans.

Mrs. Grant of Laggan, may be placed among the few most fortunate literary aspirants, who obtain, with scarcely any effort, both fame, and emolument. The exemplary wife of a Highland clergyman, the mother of a large family, and almost unceasingly engaged in household duties; perhaps, no letter writer ever thought less of eventually appearing before the public, than did the author of 'Letters from the Mountains.' We are bound also to add, that as few writers, perhaps, ever received the praise, and the more substantial tokens of public favour, with greater humility than she did. But the case was, that Mrs. Grant stept forward as a writer, at a period of great literary dearth. The writers of the last century had nearly closed their career; those of the present day, with the exception of Wordsworth, were as yet unknown, and 'the reading world,' (very different some forty years ago, from what it is now,) reduced to the most miserable straights, what with mawkish poetry, and sentimental travels, seized upon the pleasant, simple, graphic 'Letters from the Mountains,' with a feeling greatly akin to that of a man who, long cheated with unsubstantial diet, at last finds somewhat on which he can make a meal.

The locality, too, which Mrs. Grant described, was at the time when these letters appeared comparatively unknown. Neither steamboat, nor railroad, had as yet familiarized the inhabitants of the south with the northern glens and mountains; nor, although the taste for Ossian had not entirely gone by, had much attention been paid to the local customs, habits, or superstitions of the Highlanders. These letters, therefore, actually opened a new source of interest, a new scene, and a new people, not dwelling in far off lands, but in our very island; and how pleasant this must have been to a public in search of novelty, the reader can easily imagine.

But, although this work, 'Letters from the Mountains,' was actually on its publication in 1806, 'the book of the season,' as

the writer with very excusable exultation, remarks, we cannot assign any high degree of literary eminence to Mrs. Grant. Her 'Memoirs of an American Lady,' which followed two years after, was deficient in the spirit, and simplicity which characterized her first work; while her last, the 'Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders,' was a failure, not because she was unacquainted with the general subject, but because she was unable to bring to it that deep and extensive learning, which such a subject demanded. Perhaps she felt this; for although her literary *debût* had been so promising, she published nothing more except a small poem during the remainder of her life. In her taste for letter writing, however, Mrs. Grant still indulged, and the three volumes before us, comprise a selection of her correspondence between 1803 and 1838, at the close of which last year she died, at the advanced age of eighty-four.

From the high estimation in which this venerable lady was held, her circle of friends was very extensive, and she had opportunities of introduction to many of the leading characters of the day. This renders many portions of her letters interesting; although we have been frequently disappointed at finding a very faint sketch, instead of a finished portrait; or an elaborate eulogy, instead of a clear description. The wondering interest which Dr. Chalmers excited in a church, which until his time boasted of only such 'darkness visible' lights, as Blair, Fordyce, or Logan, is frequently alluded to in these letters. Here are two extracts.

'The wonder of the day, who engrosses all conversation, and excites all astonishment here, is Dr. Chalmers. You will see, in the Edinburgh newspapers, what a sensation was produced by his sermon preached before the Commissioner on Sunday: no one was disappointed, though expectation was raised as high as possible. There is one high distinction Dr. Chalmers possesses,—that is, making the genuine doctrine of the gospel respectable even in the eyes of worldly men, by the masculine energy and simple dignity of his style, which never stoops to blandishment or the meretricious embellishments of a studied and fashionable eloquence. Nor does he degrade the lofty theme entrusted to him by using phrases hackneyed and familiar in the mouths of those who diminish the force of truth by using the language profaned by ignorant enthusiasts. This preacher has no phraseology whatever; he uses the first words that occur: these are sometimes homely enough, but as he warms in his subject, his style rises with it, and varies from sublimity of the simplest and noblest kind to pathos irresistible, without weakness or verbiage; and all this with a manner far from elegant, an accent highly provincial, and a voice and countenance not by any means calculated to aid his elocution. He will, by the wonderful faculties entrusted to him, exalt and ennoble the style of gospel preaching, which in feebler hands has afforded scope to profane ridicule.

'Dr. Chalmers and lord Byron, are at present the two wonders of the age,—one for the exaltation, and the other for the perversion of those high gifts that bring man nearest to superior intelligences. The contrast is instructive. Dr. C., without birth, rank, polished manners, wealth or outward consequence,—by the sanctity of life and doctrine which hallows his high talents, is an object of high respect and veneration to those pre-eminent for learning, rank, and wit. Lord Byron, with powers of mind that dazzle and astonish,—with rank, learning, youth, distinguished personal graces, wealth and most elegant manners, is regarded with disapprobation by all right-thinking people.

'All the wits and philosophers of Edinburgh, when he attended the general assembly last week, bowed down to the power of his mighty genius, and heard from him, with reverence and admiration, truths which they would have sneered at from one less rich in the highest powers of intellect. He made a speech in the assembly against pluralities, which delighted and amazed all his hearers; even Jeffrey—the fastidious Jeffrey, though retained on the opposite side, owned that he never in his life heard such a torrent of luminous and powerful eloquence.—Vol. ii. pp. 137, 140.

Here is a picture of Joanna Baillie, but in this we think justice is scarcely done to the conversational talents of that celebrated dramatic writer. The peculiar character of the Edinburgh *soirées*, was, however, most unfavourable to easy conversation, and the pleasant, simple interchange of opinion.

'One of my hinderances in writing, besides the anxious state of my mind in looking forward to this journey, was the share that was offered to me in various parties made for Miss Joanna Baillie during her late visit to Edinburgh. Every one was so ambitious to have her, that my claim could not be heard, or was so far deferred that I could not stay to assert it; but she and her sister found means to pay me a long forenoon visit, when we had a good deal of quiet conversation. *Mrs.* Baillie (for so her elder sister chooses to be distinguished) people like in their hearts better than Mrs. Joanna, though they would not for the world say so, thinking that it would argue great want of taste not to prefer Melpomene. I for my part would greatly prefer the Muse to walk in a wood or sit in a bower with; but in that wearisome farce, a large party, Agnes acts her part much better. The seriousness, simplicity, and thoughtfulness of Joanna's manners overawe you from talking common-place to her; and as for pretension or talking fine, you would as soon think of giving yourself airs before an apostle. She is mild and placid, but makes no effort either to please or to shine; she will neither dazzle nor be dazzled, yet, like others of the higher class of mind, is very indulgent in her opinions: what passes before her seems rather food for thought than mere amusement. In short, she is not merely a woman of talent, but of genius, which is a very different thing, and very unlike any other thing; which is the reason that I have taken so much pains to describe her. Joanna's conversation is rather below her abilities, justifying Lord Gardenstone's maxim, that true genius is ever modest and careless.

Agnes unconsciously talks above herself, merely from a wish to please and a habit of living among her intellectual superiors. I should certainly have liked and respected Joanna, as a person singularly natural and genuine, though she had never written a tragedy. I am not at all sure that this is the case with most others.'—ib. pp. 258, 259.

Here is a short sketch of Mrs. Hemans:

'I had a charming guest before I left town to come here—no other than the very charming Mrs. Hemans, for whom I have long felt something very like affection. She had two fine boys with her, the objects, visibly, of very great tenderness, who seem equally attached to her. She is entirely feminine, and her language has a charm like that of her verse—the same ease and peculiar grace, with more vivacity. If affliction had not laid a heavy hand upon her she would be playful: she has not the slightest tinge of affectation, and is so refined, so gentle, that you must both love and respect her. She, and Southey, and your own dear self, are the only persons whom I previously drew pictures of, who have not disappointed me. This is very ancient enthusiasm, you may think; but some things will occur that bring back youthful feelings.'—vol. iii. p. 156.

In this amiable, but scarcely sufficiently discriminating manner, does the good old lady write, and thus, while these volumes must prove a very pleasing memorial to her old friends and correspondents, they will probably be found deficient in interest to a wider circle. It is gratifying, to mark the increasingly religious tone of her letters, as she approaches the termination of her career. Mrs. Grant, although, as we have remarked, singularly fortunate as a writer, was doomed to suffer the heavy affliction of losing her eldest son, and five grown up daughters, by lingering illness. These severe trials, produced 'the peaceable fruits of righteousness;' and we cannot better end this short notice than by transcribing the following excellent letter addressed to her eldest surviving friend, about a twelvemonth before her death.

'MY MUCH-LOVED COEVAL FRIEND.—Outliving, as you have done, so many dear ones allied to me by congenial taste and feeling, I need not tell you, who knew and loved them, of a still dearer number of the departed, who added to this congeniality the claim of natural affinity—plants of my hand, and children of my care, subjects of love and of grief unutterable. We have travelled through this long series of years, and now having both passed that period of which Dr. Watts says, in his version of the Psalms—

'If to eighty we arrive,
We rather sigh and groan than live.'

what remains for us to do? Not to waste our enfeebled spirits in endeavouring to make that glass transparent through which St. Paul says we can see but dimly while here. Let us leave the future, in full confidence in the only ground of Christian hope—the merits and mediation of that blessed Redeemer, who declares that his mission here was not

to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance; let us turn and look back on 'long time elapsed,' and see how our heavenly Father has supported us under dangers and temptations.

'Each of us was exposed to severe trials. I, to whom singular strength of constitution was given, for a purpose long since apparent to me and others, had to pass through the very hailstorm of adversity, while the pitiless tempest broke down, not only the gourd that sheltered me, but the branches of fair promise around me. Very dangerous temptations followed. Late in life others found out for me what I had never discovered myself—that I possessed some kind of intellectual talent. This discovery brought flattery that would have turned my head, and made me useless and ridiculous, had it come at an earlier period. You again, without buoyant fancy or great mental energy, were meek and gentle, and firm to resist temptation—that most dangerous of all temptations, unlooked-for prosperity. Surrounded and sheltered as you were by the Christian graces, you were still beloved by all. To whom *on earth* did we owe these advantages?—

> 'To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
> The God whom heaven's triumphant host
> And suffering saints on earth adore,
> Be glory as in ages past,
> As now it is, and still shall last,
> Till time itself shall be no more!'

'This is the source and origin of all those precious blessings. That this coequal Trinity, whom you have ever diligently served, may bless you here and hereafter, is the prayer of your old and faithful friend,

ANNE GRANT.'—ib. pp. 309—311.

Art. IV. *The Poems and Ballads of Schiller. Translated by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Bart., With a Brief Sketch of Schiller's Life.* 2 vols. W. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh.

NEARLY forty years have elapsed since the death of Germany's greatest lyric and tragic poet, Johann Christoph Friedrich Von Schiller, one of the few who may justly be called the 'regenerators' of the German classic literature. In the last century, when the literature of Germany—as yet behind that of Great Britain, France, or even Italy and Spain—instead of advancing, began to decline; when Leibnitz, Euler, Wolf, and many others, like so many bright luminaries, had long since disappeared, the genius of German art and learning mournfully began to make room for that of Greece and Rome, and at a later period even for that of France. It was then that Haller, Gellert, Uz, Hagedorn, nay, even Gessner, Hirschfeldt, Rabener, and many others were compelled to make way for Corneille,

Racine, Molière, J. J. Rousseau, d'Alembert, Maupertius, or Voltaire, the Tamerlane of French literature, who, hurrying from one conquest to another, never became thoroughly acquainted with any of the provinces he had invaded. A dozen ideas of Bayle have, by this magician's witty pencil, been expanded into a hundred volumes. But he considered ideas in the same light, as his MSS., of which he very frequently altered the title only, and in this *improved* state condescendingly disposed of them to some German court, or to some 'Höfchen,' (*i. e.* courtlet,) for mere trifles, such as golden snuff-boxes set with diamonds, or some other kind of jewellery. A bookseller of Amsterdam, however, directing the public attention to this act of literary fraud, it was soon put a stop to.

The hatred of this man towards religion and the clergy was very striking, and very often not without personalities, which at last degenerated into frenzy. Most people therefore—those who considered him the 'lumen mundi' not excepted—were highly pleased with the witty epigram made upon the change of his original name, Arouet into Voltaire:

'Maria François Arouet
Fils d'un notaire du Chatelet,
Ce fondateur du plus enorme schisme,
Pour n'être pas un savant à *rouer*,
Se donne un nom du plus grande incivisme,
Par lequel non obstante il parait avouer
Que genie illusoire, inclinant à mal faire
Il raffine en escroi et s'entend à Vol-taire.'

Voltaire mistook *popery* for *christianity*, and every satire uttered on the most sacred things connected with christianity delighted this patriarch of irreligion, because in it he saw the fruit of the seed he had sown. Guibert, one of his disciples, after a residence of five days at Ferney, during which he had met with the most unexceptionable hospitality, without having seen his illustrious host, on departing, left the following lines:

'Je comptais en ces lieux voir le dieu du genie,
L'entendre, lui parler et m'instruire à tout-point,
Mais c'est comme Jesus en son Eucharistie,
On le mange, ou le boit et l'on ne le voit point!'

Voltaire, on beholding these lines, exclaimed in ecstacy: 'Ah adorable impie!'

His letters, witty as they are, can hardly be read without meeting with his blasphemous 'Ecrasez l'infâme!' or with his: 'Twelve individuals were necessary, in order to introduce christianity, but I will show that one will be sufficient to abolish it.' Well might Young—on occasion of Voltaire's quoting Milton's

Paradise Lost, in order to divert a party of similarly minded persons, at the expense of all that is sacred—indignantly exclaim:

> 'Thou art so witty, profligate, and thin,
> Thou seemest a Milton, with his Death and Sin!'

This short digression is necessary in order to introduce to some of our readers the man who had the hardihood to assume the mastery over the German mind, and to whom even Prussia's greatest king now was stooping. Then it was that Germany became overrun by the literary productions of France, that the German character, until now preserved in a state of pure morality, was threatened with corruption by French infidelity, that the German mind began to be poisoned with the attractive, but delusive and highly pernicious system of French philosophy; and, finally, that German princes so far forgot themselves in the execution of their duties towards their subjects, as to become the patrons of foreign learning, whilst native art and talent

> 'Went by monarchs slighted—
> Went unhonoured, unrequited; even alas!
> From high Frederick's throne.'

Whilst thus banished from the upper circles of society, the German muse found refuge among the lower and more unsophisticated classes. The appearance, therefore, at that time of Lessing, Kant, Winkelman, Mendelsohn, Gleim, Lichtenberg, Wieland, Garve, Engel, Herder, Voss, Thümmel, and a host of other highly talented men, the great representatives and advocates of German genius, but above all, of Schiller and Goethe, nearly the whole of whom, were declared enemies of French tinsel, was beneficial in the extreme, and greatly contributed to the advancement of true learning in Germany.

The effect produced by the endeavours of these great men upon the literary taste of the Germans, was immense. With what success their labours were crowned, will be obvious, when we consider the influence that literature has exercised within the last twenty-five years upon the intellect of Europe. Not only have Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller—a glorious triumvirate—been the great regenerators of German classical learning and literature, but they have exercised almost the same power over the 'belles lettres' of Europe, and of the whole civilized world. Our limited space will not permit us, even briefly, to notice the beauty of the German literature, or to enter upon a review of the illustrious life of Schiller; nor do we intend to describe his character. To such of our readers, as are anxious to know more about this immortal 'Teutonic' bard, but more particularly to the

'student'—to use the talented translator's language—'desirous to gather noble and useful lessons of virtue and manly perseverance—of the necessity of continuance in self-cultivation—of the alliance between labour and success—between honesty and genius,' we heartily recommend the perusal of Schiller's Biography, as prefixed to Sir E. B. Lytton's translations; and though on the whole perhaps too short, it still possesses many great merits, in so far as it contains a goodly number of facts relating to the life of Schiller, and is decidedly among the best biographies of this poet. It now remains for us to take a glance at the nature and character of his writings, the reflection of his noble mind, a mind alive to the purest thoughts, and pregnant with the most intense love for moral beauty and truth, for intellectual freedom, and the rights of man.

Schiller was not only an eminent poet; he was among the most distinguished prose writers of his age. His prose writings chiefly consist in his historical lectures and researches, his philosophical essays, dissertations, criticisms, and fragments of novels, his dramatic sketches, correspondence with Goethe, Von Dalberg, Humboldt, Mayer, and other eminent men. To Schiller's poetical productions belong some of his finest dramatic pieces and tragedies, as also his imitations, translations, epigrams, riddles, and similar poetical trifles, but above all, his glorious collection of lyrics.

As an author, he is particularly distinguished for depth and sublimity of thought, power of diction and pathetic feeling. He alone possessed the secret how to enchant by means of the most profound, and the most poetical *philosophy*, that ever emanated from the mind of man. He is the only instance in the history of literature, where a man, endowed with a prosaic nature, has been known to arrive at the highest point of poetical perfection; and therefore it would be utterly vain to institute a comparison between him and any other poet, and most of all between him and his great countryman, the admirable Goethe, with whom many modern critics have thought proper to compare him.

Two more opposite natures, the history of literature cannot produce. In Schiller we find nothing but thought and mind, as the only materials at his command; in Goethe, on the contrary, we have nothing but materialism—the phenomena of external nature. The former gives expression to emotions and sentiments almost too high to be congenial to the heart of man; he clothes the most sublime images in the garb of dazzling beauty. His materials are derived from an invisible, better world, unknown to the general mass of mankind. He is an idealizing poet. Goethe, a matter-of-fact man, is the poet of nature—or rather—of

reality. Together these two illustrious men constitute the two extremes of all philosophy—idealism and realism.

Schiller is in every respect a hard and subtle thinker, but one whose nature it is, or has become, to think with inspiration, thus giving wing to his mighty and ponderous thoughts. The most electrifying and startling points in his manner of speculatiou, are his most unexpected inferences. We, as it were, see them come, we soar with his genius, we revel in a land of the most exquisite dreams and fancies. The reason why such poetry is intoxicating, is because by it the mind itself is drawn into activity, and becomes accessory to the result. This way of thinking is wholly unknown to the ordinary poet; the latter generally finds his materials already existing, and hence he discovers more than he invents. The power of thought, with him is not the main expedient; this with him consists in the power of his higher gifts or capacities collectively, viz., spirit, imagination, soul, combination, and the power of invention.

As a philosopher, Schiller belongs to the school of Kant, or to speak more distinctly, *he was the poet of critical philosophy*. Not only did it furnish him with materials and inspiration for his poetry, but in proportion as this system became familiar to him, his own mind proceeded to fashion and new model it. Philosophy, neither before nor since his time, assumed so magnificent, dignified, and yet so charming an appearance.

Having himself suffered mental slavery early in life, he turned with all his might against his oppressor, becoming the protector of that mental freedom, so essential for the development of mind. This intense love for spiritual emancipation he pathetically expresses in one of his early medical dissertations, in which he complains of the power assumed by the organs (i. e. the body) over the mind, upon which its functions not only depend, but by which they are very frequently generated. 'The Robbers,' a drama written against society, his 'Maid of Orleans,' as well as his 'Philosophical Letters,' &c., are written to the same effect, and most clearly prove his ardour for mental liberty. All the views of philosophy once passed before his *mind*, and from *him* into his poetical and other creations. But even when he had adopted the views of Kant,* and when he had mastered, or—if we may use the term—digested Kant's doctrine concerning morals and taste, then we see how strong

* The following epigram, made upon Kant by Schiller, in a few words describes the intellect of this great philosopher:—

KANT AND HIS COMMENTATORS.

'How many starvelings one rich man can nourish!
When monarchs build, the rubbish-carriers flourish!'

and powerful a thinker he is, and with how great caution he concedes nothing but what can be clearly proved or demonstrated. 'Such a nature,' a German admirably said, 'can only be based on the most extraordinary *intellectuality!*' As in Germany—and, alas, as is but too often the case in other countries—men of genius have almost always had to struggle before they could obtain the success due to their talent, Schiller in like manner had to meet with every disappointment before he reached that height of greatness, on which he afterwards so much distinguished himself. Peace and mind and comfort, sunbeams so necessary for the development and maturity of genius, and for the unfurling of its heavenly wings, at first were unknown to the true-hearted German; his genius developed itself under oppression and denials of every kind. The spirit of the fiery youth lay in fetters, and to break them was necessary. By nature made for action, and for the government of a world in a far different sphere of life, he assumed the mastery over literature, not because he felt its necessity, or as if driven to it from within, but because no more suitable field for action presented itself. It was therefore well said, that had 'Schiller not become a great poet, he would have had no alternative but of becoming a great man in public life. But the prison might then easily have been his unhappy, though honourable lot!'

Schiller's prose works, such as his 'Thirty Years' War,' the 'Abfall der Niederlande von Spanien,' and other historical writings; his philosophical essays, criticisms, and innumerable other highly interesting and important literary productions, are no less replete with the most perfect ideal beauty than they are with profound philosophical speculation; while in charm and grace of diction, they as yet have remained unrivalled. But what distinguishes this great poet even as a novelist, is his power of invention, and his inimitable talent of picturesque narrative. His 'Ghostseer,' though a fragment, is the most perfect specimen of the romantic style.

But excellent though all his other works undoubtedly are, the greatest admiration of Schiller's genius, is that which is produced by his lyrics, the noblest fruit of his mind, the most exquisite flower of lyric poetry in general. Almost every poem is a perfect gem, distinguished alike for invention, for beauty of pathos, for elegance of form, for depth of thought; but, above all, for the highest and purest morality. Many persons fancy they discover in these poems a deficiency of sentiment and a want of warmth. This, in our opinion, has no more foundation than the notions which some have regarding Schiller's talent for wit and humour. No poet is more remarkable for fervour and genuine feeling, which is sufficiently proved—if any proof

at all be necessary—by the enthusiasm with which his works are read by both old and young, at home and abroad. The philosophy which breathes in every line is wholly different from a mere cold reasoning; it is a philosophy of imagination. Every line of his poetry is the happy result of an inspiration, coupled with noble emotions and speculations. Cold reasoning and logical inferences, though arrayed in beautiful forms and poetical phraseology, neither can, nor ever will, touch the human heart, because not the fruit of the heart. Neither individuals, nor the multitude will be affected by it, but least and last of all—youth. At that stage of life, man is more apt to feel than to think; to act from impulse rather than from reflection; and unless his heart be appealed to, it will for ever remain cold and unmoved. Unless there be a sympathy between the poet and his reader, the effect of all his reasonings, beautiful though they be, will and must be feeble. What is it that causes the popularity of Uhland, of Shakespere, or of Burns? It is their heartiness, their generous emotions responded to by our own; their playfulness of mood, coupled with innocent or artless language, which make these men the poets and instructors of the people. It does not often happen that the productions of the same poet will please the old and the young, the male and the female sex. The generality of poets either please the one or the other; the true poetical genius, the *manly* poet alone is deemed worthy of becoming the instructor of nations,—of a world. The celebrated Goethe is read by the old, or at least by such as are far advanced in age, and chiefly by the more enlightened class of society; Schiller is read by the nation. Goethe seldom pleases the fair sex; Schiller is their admiration. Goethe, with the German youth, is anything but a favourite; Schiller is absolutely worshipped. And even in our own country how many young people are there who are more acquainted with Schiller, and even Jean Paul, (Richter) than with Goethe? So much for Schiller's want of warmth and sentiment! To such as are sceptical regarding his humour and wit, we recommend a careful perusal of 'Wallenstein's Lager,' i. e., 'Wallenstein's Camp,' or at least the eighth scene of this magnificent, though short dramatic poem, preceding his more elaborate works, entitled, 'The Piccolomini,' and, 'Wallenstein's Death,' both of which have been translated in a masterly style, by Coleridge. But his play of 'Turandot,' Der Parasit,' his 'Epigrams,' and, 'The Celebrated Woman: or, An Epistle by a married man to a fellow-sufferer,' the latter so happily translated in the collection before us, and which we here subjoin, will likewise shew, that Schiller was deficient in neither wit nor humour; but

on the contrary, that he possessed these gifts in a very degree.

THE CELEBRATED WOMAN.

An Epistle by a married Man, to a Fellow-Sufferer

Can I, my friend, with thee condole?—
  Can I conceive the woes that try men,
When late repentance racks the soul
  Ensnared into the toils of Hymen?
Can I take part in such distress?—
Poor martyr,— most devoutly, 'Yes!'
Thou weep'st because thy spouse has flown
To arms preferred before thine own;—
A faithless wife,—I grant the curse,—
And yet, my friend, it might be worse!
Just hear another's tale of sorrow,
And, in comparing, comfort borrow!

What! dost thou think thyself undone,
Because thy rights are shared with *One!*
O, happy man—be more resigned
My wife belongs to all mankind!
My wife—she's found abroad—at home;
But cross the Alps and she's at Rome;
Sail to the Baltic—there you'll find her;
Lounge on the Boulevards—kind and kinder:
In short, you've only just to drop
  Where'er they sell the last new tale,
And, bound and lettered in the shop,
  You'll find my lady up for sale!
* * * * *
It galls you that you scarce are able
To stake a florin at the table—
Confront the pit, or join the walk,
But straight all tongues begin to talk!
O that such luck could me befal,
Just to be talked about at all!
Behold me dwindling in my nook,
Edged at her left,—and not a look!
A sort of rushlight of a life,
Put out by that great orb—my wife!

Scarce is the morning grey—before
Postman and porter crowd the door;
No premier has so dear a levée—
  She finds the mail-bag half its trade;
My God—the parcels are so heavy!
  And not a parcel carriage-paid!

But then—the truth must be confessed—
They're all so charmingly addressed:
Whate'er they cost, they well requite her—
'To Madame Blank, the Famous Writer!'
Poor thing, she sleeps so soft! and yet
'Twere worth my life to spare her slumber;
'Madam—from Jena—the Gazette—
The Berlin Journal—the last number!'
Sudden she wakes: those eyes of blue
(Sweet eyes!) fall straight—on the Review!
I by her side—all undetected,
While those cursed columns are inspected;
Loud squall the children over head,
Still she reads on, till all is read:
At last she lays that darling by,
And asks—'What makes the baby cry?'
* * * * *
Now roll the coach-wheels to the muster—
Now round my house her votaries cluster;
Spruce Abbé Millefleures—Baron Herman—
The English lord, who don't know German—
But all uncommonly well read
From matchless A to deathless Z!
Sneaks in the corner, shy and small,
A thing which men the husband call!
While every fop with flattery fires her,
Swears with what passion he admires her.—
'Passion!' 'admirer!' and still you're dumb?'
Lord bless your soul, the worst's to come:—
I'm forced to bow, as I'm a sinner,—
And hope—the rogue will stay to dinner!
But, oh, at dinner!—there's the sting;
I see my cellar on the wing!
You know if Burgundy is dear?
Mine once emerg'd three times a year!
And now, to wash these learned throttles,
In dozens disappear the bottles;
They well must drink who well do eat,
(I've sunk a capital on meat.)
Her immortality, I fear, a
Death-blow will prove to my Medeira;
'T has given, alas! a mortal shock
To that old friend—my Steinberg Hock!*

And what my thanks for all? a pout—
Sour looks—deep sighs; but what about?
About! O, *that* I well divine—
That such a pearl should fall to swine—

* The German name for this kind of Rhenish wine, is 'Nierensteiner.'

That such a literary ruby
Should grace the finger of a booby!
* * * * * *

Well, then (O man, how light thy woes
Compared with mine—thou need'st must see!)
My wife, undaunted, greatly goes—
And leaves the orphans (seven!!!) to me!

O, wherefore art thou flown so soon,
Thou first fair year—love's honeymoon!
Ah, dream too exquisite for life!
Home's goddess—in the name of wife!
Reared by each grace—yet but to be
Man's household Angadomené!
With mind from which the sunbeams fall,
Rejoicing while pervading all;
Frank in the temper pleased to please—
Soft in the feeling waked with ease.
So broke, as native of the skies,
The heart-enthraller on my eyes;
So saw I, like a morn of May,
The playmate given to glad my way;
With eyes that more than lips bespoke,
Eyes whence—sweet words—'I love thee!' broke!
So—Ah, what transports then were mine!
I led the bride before the shrine!
And saw the future years revealed,
Glassed on my hope—one blooming field!
More wide, and widening more, were given
The angel-gates disclosing heaven;
Round us the lovely, mirthful troop
Of children came—yet still to me
The loveliest—merriest of the group
The happy mother seemed to be!
Mine, by the bonds that bind us more
Than all the oaths the priest before;
Mine, by the concord of content,
When heart with heart is music-blent;
When, as sweet sounds in unison,
Two lives harmonious melt in one!
When—sudden (O the villain!)—came
Upon the scene a mind profound!—
A bel-esprit, who whispered 'Fame,'
And shook my card-house to the ground.

What have I now instead of all
The Eden lost of hearth and hall?
What comforts for the heaven bereft?
What of the younger angels left?

A sort of intellectual mule,
Men's stubborn mind in woman's shape,
Too hard to love, too frail to rule—
A sage engrafted on an ape!
To what she calls the realm of mind,
She leaves that throne, *her sex*, to crawl,
The cestus and the charm resigned—
A public gaping-show to all!
She blots from beauty's golden book*
A name 'mid nature's choicest few,
To gain the glory of a nook
In Doctor Dunderhead's Review.'

Considering the excellencies and great beauties of Schiller's ·tical productions, their smoothness, elegance, and brilliancy, difficulty the translator has to encounter, must be great in portion. A person capable of sympathizing with the poet, ɔlly able to appreciate and to enter with all his soul into the ·it of these poetical effusions, may perhaps be the y individual at all suitable for a task at once so tempting yet so difficult and dangerous. The translator, compara-ly speaking, may perhaps have nothing to lose by an attempt his kind, but the author has much. That Sir E. B. Lytton, the translator of the poems before us, has been successful to reat extent, is beyond a doubt.

n the short but well written life prefixed to the translations, ɛems to us that Sir Edward has not made sufficient use of many admirable biographies of Schiller lately published in many, nor does he seem at all to be acquainted with any of criticisms on Schiller's works. For although Hofmeister, wab, Madame Von Wolzogen, and others, may be very ex-ent and trustworthy authorities, yet an acquaintance with h men as Körner (the father of the soldier-poet of this name), nzel, but more particularly Laube and many others, would e proved highly advantageous in a critical point of view. iller's life, as written by Sir Edward, has many excellent points. the common reader it affords the opportunity of obtaining ɛneral insight into the life and character of this, perhaps the atest poet of the nineteenth century, and since almost all the ements are based on facts, its value naturally becomes en-ced. But if the reader himself, it may be a critic, should pen to expect a critical review of the life and literary pro-tions of Schiller, he will be disappointed, for except a few ts or remarks now and then thrown out, the whole is barren riticism.

The Golden Book.—So was entitled in some Italian States (Venice espe-y) the catalogue in which the noble families were enrolled.

The attentive reader who is acquainted with the ori will easily perceive in some parts of these translations a c want of animation and adroitness in the management c subject. This, in our opinion, is owing to a want of self-c on the part of the translator, who did not sufficiently an mate the spirit of the author with his own. In others ag will discover too great a license and an indomitable prop towards paraphrasing, or what the translator calls 'free t lation;' but the consequence of which 'free translation' ver quently is the destruction of the euphony and harmony ceptible in every line of the original. In translations a c degree of freedom cannot fairly be denied; nay, it is ev many cases unavoidable, but that freedom must not dege into licentiousness, which not only is not allowable, but by the finest original poem may become a mere caricature, inst a faithful translation. Passages too 'freely' translated frequ occur in the 'Diver,' the 'Lay of the Bell,' the 'Fight wit Dragon,' 'Fridolin; or, the Message to the Forge,' the 'Sh of the Earth,' and many others. But wherever the tran approaches most to his original, there he is the most succe there we seldom meet with those forced constructions, in racies in metre, and a certain roughness, which to the ear sounds anything but musical. In consequence of the n rous compounds of the German language—the flexibility structure, the copiousness and energy of its roots, for which the Greek, it is eminent, less license may be taken w than with other languages.

Yet though the faults of some of Sir Edward's translatio great, the sterling worth of others again, unquestionably, greater. Wherever the translator, as very frequently hap is anxious to do justice to the genius of the original, he i mirable in the extreme, his performances are there truly terly, both in language and in spirit! If in some of his translations'—the forlorn offspring of his muse—he seems a poetaster, in the others on the contrary, he is truly grand, real poet. The Hon. — Talbot, Mr. Phillimore, and perha or two more German scholars excepted, we do not know a dividual who is more suited for such a task than Sir. Lytton, and only regret that the whole of Schiller's p have not been translated by one who, it is evident, were l clined, could do them justice.

The specimen which we have already given, as illustrati what we have stated, prevents us from furnishing the reade more examples of Schiller's genius. Those, therefore, wh willing to judge for themselves, how far our statements re

ing this master-mind are correct, and how far the translator's efforts are really deserving of the praise we have bestowed on them, are referred to the volumes themselves.

We have been very much pleased with Sir Edward's judicious inversion of the order of time. By placing Schiller's maturest poems first, and his youthful compositions last, in order to introduce this poet to the English public, the translator has displayed a great deal of taste and sound judgment, and by prefixing short notices to many of the greater poems, containing their origin, history, etc., their value has been considerably exhanced.

We now take leave of this subject, and in so doing, must express our gratitude for the pleasure which the perusal of these translations has afforded us. To adopt Sir E. B. Lytton's words, we constantly perceive in Schiller's poems, 'a great and forcible intellect ever appealing to the best feelings—ever exalting those whom it addresses — ever intent upon strengthening man in his struggles with his destiny, and uniting with a golden chain the outer world and the inner to the celestial throne.' We doubt not that any of our readers who follow our example, by perusing these poems, will be amply rewarded. The volumes are very tastefully got up, and will prove a valuable addition, as well as ornament, to the poetical libraries of our readers.

Art. V. *Excursions through the Slave States from Washington, on the Potomac, to the frontier of Mexico, with Sketches of Popular Manners and Geological Notices.* By G. W. Featherstonhaugh, F.R.S., F.G.S. 2 vols. 8vo. London: John Murray.

Mr. FEATHERSTONHAUGH'S volumes relate to a portion of the American States very rarely visited by English travellers, and of which consequently little knowledge is possessed by the British public. The river Potomac, which empties itself into the bay of Chesapeake, divides the Atlantic frontier of the Unites States into two unequal parts, and constitutes, with the exception of Maryland, the boundary between the southern slave, and the northern free states. To the former of these divisions the present volumes relate; and it is necessary that this fact should be kept in mind in estimating the weight of our author's testimony, and pronouncing on the verdict he utters. Though not possessed of very high notions of American character and institu-

tions, it would be doing him gross injustice to give his statements a wider range of application than he obviously contemplates, or to charge him with pronouncing sentence on the whole republic when he reprobates the vices, or ridicules the vulgarity of individuals or of a district only. It is quite clear that though a resident in the states for thirty years, he has little—save his spirit of enterprize and patient endurance—in common with the Americans. He is much more of an Englishman, notwithstanding his long absence, than of an American. His habits both of thought and feeling are in accordance with the old country, whose monarchy, church, and class legislature he regards with veneration, and deems essential to the welfare of any people. Bearing in mind that he travelled over the frontier states of the Union, and describes the society which exists at its very outskirts, where civilization is of necessity least advanced, and the restraints of law and the salutary influences of public opinion are least felt, we are not surprised at his disclosures. Our own country will, in its measure, furnish a parallel. Between St. James's and St. Giles's the refinement of polished life as seen in London, and the coarseness approaching to semi-barbarism which prevails elsewhere, there is as great a contrast as exists between the high-minded and educated of the American people, and the lowest specimens of humanity which their border States supply. It is not long since that the colliers of Kingswood, and the wreckers of Cornwall, to say nothing of other similar classes, might successfully have competed, in all qualities indicating the absence of refinement and moral culture, with the backwoodsmen of America.

It is the more necessary to keep this fact in mind from the disposition recently induced amongst us, by the transactions of a few of the American states, to take the worst possible view of the character and resources of their republic. The early prejudices which prevailed in this country were giving way to a more friendly and honourable feeling, when the repudiation doctrines put forth by Pennsylvania and other members of the federal union have revived them with augmented strength, and given them a semblance of truthfulness with which it is difficult to cope. The tendency of this state of things is to induce a ready credence of everything discreditable to America, a willingness of belief to her disadvantage, an unconscious extension to her whole people of what is true of individuals only. Something of this kind is apparent in the volumes before us, notwithstanding the disclaimer of the *Introduction*, and their reader will be in danger of the same if not perpetually on his guard. It belongs to the Americans to wipe away the disgrace incurred by their recent proceedings. No other nation has so much interest

in their doing so as themselves. Their credit has been destroyed, their commercial good name is gone, and the consequences which must result to a people situated as they are, cannot easily be mistaken. We have yet sufficient confidence in their shrewdness and honesty to believe that they will set themselves right with their creditors, and in the meantime would caution our readers against the errors to which this false step of theirs may lead us. Let us condemn what is wrong, without loosing sight of their better qualities and more honourable dealings.

The work before us has been in manuscript some years. In 1834-1835, Mr. Featherstonhaugh undertook a tour from Washington to the frontier of Mexico, the principal object of which was an examination of the geological phenomena of the country. From one of the unfrequented and wild parts of Arkansas, he communicated some account of these phenomena, and of the habits of the frontier settlers to a scientific friend in London, which led to an announcement by the late Mr. Murray, of a work similar to the present. Being however then a resident in the United States, Mr. Featherstonhaugh was earnestly dissuaded from publication by some of his American friends. To their counsel he assented, and when on his return to England in the spring of 1839, he was appointed one of the boundary commissioners, a further postponement became inevitable. Freed at length from that restraint, the author 'has again taken up his manuscript, and having well considered the incidents and sentiments contained in it, and finding nothing there that can be deemed objectionable by those who are only desirous to have the truth placed before them, he has at length resolved upon its publication; assuring his readers that it is a faithful and almost literal transcription from his original journals, the incidents of the tour having always been noted from day to day, and the journal having been regularly written up at least once a week.'

His tour commenced in July, 1834, and lay from Baltimore across the Alleghany range of mountains, where he visited the various Springs, of whose waters and visiters he has furnished an accurate and amusing account. His geological examinations of the countries through which he passed, were close and laborious, and the result as shewn in the volumes before us is highly praiseworthy and valuable. At the spas of Virginia things are carried on much the same as at our Harrowgates and Cheltenhams, save that the refinement and delicate politeness of the latter are wanting. In proof of this our traveller shall describe his reception at the warm springs.

'Until it is determined that you do not go to the rival hotel, the zeal in your service is overwhelming; the landlord brings out his very best politeness, the waiters grin and bow, and the other harpies stand ready

to seize upon your luggage, with an apparent disinterestedness t would induce a novice to suppose that the fable of the Prodigal Son acting over again. What an expenditure of fine feeling it would travellers upon observing how deeply interested and concerned ab them everybody appears to be, if it were not for the rising doubt t their concern is as to how long you are going to stay, and how m money they are likely to get from you! Covered with dust, and patient to get out of the stage-coach, we soon announced our inten to stay a few days. Having taken this important step, our luggage instantly whipped out of sight; and supposing we were following it, ascended some steps to the portico of a tolerably large hotel. On g ing this, it was a matter that excited our admiration to perceive l suddenly that anxious solitude, of which we had so lately been the jects, had assumed an abstract position. The landlord had made bows, the waiters their grimaces, our names had been taken, *in lii in libro*, and being regularly bagged, we were left to provide for selves, not a soul coming near us. A fiddle was screaking in one of rooms; and we found ourselves on the portico, in the midst of a nun of queer-looking ladies, with and without tournures, corseted up in all s of ways, and their hair dressed in every possible form. The gentlen in greater numbers, were chewing, spitting, and smoking, with an that evinced their superiority, and all staring at us in the most determi manner. Nothing was more certain than that we were out of the wo had got into fashionable society, and were now going to depend u the tender mercies of landlords, landladies, and dirty, impudent, b *waiters*.'—Vol. i., pp. 26—28.

We cannot afford space for our author's sketches of the c pany with which he met, or of the habits which prevailed this and the other springs which he visited. An amusing count is given of Colonel Fry, the landlord of the warm spri and of Mr. Anderson, the manager of the white sulphur spri each *a character* in his own way, and only to be found in suc community as the present state of American society constitu The following sketch of the dinner table at the latter pl exhibits a scene which must have been sufficiently vexatious an English visitor.

'But who can describe the noise, the confusion incident to a g bolting operation conducted by three hundred American performers, a hundred and fifty black slaves to help them? It seemed to me almost every man at table considered himself at job-work against t stuffing sausages and whatever else he could cram into his throat. the dinner-scene presented a spectacle still more extraordinary than breakfast. And, first, as to the cooking, which was after this m Bacon, venison, beef, and mutton, were all boiled together in the s vessel; then those pieces that were to represent roast meat were t out and put into an oven for awhile; after which a sort of gravy was poured from a huge pitcher indiscriminately upon roast boiled. What with this strange banquet, and the clinking of kn

and forks, the rattling of plates, the confused running about of troops of dirty slaves, the numerous cries for this, that, and the other, the exclamations of the new comers, 'Oh, my gracious! I reckon I never did see sich a dirty table-cloth,' the nasty appearance of the incomprehensible dishes, the badness of the water brought from the creek where the clothes were washed, and the universal feculence of everything around, the scene was perfectly astounding. Twice I tried to dine there, but it was impossible. I could do nothing but stare, and before my wonder was over everything was gone, people and all, except a few slow eaters. I never could become reconciled to the universal filth, as some told me they had got to be, and my wife would literally have got nothing to eat if I had not given a douceur to the cook, and another to one of the black servants, to provide her every day a small dish of fried venison or mutton, for which we waited until it was placed before her; this, with very good bread—and it always was good—was her only resource. Much squeezed as we were first, there was a sensible relaxation and more elbow-room in a very few minutes, in consequence of the great numbers who had the talent of bolting their 'feed' in five minutes. A gentleman drew my attention to one of these quick feeders, who had been timed by himself and others, and who had been observed to bolt the most extraordinary quantities of angular pieces of bacon, beef, and mutton, in the short period of two minutes and a half. This was a strange, meagre, sallow-looking man, with black hair and white whiskers and beard, as if his jaws had done more work than his brains. All the bolters went at it just as quick feeders do in a kennel of hounds, helping themselves to a whole dish without ceremony, cutting off immense long morsels, and then presenting them with a dextrous turn of the tongue to the anxious œsophagus, would launch them down by the small end foremost, with all the confidence that an alligator swallows a young nigger, into that friendly asylum where roast and boiled, baked and stewed, pudding and pie, all that is good, and too often what is not very good, meet for all sorts of noble and ignoble purposes. These quick feeders, with scarce an exception, were gaunt, sallow, uncomely-looking persons, incapable of inspiring much interest out of their coffins, always excepting, however, the performer with the white whiskers, whose unrivalled talent in the present state of the drama, might, perhaps, be turned to great account in some of the enlightened capitals of Europe.'—ib., pp. 76–78.

In his notice of Virginia—which by-the-bye is a favourite State with our author—references are of course made to its slave system, and to the slave traffic now carried on to an extent that threatens to rival the African trade itself. The terms employed respecting the former are far too slight and general. The system is condemned, but the persons sustaining it are suffered to go free; hopes of its ultimate extinction are expressed, whilst the only men who honestly contemplate this end, are censured as impracticable and visionary. The enormity of the evil is admitted, and strong terms are employed in its reprobation, but woe be to those who adopt the

only means which are likely to effect its destruction. Eur now rings with the horrors of the middle passage, Mr. Featherstonhaugh shall describe one of the scenes he nessed on the soil of republican America, as if in mocker human profession, and in proof of the baseness to which nature can stoop.

'Just as we reached New River, in the early grey of the morning came up with a singular spectacle, the most striking one of the ki have ever witnessed. It was a camp of negro slave-drivers, just p ing up to start; they had about three hundred slaves with them, had bivouacked the preceding night in chains in the woods; these were conducting to Natchez, upon the Mississippi River, to work the sugar plantations in Louisiana. It resembled one of those coffl slaves spoken of by Mungo Park, except that they had a caravan of waggons and single-horse carriages, for the purpose of conducting white people, and any of the blacks that should fall lame, to which were now putting the horses to pursue their march. The female sl were, some of them sitting on logs of wood, whilst others were stan and a great many little black children were warming themselves a fires of the bivouac. In front of them all, and prepared for the m stood, in double files, about two hundred male slaves, *manacled and ch to each other*. I had never seen so revolting a sight before! I men in fetters, torn from the lands where they were born, from th they had formed, and from the comparatively easy condition which cultural labour affords, and driven by white men, with liberty and e ity in their mouths, to a distant and unhealthy country, to perish i sugar-mills of Louisiana, where the duration of life for a sugar-mill does not exceed seven years! To make this spectacle still more gusting and hideous, some of the principal white slave-drivers, who tolerably well dressed, and had broad-brimmed white hats on, *with crape round them*, were standing near, laughing and smoking cigars

'It was an interesting, but a melancholy spectacle, to see them the passage of the river; first, a man on horseback selected a sh place in the ford for the male slaves; then followed a waggon and horses, attended by another man or horseback. The other wag contained the children and some that were lame, whilst the scov flat boats, crossed the women and some of the people belonging t caravan. There was much method and vigilance observed, for thi one of the situations where the gangs—always watchful to obtain liberty—often show a disposition to mutiny, knowing that if one o of them could wrench their manacles off, they could soon free the and either disperse themselves or overpower and slay their sordid ke and fly to the Free States. The slave-drivers, aware of this dispo in the unfortunate negroes, endeavour to mitigate their disconte feeding them well on the march, and by encouraging them to 'Old Virginia never tire,' to the banjo.'—ib., pp. 119—123.

Our traveller's introduction to the American president surprise such of our readers as associate the idea of chief m

tracy with great state and general seclusion. It occurred in Tenessee, and involved a violation of all the proprieties of court etiquette; and, on the part of the President, an acknowledgment which few of his brethren probably would make, however conscious they might be of its truthfulness. Mr. Featherstonhaugh's account of the interview is as follows:—

'As we drove up to the door of the tavern, I saw General Jackson, the venerable President of the United States, seated at a window smoking his long pipe, and went to pay my respects to him, apologising for my dirty appearance, which I told him I had very honestly come by in hammering the rocks of his own State. He laughed and shook hands cordially with me; and learning that my son was with me, requested me to bring him in and present him. My son, who had been scampering about the country all the time we were in Knoxville, was in a worse pickle than myself, and felt quite ashamed to be presented to so eminent a person; but the old General very kindly took him by the hand, and said, 'My young friend, don't be ashamed of this: if you were a politician, you would have dirty work upon your hands you could not so easily get rid of.' We had a very agreeable chat with the old gentleman; he was in fine spirits; and we left his cheerful conversation with great reluctance, amidst the kindest expression of his wishes for our welfare, and an injunction to call upon him at Washington as soon as we returned. The President was then on his way to the seat of government.—ib. pp. 164, 165.

Arriving at Nashville, our author sought the acquaintance of Professor Troost, a great enthusiast in geology, a man of strong intellect, and obliging manners, whose habits are somewhat eccentric, as may be gathered from the following:—

'Everything of the serpent kind he has a particular fancy for, and has always a number of them—that he has tamed—in his pockets or under his waistcoat. To loll back in his rocking chair, to talk about geology, and pat the head of a large snake, when twining itself about his neck, is to him supreme felicity. Every year in the vacation he makes an excursion to the hills, and I was told that, upon one of these occasions, being taken up by the stage-coach which had several members of Congress in it going to Washington, the learned Doctor took his seat on the top with a large basket, the lid of which was not over and above well secured. Near to this basket sat a Baptist preacher on his way to a great public immersion. His reverence, awakening from a reverie he had fallen into, beheld to his unutterable horror two rattlesnakes raise their fearful heads out of the basket, and immediately precipitated himself upon the driver, who, almost knocked off his seat, no sooner became apprised of the character of his ophidian outside passengers than he jumped upon the ground with the reins in his hands, and was followed instanter by the preacher. The 'insides,' as soon as they learned what was going on, immediately became outsides, and nobody was left but the Doctor and his rattlesnakes on the top. But the Doctor, not entering into the general alarm, quietly placed

his greatcoat over the basket, and tied it down with his handkerchief, which, when he had done, he said, 'Gendlemen, only don't let dese poor dings pite you, and dey won't hoort you.' '—ib. pp. 194, 195.

Mr. Featherstonhaugh's notions on religion and religious parties, are crude and superficial. He is evidently out of his line when adverting to these topics. They are not to his mind, have not laid hold of him with sufficient force to induce a serious consideration of their claims,—an analysis close, consecutive and impartial, of their character and pretensions. He is much more at home in geologizing, and his opinions on its phenomena and laws are, in consequence, more sagacious and trustworthy. Here he examines and thinks for himself, and the result of his cogitations is at all times entitled to respectful consideration. In the other case we cannot say so much. His judgments are hastily formed on a very partial view of facts, and frequently evince the grossest ignorance of some of the most obvious lessons of history. We wish, indeed, that he had said nothing on such matters, as he is evidently unfitted for their discussion, and has no deep sense of their importance. His general views may be learnt from the following passage, in which he congratulates the episcopal church on its freedom from the fluctuations to which other bodies are subjected.

'The Episcopal, or English Church as it is often called, appears, although it has no connexion with the government, to be the only steady church in the United States, keeping up an impregnable respectability by adhering to the Liturgy and to written sermons; a salutary practice that has hitherto rendered it the hope and asylum of all educated people in that country; but the dissenting churches, on the other hand, seem to be rather at sixes and sevens, and although many of them are temporarily popular, and filled to repletion by occasional favourite preachers, yet they are as prone to empty themselves again, upon the manifestation of any innovation in their doctrine or manners. The slightest deviation of opinion or sanctity on the part of a favourite preacher is sure to raise up a party of pious censors, and thus cliques are formed in a congregation, upon the principle that it is quite wrong not to hate people with a perfect hatred that will not be of your opinion, and quite right to take sides against them who permit themselves to be found out. Then comes the natural operation of the voluntary principle, the breaking up of a congregation, and the formation of a new sect.

'I have heard this very common fermentatory process much commended as one which, by creating numerous sects, secures the United States from the preponderance of any one: a kind of logic which perhaps will not convince everybody, since it is not yet quite so clear that the possession of a great many things of doubtful and fluctuating importance is better than that of one whose excellence and integrity has for so long a period protected it from serious schisms. Experience seems to teach, that to become reasonable in this life, man is as much in want of a little steadi

spiritual influence to guide his moral way, as of legal authority to restrain his physical actions; and time will show whether this is not as applicable to the United States as to the mother country, which owes so much of its moral position to the union of Church and State.'—ib. p. 213.

Now on this passage it is obvious to remark that the question of episcopacy and of set forms of prayer, is entirely distinct from that of ecclesiastical establishments, and must not, by any means be confounded with it. Were we therefore to admit that there were preponderating advantages attendant on this order of priesthood and form of worship, we should be as far as ever from foregoing our voluntaryism, or from being prepared to admit the interference of the secular power in the appointment of ecclesiastical officers, and the regulation of christian worship. We should still maintain that the church was a spiritual body, complete in itself, and fully competent to the management of its own affairs, and should consequently stop far short of the point to which writers, like Mr. Featherstonhaugh, would lead us. But we admit no such thing. On the contrary, we believe that a large balance of evil lies against the things supposed. Some advantages unquestionably there are, on the side of episcopacy, and forms of prayer, but these are more than counterbalanced by the evils engendered. They may restrain the excesses, and guard against the ignorance or vulgarity which occasionally disport themselves in the house of God; but, on the other hand, they stimulate the ambition of the clergy, and spread amongst the people a spirit of formalism destructive of genuine piety. The historical argument on this point, is in our judgment, conclusive, whether regard be had to ancient or modern times, to catholic or protestant experience. By this decision we must abide, until other, and far more weighty evidence than has yet been adduced, be brought forward.

The passage on which we are remarking, is a caricature not a likeness, the invective of a polemic, rather than the accurate drawing of an impartial observer. Not only is this seen in the dark colours in which dissenting churches are painted, but in the gross delusion practised on the writer's mind respecting the history of his own church. That there is an appearance of staidness and gravity, of freedom from violent changes, and of continued adherence to a settled form of religious truth, in the established church, we admit; nay more, it could not well be otherwise, considering the constitution of that church, and the mode of its government. But this appearance is outward and superficial only, attaching to the forms, and not to the spirit, to the verbiage, and not to the principles of its members. Amongst these the utmost diversities of opinion have prevailed, from the highest supralapsarianism to the lowest type of unita-

rianism. All have been confounded in one general mass, have ministered at her altars, partaken of her emoluments, shared in her fellowship, under the thin disguise—in some cases hypocritical, in all ineffective—of approving her ritual, or of having signed her articles. To such an extent is this the case, and so inevitable is such a result, under the constitution of the hierarchy, that the highest authorities in the church have declared her articles to be articles of peace and not of faith, a declaration of attachment to her communion not of concurrence in her doctrines, a profession of the truth in a form wearing the semblance and involving the very spirit of a lie. But we must return to our author, who is never so out of his sphere as when discoursing on a subject with which he is obviously so slightly acquainted.

Arriving at St. Louis, in Missouri, he was directed to a tavern, the inmates of which afforded ample evidence of his distance from the seat of government. The bar-room 'was filled with vagabond idle looking fellows, drinking, smoking, and swearing, in *American;* everything looked as if we had reached the terminus of civilization, it seemed to be next door to the Rocky Mountains, and only one stage from where we should find nature in a perfect undress, and in the habit of eating her dinner without a knife and fork.' Here he again met with a notorious swindler, who endeavoured to pass himself off as Colonel Smith, of the British army, in connection with whom we are informed of a singular device resorted to in the Southern States as a means of obtaining money.

'It seems that amongst other modes of getting a livelihood in the Southern States, that of 'running negroes' is practised by a class of fellows who are united in a fraternity for the purpose of carrying on the business, and for protecting each other in time of danger. If one of them falls under the notice of the law and is committed to take his trial, some of the fraternity benevolently contrive, 'somehow or other,' to get upon the jury, or kindly become his bail. To 'run a negro' it is necessary to have a good understanding with an intelligent male slave on some plantation, and if he is a mechanic he is always the more valuable. At a time agreed upon the slave runs away from his master's premises and joins the man who has instigated him to do it; they then proceed to some quarter where they are not known, and the negro is sold for seven or eight hundred dollars, or more, to a new master. A few days after the money has been paid, he runs away again, and is sold a second time, and as oft as the trick can be played with any hope of safety. The negro who does the harlequinade part of the manœuvre has an agreement with his friend, in virtue of which he supposes he is to receive part of the money; but the poor devil in the end is sure to be cheated, and when he becomes dangerous to the fraternity is, as I have been well assured, first cajoled and put off his guard, and then, on crossing some

river or reaching a secret place, shot before he suspects their intention, or other e i de away with.

'A small pl wno happened to be at the White Sulphur this season, and who had tne y... before purchased a valuable slave that had escaped a few days afterwards, advertised him very minutely in the newspapers; and it happened very oddly that another planter had at the same time advertised a slave with the same description, but with a different name. This led to an interview betwixt the two planters, and upon comparing notes they found they had each been defrauded by the same identical white man and his pretended slave. All their efforts, however, to discover this person had hitherto been in vain, when one evening the planter who was at the White Sulphur, going with a friend to the gambling-house, suddenly asked a person there who that man was *with the golden chain on his breast;* he was told it was 'Colonel Smith, of the British army, who had served at Waterloo.' Now the planter, although he had not served at Waterloo, thought he had a pretty distinct recollection of the Colonel's having sold him the 'runaway negur,' and kept his eye constantly fixed upon him, a circumstance which sooner or later could not fail to attract the attention of the Colonel, whose eyes were in the habit of keeping a pretty sharp look-out; and not liking to be stared at, he walked out and was followed by the planter and his friend. The night was dark, the Colonel had friends on the spot, who, like himself, were prepared to 'hop the twig,' and in half an hour was seated in a gig and wending his way through the woods to Lewisburgh. In the morning the story was abroad, the Colonel was said to be gone to the Red Sulphur, and thither the planter followed him, swearing he never would return home until he caught him.'—ib. pp. 255—257.

The population of St. Louis is a strange compound of Spanish, French, American, and German. The catholic religion yet preponderates, 'but this,' remarks our author, in a style sufficiently denotive of his feeling, 'will not last long, for the presbyterians are running up their Ebenezers very rapidly.'

As St. Louis formed the terminus of coach travelling, and Mr. Featherstonhaugh designed to proceed to the frontier of Mexico, it was necessary that he should provide himself with some other conveyance. He therefore purchased a small waggon, called in the *patois* of the country, a Dearborn, and a young horse of the name of Missouri. 'It gave us,' he remarks, 'great pleasure to think we should be quite independent with this little equipage; should have no smoking and spitting passengers, no cursing and swearing drivers, and nobody to care about but ourselves and Missouri, whose beautiful gray skin, arched neck, full eye, and ample tail, attracted great attention.'

Stopping at Frederictown, the ancient St. Michel of the French, our travellers put up at a tavern kept by a German, named Hethner, who was at the time under bail for having killed a drunken Frenchman, in defending himself from a murderous assault. The legal functionaries of this remote State

would greatly perplex the pleaders of Westminster Hall, and furnish—if our author's account of one of them, be a fair sample of the class—no very favourable views of American jurisprudence. Referring to the death of the Frenchman, he says:—

'This tragical incident had occasioned a feud in the place not very favourable to the poor German's hopes, a strong party having been formed exceedingly hostile to him; for a majority of the inhabitants being of French origin had taken up the affair warmly, and being a foreigner he had not as many friends as a native American would have had. Nevertheless he was not without them; some of the most respectable people were determined he should have fair play, and the magistrate who had admitted him to bail was at the head of them. A person we became acquainted with, gave us an amusing account of this worthy personage, who had been 'raised' on the frontier settlements of Kentucky, and elevated to the dignity of judge of the county court here, not because he had ever studied law, or any other art or science, but because he was a thorough going party-man. The judge was a straightforward, fearless person, and having emigrated into the State of Missouri in consequence of a ruinous lawsuit, had brought with him an utter detestation of lawyers. It happened that the friends of the deceased Frenchman had engaged the services of a conceited, talkative, satirical limb of the law, who also had come here to make his fortune, and betwixt this man, and his honour the judge, a grudge had arisen upon the following occasion.

'Amongst the functions his honour was charged with, was the duty of taking acknowledgments of deeds; and soon after his elevation to the bench the attorney waited upon him accompanied by a female, and presenting him with a long conveyance, told him he was 'to examine her secretly and apart,' whether she had signed the deed by compulsion, and was to certify the affidavit immediately, as they wanted to use the deed in half an hour. As he had never exercised this function before, and had no very clear notion of what sort of examination she was to undergo, and above all not liking either the man or his manner, he told him to leave the paper, and that he would look it over and see what he could do. To this the attorney testily replied, 'you have no business to look at the paper at all, your business is only with the affidavit.' A little nettled at this want of reverence, the judge as sharply rejoined, 'I calculate you must take me for a most almighty fool to suppose that I'm a mind to swar to what's in that ar paper before I've read a word in it, and I ain't a-going to do no sich thing for no lawyers on the universal arth, I tell *you*.' It was in vain his honour was told that he was not the person that was to swear to the affidavit; he would not listen to the attorney, and the lady inclining to the judge's opinion, and expressing a wish that he would read the paper, the attorney was outvoted and had to submit, taking his revenge however afterwards by ridiculing the judge upon all occasions. At the period when this homicide took place, his honour had received so many affronts from the attorney that a 'rumpus' was expected betwixt them every time they met.

'When Hethner was brought before the judge, a violent altercation

ıd producing a rushing and startling sound, that cataracts of the
ıs might be proud of. These flights of wild pigeons constitute
the most remarkable phenomena of the western country. I re-
once, when amongst the Indians, seeing the woods loaded from
ottom with their nests for a great number of miles, the heaviest
s of the trees broken and fallen to the ground, which was strewed
ıng birds dead and alive, that the Indians in great numbers were
up to carry away with their horses: many of their dogs were
have gone mad with feeding upon their putrified remains. A
ıus loaded and half-destroyed with these birds, presents an ex-
ary spectacle which cannot be rivalled; but when such myriads
birds as the wild pigeon are on the wing, often wheeling and
ing evolutions almost as complicated as pyrotechnic movements,
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that he 'is gone to help a neighbour to hunt up an old painter that's been arter all the pigs; he ain't been hum in a week, and I reckon he's stopt somewhar to help to *shuck* corn (the stripping the maize from the husk when it is ripe): we han't not nothing in the house but a little corn that I pounds as I uses it, and a couple of racoons jist to sarve us till he gets back.' The corn they consume is paid for in deer skins, and the heavier debts of the squatter he literally liquidates with bear's oil. If he has to negociate the purchase of a horse to the amount of 50 dollars, the items of the appropriation are as follows:—On or before Christmas he is 'to turn in' 15 gallons of *bar* (bear) oil, the current value of which is one dollar per gallon; twelve deer-skins at 75 cents each; then he is to go with 'a negur' to Big Swamp to help to 'hunt up' some young horses that were taken there six months ago to pasture, and is to have a dollar a day for that service; and as to the rest he 'is to git along with it somehaw or other.'

The region through which the route of the travellers now lay, was wild and desolate; the inhabitants very few, and scattered; and the accidents to which the journey was subjected, such as taxed to the utmost their patience and firmness. What would our summer tourists who complain of the inconveniences of railways and steam-boats, say to the following?—

'Jogging along we came to a rather deep and dry bayou, with a very steep descent down into it, and this part of the business we achieved exceedingly well with both of us in the waggon; but Missouri being rather too confident, made a dash to get up the opposite bank, and my son, who had the reins, aiding him lustily with the whip to get out of the bayou, the horse, just at the edge of the bank, made a desperate effort, and successfully carried my son, the shafts, and the front wheels for some short distance on our route; as to myself, I philosophically took the part of the hind wheels, which, released from all restraint, incontinently retreated back again with me to the bottom of the bayou. It would have amused a third person to have observed us when we met again, looking at each other upon the occasion of so melancholy a dismemberment of the machine that we so much depended upon. But our discomfiture was so palpable that no room was left for doubt or hesitation, and we came instantly to the conclusion that all other business must give place to waggon-mending; so setting resolutely to work, we dragged the hind wheels up the bank, cut some stout stuff to splice our shafts, that were broken clean from the axle-tree, and making use of the ropes that we had happily furnished ourselves with, in about three hours we got under way, though in such a crippled state, that we were now obliged to walk, a punishment too light for having been so inconsiderate as to sit in the waggon whilst the horse was drawing it out of the bayou. Luckily the fore and hind wheels kept upon tolerably good terms during the rest of the day, except occasionally when we were going down hill.'—Vol. ii. pp. 4, 5.

Bears, wolves, and buffaloes abounded throughout the district, and some singular adventures with these unwelcome

visitors are recordcd. Mr. Featherstonhaugh also confirms the account furnished by other travellers, of the immense flocks of wild pigeons which occasionally darken the sky, and produce a rushing sound like the fall of many waters.

'A new and very interesting spectacle now presented itself, in the incredible quantities of wild pigeons that were abroad; flocks of them many miles long came across the country, one flight succeeding to another, obscuring the daylight, and in their swift motion creating a wind, and producing a rushing and startling sound, that cataracts of the first class might be proud of. These flights of wild pigeons constitute one of the most remarkable phenomena of the western country. I remember once, when amongst the Indians, seeing the woods loaded from top to bottom with their nests for a great number of miles, the heaviest branches of the trees broken and fallen to the ground, which was strewed with young birds dead and alive, that the Indians in great numbers were picking up to carry away with their horses: many of their dogs were said to have gone mad with feeding upon their putrified remains. A forest thus loaded and half-destroyed with these birds, presents an extraordinary spectacle which cannot be rivalled; but when such myriads of timid birds as the wild pigeon are on the wing, often wheeling and performing evolutions almost as complicated as pyrotechnic movements, and creating whirlwinds as they move, they present an image of the most fearful power. Our horse, Missouri, at such times, has been so cowed by them, that he would stand still and tremble in his harness, whilst we ourselves were glad when their flight was directed from us.'—ib. pp. 11, 12.

The travellers were generally supposed to be pedlars, the hinder part of their vehicle being occupied by a large basket containing their cooking and other utensils. 'What goods have ye got to sell?' was the inquiry with which they were invariably met; and when assured that they had none, the wonder of the people was expressed in the interrogatory.—'Why what onder arth are you, if you ain't pedlars?' A scientific object was, of course, beyond their understanding, and if explained would scarcely have failed to be regarded as visionary and absurd. The clock pedlar is the most frequent and regular visitor of these districts; and an amusing account is given of the manner in which they carry on their trade. Our author remarks:—

'As to the Yankee clock pedlars, they are everywhere, and have contrived, by an assurance and perseverance that have been unrivalled from the Maccabees down, to stick up a clock in every cabin in the western country. Wherever we have been, in Kentucky, in Indiana, in Illinois, in Missouri, and here in every dell of Arkansas, and in cabins where there was not a chair to sit on, there was sure to be a Connecticut clock. The clock-pedlar is an irresistible person; he enters a log cabin, gets

familiarly acquainted with its inmates in the shortest imaginable tir and then comes on business.

'"I *guess* I shall have to sell you a clock before I go.'

'"I *expect* a clock 's of no use here; besides, I ha'nt got no money pay for one.'

'"Oh, a clock 's fine company here in the woods; why you could live without one after you'd had one awhile, and you can pay for it son other time.'

'"I *calculate* you 'll find I ain't a going to take one.'

'The wife must now be acted upon.

'"Well, mistress, your husband won't take a clock, it is most a su prising: he'd hadn't ought to let *you* go without one. Why, every o of your neighbours is a going to git one. I suppose, however, you' no objection to my nailing one up here, till I come back in a month so. I am sure you'll take care of it, and I shall charge you nothing f the use of it at any rate.'

'No reasonable objection, of course, can be made to this. It is nail up; he instructs her how to keep it in order, and takes leave. E what can equal their delight, when, with a bright, clear sound, it stril the hours! 'Well,' they exclaim, 'if that don't beat all! Sartin, it most delightful, curious company!' The wife now teaches her husba to wind up the clock, and great care is taken of it, as it is a deposit, a must be restored in as good condition as it was received. Too soo Jonathan, the wily tempter, returns, talks of taking the clock down: was the best clock he ever had, they are such nice people he almo wishes it was theirs.' Such a friendly and disinterested proceedi throws down all the icy barriers that prudence had raised between th and the shrewd Yankee. Before morning the wife gets the husban consent, and the clock becomes theirs for the mere formality of l giving a note, payable in six months, for some eighteen or twen dollars, and then

'"If the clock shouldn't go well he can change it for another, to be su he can; ha'ant he got to come that way in the spring?'

'"He comes sure enough to dun the poor creatures, bringing one clo along with him; and as all the clocks have stopped, as a matter course, either because they were good for nothing, or because they ha wound them up too often, he changes the clock at every place he sto cobbling them up in succession as they come into his hands, and favou ing every one of his customers with the bad clock of his neighbou The dénouement is not a very pleasant one; long after the clocks ha ceased to strike, the constables come and wind up the whole concer and mistress pays too often with her cows for the inconsiderate use her conjugal influence.'—ib. pp. 27, 29.

We could readily extend our quotations, but the claims other works impose restraints which must be respected. W therefore refrain from accompanying the travellers to Texa whence they returned to Little Rock, and thence proceede to New Orleans and Mobile by steam. From this latt place they traversed the States lying on the Atlantic, arrivi

at length in safety at Richmond in Virginia. The second volume is occupied with details revolting to every humane mind, and descriptive of a state of society to which we hope few parallels can be found. It must, however, be borne in mind, as we have already intimated, that Mr. Featherstonhaugh's route lay through the worst parts of the States, the very sink of poverty and crime; the outskirts of civilization, to which the ruined spendthrift, the unprincipled bankrupt, the reckless gambler, and a variety of other equally abandoned classes resort as their only place of safety. Driven from other parts of the republic they congregate at the points touched by our traveller, and his descriptions therefore must not be taken for a portraiture of American character or society generally. It is a dark picture which he sketches, somewhat shaded it may be by the prejudices of his class and nation, but entitled in the main to confidence. He writes in an easy flowing style, like one who looks at manners rather than at men, and pictures the grotesque, ridiculous, or criminal in the habits of a people, rather than philosophizes on their institutions, or resolves their character into its constituent elements. We have read his volumes with painful interest, and commend them to the early perusal of our friends.

Art. VI. *History of Ireland and the Irish People, under the Government of England.* By S. Smiles, M.D. London: Strange.

Doctor Smiles deserves our commendation for having compiled a faithful and generally correct account of the history of Ireland from the period of its first connexion with England. The general features of the government of that country are successfully pourtrayed; indeed, they have varied but slightly in the course of centuries, and no one can read this volume without being somewhat wearied and perplexed by the family likeness of successive Irish administrations. Seven hundred years of miserable uniformity, of coercion on one side, and discontent on the other; the former varying from sanguinary tyranny through all the phases of oppression down to simple exclusiveness; and the latter exhibiting corresponding vicissitudes from desperate rebellion to constitutional resistance—present a historical problem without a parallel, and yet a problem admitting of easy solution.

The chief error into which English writers on Irish history

have fallen, and which Dr. Smiles has not wholly escaped, i that they ascribe the first connexion between England an Ireland to conquest; but in fact it originated in a compac between Henry the Second, Pope Adrian the Fourth, and th Irish prelates their cotemporaries. Some interest attaches to a treaty framed by such parties for settling the destinies of a nation without even dreaming of asking the consent of the people; curiosity may reasonably be excited by the difficulty o ascertaining the terms of distribution of common spoil arranged by the high-contracting parties; the treaty would be still mor memorable if it had no other claim to the consideration o posterity than the hypocrisy, the injustice, and the mutua treachery of the members of the holy alliance, by which it wa framed; but it becomes an object of nearer interest when w find that the irreconcileable views and pretensions of all th parties descended regularly to their successors, and have exerte a constant influence on Irish affairs. Unless attention is paid t these, it is impossible either to unravel the history of Ireland or even to form a correct judgment of its present position.

Without adopting any of the wild dreams of ancient glor and prosperity in which Irish antiquarians love to indulge, w may regard it as an established fact, that Ireland in the seventl and eighth centuries enjoyed a respectable share of those bene fits which result from industry, laws, and literature; its tran quillity was liable to be disturbed by the feuds of petty an jealous chieftains, so prone to strife that the bards record a sanguinary war which originated in a dispute about a goose egg; but the spread of Christianity tended greatly to subdu this ferocity, and we find records of many feuds arranged b the intervention of ministers of the gospel. In the thre following centuries all the elements of social improvement wer crushed under the successive invasions of the northern corsairs The Irish, it is true, succeeded in throwing off the Danis yoke; but all their towns remained in the hands of th foreigners; all respect for a central sovereign power was de stroyed; every toparch was absolute lord within his own do mains; the country was without money, trade, or manufac tures; and all who could not boast of princely blood were con demned to a state of hopeless dependence. The clergy sufferec not less than the laity; they were appointed by the petty chief in their respective territories, they owed them the customar duties of clansmen, and they were amenable to the ordinar brehon jurisprudence. It was not unnatural that the Iris prelates, comparing their own degraded condition with the high rank which ecclesiastics then held in almost every other part o

Christendom, should seek an alliance with the papacy as a means of securing the elevation of themselves and their order.

It would be unjust to attribute the conduct of the Irish prelates at this crisis exclusively to selfish and unprincipled ambition. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the church stood alone as an element of civilization, and the papal power was the only counterpoise to feudal tyranny and military despotism. There were no means either of ecclesiastical or secular organization in their own country; to preach order to the barbarous chiefs, among whom the land was divided, would have been just as unwise and not quite so safe as delivering a lecture on tranquillity to the whirlwinds. There was no *people* to which they could appeal; and the monarch who was mocked with the title of paramount sovereign had more than enough to do in protecting himself, and had not the power, even if he possessed the will, to devise and execute any plan for the permanent establishment of public tranquillity. It is true that the prelates sacrificed the independence of their national church to the supremacy of the Vatican, but we cannot estimate highly an independence at the mercy of ignorant toparchs, few of whom were probably more advanced in civilization than the Indian chiefs of North America.

To the papal court the transaction was fraught with unmingled triumph, and it afforded the Roman pontiffs an opportunity of advancing their claims to universal empire too valuable to be neglected. It was easy to persuade the Irish prelates that the changes which they desired in the condition of their church, and in their own political position, could only be effected by entrusting supreme power to a delegate of the holy see; and it was at the same time evident that the potentate who accepted such a delegation would virtually become a vassal to the holy see, and a viceroy to the successors of St. Peter. Influenced by these motives, Pope Adrian issued his celebrated bull, granting to Henry Plantagenet the *lordship* of Ireland, but reserving the ultimate sovereignty to the court of Rome. 'We hold it right and good,' says this memorable bull, 'that, for the extension of the borders of the church, the restraining of vice, the correction of manners, the planting of virtue and increase of religion, you enter the said island and execute therein whatever shall pertain to the house of God, and the welfare of the land; and that the people of said land receive you honourably, and reverence you as their lord; *saving always the rights of the churches*, and reserving to St. Peter the annual pension of one penny upon every house.' This bull was subsequently renewed by Pope Alexander the Third, and his confirmatory letter is far

from being complimentary to the Irish church and natio having recognized the validity of Adrian's donation, he adc 'Provided also that the barbarous people of Ireland be by yo means reformed, and recovered from their filthy life a abominable manners, that as in name, so in conduct and co versation they may become Christians; provided further, th the Irish rude and disordered church being by you reforme the whole nation may, together with the profession of the faitl be in act and deed followers of the same.'

We have next to inquire the foundation of the assumed pap sovereignty over Ireland, in consequence of which its lordshi was given in fief to the monarchs of England, and on this sul ject we find very different explanations given by the eccl siastical authorities. The Italians and continental divin generally referred to the imaginary donation of the emper Constantine, who was said to have bestowed *all* islands upon th successors of St. Peter; but this notion, although supported b the authority of several pontiffs, was displeasing to the nation vanity, and was not, so far as we can discover, ever supported b any Irish authority. Pope Adrian discovered in the prophecie a divine right to islands—'There is indeed no doubt,' he say 'as your highness also doth acknowledge, that Ireland, and a the islands upon which Christ, the Sun of Righteousness hat shone, do belong to the patrimony of St. Peter and the hol Roman church. Therefore we are the more solicitous to prop gate in that land the godly scion of faith, as we have the secr monition of conscience that such is more especially our bounde duty.' The titular primate Lombard, who was private secreta to pope Clement the Eighth, zealously advocated this hypothesi and supported it by many curious arguments from scriptur which we willingly spare our readers the pain of perusing.

Jeoffrey Keating, the celebrated cotemporary of Lombar among the many other legends which he attempted to impo upon the world, as Irish history, framed a third hypothesis explain the nature of the papal claims. He averred, that a kin of Munster and some other chiefs had visited Rome as pilgrim and retiring from earthly cares to the holy tranquillity of th cloister, had surrendered their dominions to the apostolic se There was, however, an obvious defect in this pretended titl for the Irish principalities though hereditary in the family, we elective as to the individual, and for this reason Keating's theo has had but few followers in Ireland. The fourth, and favourit solution, was that in the time of St. Patrick, the whole Iris nation filled with gratitude to the pious pontiff, whose paterna care had thrown open to them the kingdom of heaven, cede their island in full and perpetual sovereignty to his see. It w

maintained by the more ardent advocates of this position, that the title of Holy Island, or Island of Saints, had been prophetically applied to Ireland in pagan times, a sure presage of the high destiny that awaited it as the chosen patrimony of the holy father. This was the theory supported by Polydore Virgil, and the jesuit Saunders, and which the late Doctor Doyle seems to have patronized in the third of his celebrated letters, published under the signature of I.K.L., 'when it pleased God to have an isle of saints upon the earth, he prepared Ireland *from afar* for this high destiny.'

Though the subinfeudation of sovereignty, and a consequent divided allegiance were sufficiently common;—the English king himself owing liege homage to the crown of France, for the duchies of Aquitaine and Normandy and the earldom of Anjou, —yet Henry seems not to have been very anxious to assume the office of papal viceroy in Ireland. Adrian's bull was dated A.D. 1155, yet it was not until A.D. 1171, that the Anglo-Normans made any preparations for invading Ireland, and even then they appeared as allies to a petty sovereign engaged in a private and insignificant war. Mr. O'Connell in one of his best speeches in the Catholic Association, has given a graphic and eloquent description of the arrival of the invaders. 'It was on the evening of the 23rd of August, 1172, that the first hostile English footstep pressed the soil of Ireland. It is said to have been a sweet and mild evening when the invading party entered the noble estuary formed by the conflux of the Suir, the Nore, and the Barrow, at the city of Waterford. Accursed be that day in the memory of all future generations of Irishmen, when the invaders first touched our shores! They came to a nation famous for its love of learning, its piety, and its heroism,—they came when internal dissensions separated her sons, and wasted their energies. Internal traitors led on the invaders—her sons fell in no fight,—her liberties were crushed in no battle; but domestic treason and foreign invaders doomed Ireland to seven centuries of oppression.' Doctor Smiles has ably condensed the principal circumstances connected with Strongbow's invasion, but however interesting these events may be, they are of infinitely less importance than the transactions of the Council of Cashel, held immediately after the arrival of Henry. The English monarch appeared there before the Irish princes and prelates not as a conqueror, but as the rightful possessor of a fief conferred upon him by the supreme sovereign; he was recognized as lord of the Irish nation, but only with secondary and delegated authority, he claimed only a divided allegiance, and demanded merely viceregal homage. Such were the conditions of the English rule over the Irish people for more than three centuries, and the recognition of the monarch's title as entirely

dependant on a papal grant, was introduced into the preamble of almost every statute passed in the reigns of the Plantagenets.

The Anglo-Normans who had come over with Strongbow and his associates, regarded themselves as the subjects of the king of England, while the Irish were merely his vassals, being the subjects of the pope. Had the early Plantagenets attempted to treat Ireland as a kingdom, and unite it with their realm of England, they would assuredly have exposed themselves to the hostility of the supreme pontiffs who never yet abandoned any of their pretences to political power. Indeed, we find, that when Henry appointed his son John to the lieutenancy, or rather to the lordship of Ireland, the pope seized the opportunity of re-asserting his title to the supreme dominion, and with somewhat of sarcasm, probably unintended, upon the foppish imbecility of the youthful governor, sent him a diadem of peacock's feathers as the symbol of his investiture. Were the destinies of nations to be decided by the technicalities of law, the claims of the popes to the sovereignty of Ireland would be indisputable. Henry accepted the lordship of Ireland, as a papal grant; bound himself to all the conditions and stipulations of the compact, and of course assented to the penalties of forfeiture if he failed to fulfil those conditions. As we have already stated, his successors followed the same course. From the invasion to the Reformation, the papal grant was set forth in successive statutes as the *sole* ground of right for English sovereignty, and this awkward acknowledgment only ceased to be disused when the Irish parliament changed the title of sovereignty, and proclaimed Henry the Eighth, king of Ireland. Even this proceeding was a gross violation of law, for that parliament only represented the English of the pale, and had therefore no right to make a transfer of the allegiance of the whole Irish people.

This 'divided allegiance' established, as we have seen, by the English monarchs, and maintained, as we shall presently shew, in despite of the wishes and prayers of the Irish people, has been made a theme of reproach and invective against those who unwillingly bore the exclusion from the privileges of British subjects which it entailed on them. The English kings had subjects in Ireland, whose allegiance was complete and undivided; these had therefore an exclusive claim to loyalty, and consequently to the care and favour of the government. So long as exclusive loyalty bore a high price in the market, it was found desirable to keep up divided allegiance, so as to prevent competition.

The lands acquired by Strongbow and his adherents, were situated chiefly on the eastern coast of Ireland, and formed what was called the English pale; those who settled upon them were in fact but an English garrison in Ireland; they had to all intents and purposes a different monarch from the people amidst

whom they dwelt, and thus the distinction of races was perpetuated by a difference of government. Two nations as distinct as the Turks and the Greeks, or the Spartans and the Helots, were thus planted on the Irish soil, and the whole course of law, in opposition to the interest both of the sovereigns and the people, was directed to prevent their amalgamation. There were two ways in which a fusion of races into a united people, might have been accomplished; the first and most obvious, was to receive the Irish within the pale of English, and recognize them as immediate subjects of the king. The Irish commonalty sought this as a boon and offered to give eight thousand marks for the favour; the king earnestly recommended it to the prelates and lords of the pale, but they sternly refused compliance. Captain Rock's memoirs, which by the way are a better history of Ireland, than the volumes to which Mr. Moore has given that name, furnish the following lively and faithful account of the transaction:—

'In the reign of Edward I. that part of the native population which came in immediate contact with the English settlements, and which it was, therefore, a matter of the utmost importance to conciliate, petitioned the king to adopt them as his subjects, and to admit them under the shelter of the English law. They even tried the experiment of bribing the throne into justice. But though the king was well inclined to accede to their request, and even ordered that a convention should be summoned to take this petition into consideration; luckily for the lovers of discord and misrule, his wise and benevolent intentions were not allowed to take effect. The proud barons to whom he had entrusted the government of Ireland, or in other words, the orange ascendancy of that day, could not so easily surrender their privilege of oppression, but preferring victims to subjects, resolved to keep the Irish as they were; and the arguments, or rather evasions, by which they got rid of the question altogether, so closely resemble the shallow pretences which have been played off against the claims of the catholics in our own time, that their folly, though of so old a date, appears to us quite recent and modern; and they might have been uttered by Mr. Goulburn last week, without any breach of costume or appearance of anachronism. Edward was assured that an immediate compliance with his commands was impossible in the present state of things; that the kingdom was in too great ferment and commotion, &c., &c.—'And such pretences,' says Leland, 'were sufficient where the aristocratic faction was so powerful.' Read 'orange faction' here, and you have the wisdom of our rulers, at the end of near six centuries, *in statu quo*.'

The Rev. Dr. Phelan, in his 'Policy of the Church of Rome in Ireland,' asserts that the prelates took a leading part in the prevention of this national blessing.

'There was offered to the (state) church one of those invaluable opportunities of repentance by which the benignant wisdom of Providence will sometimes extract blessings from the greatest transgressions. The

king had declared in his first letter, that he would be guided by th opinions of his prelates and nobles; and in his second, that notwith standing the inevitable absence of most of the latter, the assembling o the council should by no means be deferred; thus the ecclesiastica members, bishops, abbots, and priors would have easily commanded very decisive majority. Ireland was therefore once more at the merc of its prelates; they might now, by a vote, have almost atoned for th original baseness of their predecessors, and arrested the bloody progres of centuries of desolation. But the canon law was the only code whic they desired to establish generally, and the law of England was eve then too favourable to liberty, not to be viewed with alarm by men wh aimed at despotic power. On the one hand, they wished for a continu ance of the unequality between the races, because in fact it was only gradation of servitude, and kept the ascendancy of the church upon higher pedestal. On the other, they could not tolerate a measure whic by diffusing through all classes a spirit of spontaneous attachment to th state, might diminish their own importance.'

The Rev. Dr. Phelan makes this conduct a ground of speci accusation against the church of Rome, but to every one wh views it with an unbiassed mind, it will appear the natural an necessary result of an alliance between prelacy and aristocrac At this hour the majority of the Irish bishops have formed trades' union, to prevent an amalgamation of races through th medium of national education, and no where has lord Lyndhur found allies more resolute in keeping the bulk of the Iri 'aliens in language, religion, and blood,' than on the episcop bench. Let the Plantagenet prelates have their due share reprobation, but let not their modern successors and imitato pass unscathed by censure. Dr. Phelan was one of those wh could see the mote in the eye of Romish prelacy, but could n discern the beam in the eye of Anglican episcopacy;

'Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.'

A second mode of amalgamation, was the adoption of Iri habits and laws by the English, or rather the Anglo-Norm settlers; and this process was too attractive to meet with t same neglect as the former. The Anglo-Norman settlers we adventurers of reckless and ferocious habits, distinguished fr the worst of the native chiefs by nothing but their superior sk in predatory warfare; they had conquered broad lands withc the aid of the king, and were resolved to govern without his i tervention. Some of them, but particularly the two gr branches of the De Burghos, the Geraldines of Desmond, a the Berminghams of Athenry, renounced the language, laws, a usages of the mother-country. They had been smitten with t barbaric circumstance and unlimited sway of the native chi tains; they became chieftains themselves; assumed Irish app lations, and moulded their motley followers into the form Irish tribes. They were described as *Hibernis ipsis Hibernior*

'more Irish than the Irish themselves;' and the palatinate lords, of whom there were nine in Ireland, though they retained some usages of Norman feudalism, gave to the crown a merely nominal allegiance.

In the lieutenancy of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, a parliament was held at Kilkenny, which passed an act memorable above all others in the sad annals of Irish legislation, and very generally known as the statute of Kilkenny. This celebrated act, which was regarded for two centuries as the palladium of the English interest in Ireland, and which was, for about the same space of time, regularly renewed by every parliament that sat in Ireland, was rejected from the first collection of Irish statutes, made by Sir Henry Sidney, in 1572, and was not inserted in any subsequent collection. Fortunately, it has been recently published by that distinguished antiquarian, Mr. James Hardiman, and deserves to be noticed, 'like more acts of a similar tendency, though of different name, as a memorable example of the folly and wickedness of enacting vindictive laws for temporary purposes, which can only tend to create and continue dissensions among mankind.' It was decreed by this statute, that marriage, nurture of infants, or gossipred with the Irish, or submission to Irish law, should be considered and punished as high treason. Again, if any man of English race, should use the Irish dress or language, or take an Irish name, or observe any rule or custom of the Irish, particularly that of ploughing by the tail or without a saddle, he was to forfeit lands and tenements, until he had given security in the court of chancery that he would conform in every particular to the English manners. Further, it was made highly penal to present a mere Irishman to any ecclesiastical benefice, or receive him into a monastery or other religious house; penalties still more severe were denounced against the entertainment of an Irish bard, minstrel, or story-teller, and as a climax of absurdity, it was declared criminal to admit an Irish horse to graze upon the pasture of an Englishman!

The sucessive lord-deputies, down to the time of the Reformation, administered the government in the spirit of the statute of Kilkenny, with the single exception of Richard, Duke of York, who came armed with sufficient powers to control the oligarchy, and animated by a sincere desire to promote the peace and prosperity of the country. For a brief season the Irish could say—

> 'Now is the winter of our discontent,
> Made glorious summer by this son of York.'

In gratitude for this interval of good government, the Irish and the Anglo-Irish most closely identified with the national cause, zealously supported the house of York in the civil wars, and assumed the white rose as their favourite cognizance. From that to the present hour, the white rose has been the favourite symbol

of Irish patriotism, and the chosen badge of Irish insurrection. The support which the Anglo-Irish, and the Irish, gave to Simnel and Warbeck, inspired the Tudors with a determination to break down the exorbitant privileges of their all-but independent aristocracy, and unfortunately this effort was coincident with the attempt to bring Ireland within the pale of the Reformation.

We are not aware that any historian has attempted to explain the cause of the great difference between the popular reception of the reformed religion in England and Ireland; the solution of the problem is, however, not very difficult. The Saxons were a conquered race; they regarded the Normans as foreign intruders, and the church, of which they took possession, as a foreign establishment. There was a strong spirit of dissent diffused through the Saxon population, which we need scarcely say formed the bulk of the English people; it found voice through William the Saxon, John Ball, and others, before Wickliffe gave form to its complaints and strength to its arguments. The Norman hierarchy, and the Norman aristocracy, were banded against the English people; and the insurrections of Cade and Tyler were directed equally against both. When the Tudors resolved on raising a new church and a new nobility, they found the nation ready to second both efforts, and both were therefore successful.

In Ireland, the papal church being placed in immediate dependance on the pope, the recognized supreme governor of the country was consequently independent of the aristocracy, and to some extent a rival political body. To the ecclesiastics, the oppressed Irish had recourse for protection against the grievous tyranny of the Anglo-Norman lords, and they found the more sympathy as these lords were spoliators of church property on all favourable opportunities. Early in the fourteenth century, a complaint of the oppressions and exactions perpetrated by the Anglo-Irish oligarchy in the name of the English government, was sent to pope John the Twenty-second, and melancholy as is the recital of the wrongs of the nation, it is impossible to avoid a smile when we look to the list of clerical grievances with which they are accompanied. 'Fifty thousand of our brethren have been cut off by the sword, and a bishop has been committed to prison. We are not left a spot which we can call our own, and a cathedral has been deprived of half its lands.' In fact the Irish oligarchy was so bitterly opposed to the Irish hierarchy, that the excuse made by one of the powerful earls of Kildare for burning a church was, that 'he thought the archbishop had been inside it.' In England, the Romish church was the ally of the aristocracy and the enemy of the people; in Ireland its position was exactly the reverse, and nothing more is

needed to explain the different reception of the principles of the Reformation by the people of the two countries.

The old Norman nobility of England, the Howards, the Percys, and the Nevilles, refused to follow Henry the Eighth, when he suddenly threw off allegiance to the pope; the Anglo-Normans of Ireland, and many of the native Irish toparchs, irritated by the too-successful rivalry of the ecclesiastical power, were far more willing to withdraw their allegiance from the papacy.

'Accordingly,' says Dr. Phelan, 'when Henry the Eighth asserted his claim to the complete sovereignty of the island, all the nobles arrayed themselves on the side of the crown; they abolished the subordinate title of lord, the only one which the pope had permitted to be assumed, and proclaimed him king of Ireland and supreme head of the church. This unanimity was not confined to that body of the nobility which conformed to the English customs, and which usually took a share in the administration of public affairs. Those powerful and refractory chieftains, who had hitherto maintained a dubious struggle against the utmost force of the state, came forward on this occasion with rival zeal for the honour of royalty, and the strongest professions of their undivided allegiance. Desmond was the first who presented himself; on the 16th of January, 1540, he executed a written indenture, in which he 'utterly denied and promised to forsake the usurped primacy and authority of the bishop of Rome, and engaged to resist and repress the same, and all that should by any means uphold or maintain it.' Shortly after, O'Connor and O'Donnel gave similar pledges. O'Donnel, in his indenture, bearing date the 6th of August, 1542, declares that he 'will renounce, relinquish, and, to the best of his power, annihilate the usurped authority of the Roman pontiff, but will with all diligence, expel, eject, and eradicate those who adhere to the said pontiff, or bring them into subjection to our lord the king.'

Similar indentures were executed by nearly all the great lords, whether of Anglo-Norman or Irish descent, and there is little doubt that they would have adhered to their engagements had they received their expected share of ecclesiastical plunder. The partition of the monastic lands in England had enabled Henry the Eighth to mould the church according to his pleasure; he created a new body of proprietors from the minions and favourites of the court, whose first religious principle was to preserve the estates which they had acquired, and to whom all other creeds and articles were matters of perfect indifference. It was not in the power of the Tudors to pursue the same policy in Ireland; there was not in that country any body of men, any substantial middle class, any independent country gentleman from which a new nobility could be formed; and the distribution of the monastic lands among the old aristocracy, would have been an act of monstrous impolicy, for their exorbitant power had already become a nuisance which required to be abated. The course of the Tudor monarchs was beset with difficulties, their

position was one that required the exercise of great wisdom and great forbearance, but unfortunately the attributes of their dynasty were pride, prejudice, and passion.

The Irish lords, deprived of their expected share of the spoil, and menaced with the loss of no small portion of their ancient inheritance, cooled very rapidly in their new allegiance. They set themselves against the authority of the English crown, with very little solicitude about the religion of its wearer; the war between the monarchy and the aristocracy commenced in the reign of Mary, and was protracted through the greater part of the long reign of Elizabeth, when it ended in a compromise, which left matters in a worse and more unsettled state than ever.

Neither Henry the Eighth nor his daughter Elizabeth, contemplated such an anomaly as establishing a church without a congregation, and a hierarchy without a people. Henry caused a statute to be enacted, by which every person inducted into a benefice in Ireland should swear that he would either keep, or cause to be kept, a school for instructing his parishioners in the English language; the statute was so far obeyed that the oath was regularly taken, and its obligations as regularly violated, down to the commencement of the present century. It showed more wisdom than is usually attributed to that heartless profligate Henry the Eighth, to propose a new language as the means of inculcating a new religion, and had his plan been honestly carried into effect, the identification of the Irish with the English in language would, in all human probability, have extended to creed; but the fact is, that the protestant ascendancy of Ireland, from the first moment of its establishment to a period within the memory of man, never honestly wished for the conversion of the Irish people. At the very outset, an act of parliament was passed permitting the service of the churches to be performed in Latin where the congregation did not understand English! In spite of their oath, the clergy did not teach the people English, and at the same time they shrunk from the task of learning Irish, so that religious instruction was clearly impossible. It was an additional evil, that instead of training Irishmen in the reformed doctrines for the purpose of instructing their countrymen, pastors were sent over from England utterly ignorant of the character of the people they had to instruct, and not very deeply influenced by the principles which they professed to teach. The state papers of the day contain abundant proof that the clergymen sent to Ireland were the very refuse of the English church, and some of them have left their names associated with detestable deeds in the criminal records of the country.

There were among these migrating clergymen several upright conscientious men, who removed to the Irish church in conse-

quence of the persecution to which their puritanical tendencies exposed them in England. They were, however, discouraged and discountenanced by the government; Strafford's letters show us with what jealousy the lovers of state-religion looked upon the promoters of true piety, and Archbishop Usher's writings contain abundant proof that the diffusion of protestantism among the Irish was far from being pleasing to the higher powers. Indeed, so strong was the resolution of the ascendancy to keep the Irish papists in order to have a pretence for plunder and persecution, that when the Wesleyan methodists began to preach to the peasantry, several of them, including the Rev. Charles Wesley, were presented by the grand jury of the county of Cork as rogues and vagabonds, and every exertion was made to induce the judge to sentence them to transportation. There are many now alive who remember the holders of lucrative benefices boasting that there were no protestants in their parish, and that they were thus saved from the bore of parochial duties. The reply of one of these worthy successors of the apostles to his bishop, when questioned upon this subject, has passed into a proverb in the south of Ireland. The bishop having glanced over a series of returns, and found that the number of protestants in the parish had been growing small by degrees, and beautifully less, until the last return had shrunk into unity, inquired, 'What has become of all the protestant families who resided in this parish when you were inducted into it?' 'They have all evaporated, my lord,' was the characteristic answer.

The long wars of Elizabeth's reign had scarcely a nominal connexion with religion; their object was to establish the authority of the crown over the barbarous feudalism of the descendants of the Anglo-Norman invaders, and the savage independence of the Irish chiefs. It was the great object of the queen to bring the island under the dominion of English law, but unfortunately the benefit that might have resulted from thus establishing order was more than counteracted by the iniquitous application of the law of forfeiture, which equally deprived of property the innocent and the guilty. From the moment that the system of confiscating lands, and granting estates from these forfeitures to the minions of government commenced, a party was formed which drove a lucrative trade in hatching plots and fomenting conspiracies.

According to the old Irish law, the property of the soil was vested in the entire sept or clan, and only a certain reserved share was vested as a life interest in the toparch or chieftain. When James the First, under a false pretence of conspiracy, declared the forfeiture of the O'Neills, O'Donnels, and other chiefs of Ulster, he included in the confiscation, all the lands

over which they held political sway, without paying the slightest regard to the rights of the clansmen. This profligate injustice, to which we know of no parallel in history, was enforced with a tyrannical severity equally unexampled. James was both lavish and avaricious; he granted these lands with heedless profusion to the unprincipled minions of his profligate court, and the eagerness with which they took possession, the pitiless severity with which they expelled the former occupants, and the sufferings of the innocent beings expelled from their homes to perish by cold and famine, can only be estimated by those who have seen the results of an Irish clearing, when the wholesale iniquity of James's forfeiture is acted on a smaller scale by agrarian tyrants. This was found so profitable, that Charles the First resolved to try a similar experiment in the province of Connaught, and as he could not find even a pretence of treason, he had recourse to the legal fiction which declares the ultimate property in land to be vested in the crown, and under this pretext he brought ejectments on the title against all the proprietors of the province. Strafford was entrusted with the management of this piece of legal iniquity, and to ensure its success he offered to the judges a per centage on all the property gained by the crown, who punished with fine and imprisonment all juries that refused to find satisfactory verdicts. At this crisis, Laud's tyranny had provoked resistance in Scotland and England; Strafford was recalled to meet his well-merited fate on the scaffold, and Ireland was consigned to the tender mercies of Borlase and Parsons, the latter of whom, at the very commencement of his administration, announced his determination to exterminate the catholics of Ireland.

The example of the Scotch presbyterians who had forced the king to consent to favourable terms, was not lost on the Irish people. Those who had been ruthlessly expelled from their homes in Ulster, were the first to take the field; they rushed from the bogs, and woods, and mountains, where they had sought refuge, and ejected the occupants of their former lands, with just as little tenderness as had been shown to themselves. This outbreak has received the name, of the Massacre of 1641; and, the monstrous fictions that have been related of the cruelties perpetrated by the Irish, though often refuted, have been as coolly repeated as if they had been established by incontrovertible evidence. It is a lamentable truth, that several atrocious deeds were committed on both sides; but, it is not less true, that the worst crimes were committed by the royalists, for it is the boast of Borlase himself, that the Irish often gave, but never received quarter.

The war of 1641, was at first encouraged by the lords-justices, who used every art to drive the catholic lords of the pale

nto rebellion, in order that they might profit by their forfeitures. But the increasing disputes between the king and the parliament, in England, deprived Borlase and Parsons of the military aid by which they might have directed the movement, and Ireland fell into a complete state of anarchy and disorganization. Five armies were in the field together, the native Irish, the catholic lords of the pale attached to the English connection, a mixed body of catholics looking for independence or for a new sovereign chosen by the pope, the protestant royalists, and the protestant adherents of the parliament. The last were so weak, that they could have been easily crushed by any of the rest; and succeeded, simply because the whole four were combined against them, under the Duke of Ormond. This nobleman was a staunch adherent of the Stuarts, and an ardent supporter of their policy to establish, by any means, an English interest in Ireland; he therefore tried to avail himself of the services of the Irish, and Anglo-Irish catholics, in the war against Cromwell; but, at the same time, to reserve the power of confiscation for their having taken up arms, whenever the triumph of the royal cause would allow the schemes of Strafford to be renewed. Under such circumstances, Ormond could not hope for any effective support; he opened negociations with the catholic leaders, but gave such proofs of his insincerity and ulterior designs, that they dared not trust him; and, when the pressure of circumstances at last induced him to relinquish his plans of forfeiture, the royal cause had sunk too low to be recoverable. While Ormond and his allies were thus engaged, Cromwell pushed boldly onwards and effected the conquest of the kingdom. He devised and executed a plan of confiscation, not based on the hollow pretences of treason and the artifices of legal fiction, but on the simple ground, that the saints of his army had the same right to the estates of Irish papists, that the Israelites had to the land of the Canaanites; and, on this mixed principle of theology and conquest, the partition of the estates forfeited by those who had taken up arms for their sovereign, was actually made. In a later age, an impudent attempt was made, and not without success, to persuade the people of England, that these confiscations were inflicted as a punishment for the alleged massacre; to this there is a short but decisive answer; the massacres, whether small or great, were perpetrated in Ulster; the confiscations were almost exclusively confined to Leinster and Munster.

A great change came over Cromwell's soldiers when they found themselves suddenly raised to the dignity of land-holders; and at once transformed, from wild adventurers into an estated aristocracy. Their first principle, was a determination to keep what they had acquired; and, as they clearly saw, that the English protectorate would be of short duration, they began to

negociate with the exiled sovereign. Before the terms of the treaty were arranged, Charles the Second was suddenly restored to the throne; and, one of his earliest measures, was an assurance, that the Cromwellian settlement should not be seriously disturbed. It would be too tedious to relate the perfidy with which this 'most religious and gracious king' who, was himself, though secretly, a catholic, aided Ormond in establishing, what was called a 'protestant interest' in Ireland; Charles, in fact saw, that Cromwell had accomplished with characteristic boldness, what the first James, and the first Charles, had tried to effect by fraud; there was an 'English interest' in Ireland ready to his hand, and he regarded the mere question of religion, as a matter of perfect indifference. James the Second adopted the same course; he obtained, as Duke of York, a considerable share of the forfeited estates; after his accession to the throne, he refused to allow any revision of the Act of Settlement, and, even when he came to Ireland, after being driven from England, he secretly made every effort to prevent the Irish parliament from restoring those estates to their original owners.

In the civil war of 1689, the real question at issue in Ireland, was the ownership of these estates. The Anglo-Irish wanted more forfeitures, the Irish wanted security for their property. Aided by the entire strength of England, the Anglo-Irish prevailed; but they never forgot the terror of the peril which they had escaped, and it thence-forward became their single fixed principle of policy to keep down the native Irish. As this could only be effected by the aid of England, they were forced to pay the price which the English government was pleased to exact; and bitterly indeed did they feel some of the onerous conditions that were exacted. Prelacy, against which their ancestors had fought so bravely, was felt by them as a generous yoke, so long as any of the old religious spirit survived; the commercial restrictions which fettered the trade and commerce of Ireland, were borne reluctantly; and the supremacy of the English Privy Council over their parliament, was a badge of servitude to which they unwillingly submitted. Still they were content to endure these degradations, so long as they were allowed to have penal laws by which they could obtain petty confiscations, to gratify avarice; and frequent opportunities of exercising the luxury of oppression. A century elapsed, in which the inferior portion of the nation was disciplined into the vices of the slave, and the ascendancy still more thoroughly imbued with the darker vices of the master.

It was their usual pretext to declare that the iniquitous system which they had established, was designed to support the protestant interest. The hypocritical nature of this plea was sufficiently shown by their own undisguised preference of a catholic

o a protestant tenantry. On this subject, we shall quote part f a pamphlet published so long ago as 1746.

'Popish tenants are daily preferred, and protestants rejected,—either for the sake of swelling a rental, or adding some mean duties which protestants will not submit to. . . . The protestants being driven out of their settlements, transport themselves, their families, and their effects to America; there to meet a more hospitable reception amongst strangers to their persons, but friends to their civil and religious principles. . . . Some endeavour to excuse themselves by saying, that protestant tenants cannot be had. They may thank themselves if that be true, for they have helped to banish them by not receiving them when they might. There is a protestant price and a popish price for land; and he who will have valuable protestants on his estate, must depart from his popish price. Here, I fear the matter will stick. It will be as hard to persuade a gentleman to fall from one thousand a year to eight hundred, as it was to prevail on the lawyer in the gospel to sell all, and save his soul.'

It is generally known, that these protestant emigrants from Ireland formed a very considerable portion of the American strength in the revolutionary war. In consequence of the discouragement of the landlords, and the utter neglect of their duty by the clergy of the last generation, it is probable, that but for the exertions of the Wesleyan methodists, there would be hardly a protestant in the lower ranks of life left in Ireland. It deserves to be noticed, that this question between a protestant and catholic tenantry, led to the most fearful aggravations of the horrors of the insurrection of 1798. We shall not follow Dr. Smiles through his impartial and ample detail of that calamitous period, but only mention an explanation of what most writers have passed lightly over, — the extraordinary ferocity manifested by the protestant yeomanry and militia on every occasion. So long as catholics were excluded from the elective franchise, those who trafficked in parliamentary seats—that is to say, nearly every large landholder resident in Ireland—had a direct interest in obtaining protestant tenants, to strengthen his political interest by their votes. The demand for such voting tenants rather exceeded the supply; the protestants kept up their value in the market, and at length set so high a price on themselves, that the land-owners resolved on opening the franchise to catholics, and thus depriving the protestant tenantry of the advantages of their monopoly. The protestants in the middle and lower ranks of society felt the injury which they sustained by free competition, but instead of directing their rage against the legislature, they turned their fury against the catholic competitors. This was one of the chief causes of the excesses of the 'Peep of Day Boys,' of the sanguinary acts of violence committed by the Orangemen, and of the atrocities practised by

'Moll Doyle's men,' after the insurrection of 1798 had been suppressed.

It has been our object to collect some of those facts in Irish history to which least attention has hitherto been paid, but which we deem to have had the strongest influence in moulding the destinies of the country, rather than to follow Doctor Smiles in his record of mere events. It may be inferred, from what we have stated, that the leading grievances of Ireland may be classed under three heads, which, though closely connected, are yet sufficiently distinct to require separate consideration. These may be conveniently designated, grievances of the state, grievances of the church, grievances of the relations between proprietary and tenantry, and grievances connected with the administration of justice.

Under the first head, it appears that Ireland has never been governed either by the people or for the people, but by a minority, and virtually a faction, assuming to itself the title of the English, or the protestant interest, and that this preposterous rule of government has inflicted on the inferior body of the nation the vices of slavery, and on the ascendant party, the still worse vices of mastery.

Under the second head, we find the established church existing only for the sake of a small minority, and during the greater part of its existence, ostentatiously neglecting the majority by perpetuating a barrier of language, which rendered communication between the clergy and people impossible. That church neither taught its ministers Irish, nor those who ought to be their hearers, English; consequently, it has been a very partial good, whilst the weight of its exactions and the jealousies which it provoked, rendered it a general evil.

To the third head of grievances we need not direct attention at present, as a Commission has been appointed to inquire into the subject, and the report of its labours will afford us an opportunity of closely examining the internal and social condition of the Irish people.

The fourth head, unfortunately, receives a sad illustration in the present day. We have seen the leaders of a people prosecuted on the strange charge of having entered into a conspiracy to keep the peace, and the public prosecutor giving proof that he was not disposed to keep the peace, by tendering a challenge in open court; we have beheld a jury so clearly packed, that the Lord Chancellor of England denounced the panel as fraudulent, and a judge from the bench proclaiming himself an advocate of the cause. When a verdict was obtained against all intelligible principles of justice, and with little respect for even the ordinary forms of law, proof was given us that personal rancour was the predominant element in the trial, by the haste manifested to

incarcerate the leader of the Irish people without waiting for the ratification of the sentence by the highest court of appeal in the realm. 'If these things be done in the green wood, what shall be done in the dry?' When such is the conduct pursued in the public courts of the metropolis, what is to be expected from the inferior magistrates, whose deeds are shrouded from publicity? Let the *res gestæ* of Mr. Alexander O'Driscoll, just restored to the magistracy, give an answer, and complete the proof that from the queen's bench down to the squire's bench, there exists a fearful grievance, which may be well called 'the administration of injustice in Ireland.'

Art. VII. 1. *A Bill for the Settlement of the Colony of New Zealand:—House of Commons' Papers*, 1838;—*Copies of the Laws passed by the Governor and Council of New Zealand, presented to Parliament, pursuant to the Statute of* 3 *and* 4 *Vict.*, cap. 62;—*Petitions of the Inhabitants of Wellington, upon the occasion of the calamity on the Wairoa, the* 17*th June*, 1843;—*Extracts of Letters from the Bishop of New Zealand.* London, 1842, 3, 4;—*Thanksgiving Sermon on the arrival of the Bishop of New Zealand, Paiha.* New Zealand, 1843;—*The Eleventh Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company, and the First Annual Report of the New Zealand Society.* London, 1844;—and, *Reports from E. Halswell, Esq., late Commissioner of Native Reserves in New Zealand.* 1841-2.

2. *Motion of Dr. Thompson in the legislature of New South Wales, respecting a proper system for civilizing the Aborigines.* Sydney, August, 1843.

3. *Correspondence relative to the French at Tahiti;—House of Commons Papers*, 1843, No. 473; *and Letter of the Earl of Aberdeen, on the Sandwich Islands.* Washington, 1843.

4. *Memoir on the N. W. Coast of America.* By R. Greenhow, 8vo. New York, 1840;—*Farnham's Travels in Oregon.* Ploughkeepsie, United States, and London, 1843;—*The Case of the Oregon Territory.* By John Thoms, Recorder of Prince Rupert's Land. London, 1844;—*Hudson's Bay Company;—House of Commons' Paper*, No. 547, 1842; *and Letters of the Rev. Dr Alder to Lord Glenelg and Sir George Arthur, in the Report of the Wesleyan Missionary Society for* 1840.

5. *Correspondence relative to Sinde.—House of Commons' Papers for* 1843—4., *Official papers on the dethroned Raja of Sattara, by Rumje Bapojee, Vakeel*, 1843.—*Petition against the Wars in India and China*, 1844.

6. *The Colonial Gazette, and the New Zealand Journal.* London, 1844.

7. *Sixth Annual Report of the Aborigines Protection Society*, 1843.

8. *The Provident Philanthropist.* London: 8vo., 1844.

9. *Plan of a System of Medical Establishment in the South Seas.* By Thomas Beale. London, 1840.

10. *Reports of the Missionary and Philanthropic Societies for* 1844. London.

11. *The North American Indian Portfolio.* By G. Catlin. London; 1844.

THIS long list of documents and drawings, books and newspapers, respecting the various relations of our traders, and our colonists, our statesmen, and our philanthropists, with many barbarous tribes, is drawn up with a particular intent. Sincere, well-intentioned persons think, that the public is so much occupied upon other subjects, not so say, that it is so indifferent to those relations, as to make an earnest call for proper measures on the part of the British government an almost useless effort. To use the words of the late Mr. Wilberforce in an unpublished letter now lying before us, and written twenty-four years ago, upon certain proposals then offered for such measures, it is feared by those sincere, well-intentioned persons, that *there are so many different objects to interest benevolence in this country,* that the claims of the barbarous tribes with which our colonists are more and more rapidly mingling, cannot by any pains be brought home to the feelings of the public at large, so as to justify the toil that is indispensable to secure a great and a reasonable success. Some, therefore, despair of the case, and abandon it. Others depend for their success upon the invaluable influences of religious missionaries. And not a few are willing to have recourse to novel and benevolent combinations, of which the enterprize to the Niger, was a most unhappy example. All see with grief, what they believe to be a good cause, left at the mercy of the 'chapter of accidents' denounced by Sir T. F. Buxton.

It deserves, however, to be gravely considered, whether a better way of proceeding, *through the people and the state, and including every good effort on the part of suitable agents,* will not stay the evils inflicted by us upon barbarians. Mr. Wilberforce must have thought so; inasmuch as within two years after the above-mentioned communication was made to him, namely, in the Session of 1822, that pre-eminent leader in this cause, did himself, in the House of Commons, originate a political movement in regard to the Hottentots and other natives of South Africa. That political movement produced admirable results in spite of numerous errors which have impeded it; and the following twenty-two years have strengthened the conviction, that measures may be devised and executed, to save civilized society from the continuance of the reproach of being the destroyer instead of the improver of barbarians, and to give to barbarians the fair enjoyment of civilization, of which they duly estimate

the value until alienated by our abuse of its power, and ruined by our neglect of its best lessons. Above all, it is believed, that the philanthropic party may rouse a spirit in our whole people so effectually as to make the more and the less civilized come together with mutual advantage.

It is for the purpose of justifying this belief, that the subject has been introduced with a long array of titles, pointing at the multifarious materials which belong to it, and marking the activity with which powerful, but unconnected bodies, are cultivating its various branches.

Those materials are indeed almost as unlimited in amount, as they are rich in character; and it is of extreme importance to bring them into a manageable compass and form, inasmuch as the several parties, by whose concurrent, if not united efforts, all the difficulties of the case might be overcome, continue, for want of knowledge, to be at once most miserably divided from each other in opinion on its points of greatest interest, and also incapable of bringing their own peculiar operations to a reasonably good issue.

As will be shewn presently from the best authority, the government especially is deficient in the knowledge of those materials, and of the main facts of the case; and the advantage of making a complete analysis of both, as well as of having such analysis followed up by an arrangement of the intelligence arriving daily from abroad, has recently been pressed in vain. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Stanley, received this suggestion with sufficiently warm consideration: and it was strongly recommended; but no steps seem to be yet taken for its adoption, although the recent formation of a new board of commissioners for the administration of the lands we acquire from the natives, and for the management of the emigrations with which we now overwhelm them, presents a most convenient and cheap organ for carrying such an analysis into effect by the addition of another member to that board.

In the meantime, the unceasing recurrence of fatal collisions with the Aborigines in the numerous countries belonging to us all over the earth, ought surely to excite a strong sense of duty towards our adventurous countrymen thronging thither, and towards the unhappy people, among whom, in the place of peace and goodwill, colonists now so often carry ruin at frightful cost to themselves.

The special object of this article is, to consider if means cannot be devised to prevent these calamities; and to substitute humane policy and practical Christian principles for the prevailing system, which, by its gross neglects, its arbitrary acts, its bad faith, its cruel injustice, and, above all, the profound

ignorance upon which it is based, leads directly to the destruction of the good prospects which a rule of law and reason and knowledge would realize.

At present, our prospects upon the subject are gloomy indeed; and within a few months, a principle respecting the *necessity* of *wars and conquests* when races in different degrees of civilization meet, was declared in parliament by Sir Robert Peel, in a way that goes far utterly to defeat the best hopes of humanity; inasmuch as such an apology justifies the carnage accumulating upon us of late almost beyond example. This would give cause for the greatest alarm, if the signs of better things were not abundant, so that the evil that has happened of late in our colonies and in India, so far from fatally discouraging, should prompt to immediate and vigourous action. The better things must be multiplied; the worse, stayed. Errors must be frankly acknowledged or unreservedly exposed; and the worst error of all—apathy, must be earnestly uprooted.

Happily, when the monstrous principle alluded to was advanced so rashly by Sir Robert Peel, it was met by an instant rebuke in favour of the more hopeful side. Sir Robert Peel, like many more, is *come late, in fact,* to *the consideration of such subjects*, as he stated in Exeter Hall, at the first Niger meeting, in 1840; and it may be hoped, that when better things than he has yet contemplated shall be brought fairly before the world, he will gladly join those whose convictions in honour of philanthropy can surely not be stronger than his desires for its triumph. Lord Jocelyn having said that 'We should not act like barbarians because dealing with barbarians,—and that we should have pursued the same course towards the Ameers of Sinde, as in civilized Europe,' Sir Robert Peel remarked:—

'There is a ground for making allowances for the conduct of Lord Auckland, or Lord Ellenborough, acting under the circumstances under which *all* Governor-generals of British India are always placed. We may in this House lay down what positions we please with respect to the propriety of observing in our Indian policy the same rules and principles which are observed between European states; we may pass acts of parliament interdicting the government from extending our Indian territories by conquest. But I am afraid there is some great principle at work wherever civilization and refinement come into contact with barbarism, which makes it impossible to apply the rules observed among more advanced nations; more especially when civilization and refinement come into contact with barbarism in an immensely extended country. I doubt whether it be possible, if you wish to increase the security of your Indian empire, that you can rigidly adopt the principle with respect to the nominally independent and small states in India which is adopted in Europe. . . . . Whatever may be the principle which may regulate the conduct of civilized nations when coming in contact with each other, I am afraid that when civilization and barbarism

come into contact, there is some uncontrollable principle of a very different description, which demands a different course of conduct.'

To this, Lord John Russell objected with great force; that, imperfect as the international law of civilized Europe is in regard to the aggressions of its princes upon each other, we are bound in our relations with barbarians to respect that law at least, such as it is,—and especially, that there is no insurmountable necessity urging civilized nations to hold no other intercourse with the uncivilized races, than an intercourse of violence and conquest.

Sir Robert Peel obviously felt that these objections to his remarks were unanswerable. He accordingly closed the discussion with an explanation that took off much of the offensive character of his first speech*; but its deep-seated impolicy has been betrayed by recent revelations. The recall of Lord Ellenborough was under *discussion* at the very moment Sir R. Peel was making this unguarded display of his principles. The irritation of the Duke of Wellington arose from his defeat in this discussion. The subject of it was an old one with him. Forty years ago, when in India, the Duke deliberately *argued*, as well as fought for principles of progress by conquest, instead of peaceful progress. At that period the effect of the statute of 22d. Geo. 3, against war for conquest was unshaken. His Grace and the Marquis of Wellesley set the law aside. This is proved by state papers lately published (see Memorandum on the Treaty of Bassein, the Wellington Dispatches, v. iii., p. 479, and the Wellesley Dispatches, v. iv., p. 504). And most happy will it prove, if the grounds taken by the Directors of the East India Company shall be found to have checked the duke in this main error of his life, upon the great principle which did so much honour to the last century.

A brief survey of some of the more recent facts concerning our relations with barbarous tribes, will open the way to the more promising prospect which a careful estimate of the influences of humane and wise policy seems to offer to us.

After an inquiry for three sessions, a committee of the House of Commons declared in its general report, that the manifold evils of the system at present enforced towards the Aborigines of the colonies, are attributable mainly to *ignorance* on the part of the government concerning those affairs,—an opinion easy to be justified by numerous testimonies, and by events not less remarkable than they are distressing.

The same committee, after expressly condemning our prevailing system of intercourse with barbarian tribes, declared without reserve, that its suitable improvement would be an easy task.

* *Hansard*, 1844, pp. 443—455.

Nevertheless, this bad system still flourishes in all its old and rankest vigour, to the destruction of many lives, and loss of much private property; to the exceeding injury of the public interests; and to the misery, and ultimate ruin of the native tribes with which our colonists have intercourse.

Five examples, which have occurred in our own time, furnish all the grounds needed for a reform, by exhibiting in a clear light almost all the mischievous circumstances now attendant on British colonization; and some important successful trials made in them, prove the soundness of certain principles, which ought to be sanctioned by the highest authority, and the utility of various establishments which ought to be adopted, on a sufficiently large scale to meet all exigencies.

These examples are—First, the settlement of Van Dieman's Land. Secondly, that of New South Wales, and the other Australian colonies. Thirdly, that of South Africa. Fourthly, that of New Zealand; and fifthly, that of British North America, and the Oregon country.

First. In Van Dieman's Land, our treatment of the natives has been the very worst possible; and, that worst treatment was never accompanied by any correctives, either by missionary establishments, or by endeavours on the part of the government, to protect and civilize these poor people. Occasional kind acts may have been done to them, by individuals; and their final expulsion from the island by Governor Arthur, was accompanied by an effort in their favour, which did credit to Mr. Robinson who devised it, however melancholy many of the circumstances were, which attended that effort; and, however fatal their sufferings, crowned by that expulsion, have proved to the race.

In this colony they were exposed, originally, to military execution, without the slightest provocation; and to the evil conduct of convicts of the very worst character. They shared, too, the common lot of the natives of all our colonies founded for fifty years before the settlement of New Zealand, in their country being occupied, without their consent, expressly enjoined by George the Third to be sought; and also, in that violation of natural right, not being compensated by suitable means for their protection and civilization. They are consequently utterly extinct.

Secondly. In New South Wales, some of the natives have, from time to time, had the advantage of instruction, and the comfort of personal shelter, at institutions formed by missionaries or by the government. They have also, from time to time, been employed beneficially to themselves, and to the colonists. So early as at the foundation of the colony, their capacity for civilization was vindicated by Mr. Pennant, with great force, in a geographical work too little known; and he, along with other able men, warmly denounced the horrible plan then formed, of send-

ing convicts to the South Seas. At the same period, Mr. Wilberforce and the Rev. John Newton discussed the evils to be feared from a colony composed of such materials; but they unfortunately adopted the old error of the Jesuits and other missionaries, pushed to extremes by all the benevolent societies of our day,—namely, that the natives of new countries have no chance of safety, except by separation from colonists—which it is impossible to effect; whereas, a vigorous reform in colonial government, and a persevering improvement in our colonizing system would render their union with colonists a source of general well-being. Especially have the philanthropists never yet attempted to stay convict transportation. But, surely, no amount of advantage, if any be derived by us from it, can justify sending criminals, and criminal men without women, to the simple natives of Australia. With that additional scourge they are disappearing under grievous suffering. It is common to assert that they are a mere handful; nor can it be pretended that they are numerous, when compared with population in Europe. The first governor, however, Captain Philip, took a complete census of them, in one district, by sending different parties *at the same hour* to count all the canoes and parties at every cove in Port Jackson, and he thus ascertained the existence of a considerable population near Sydney. They have been gradually destroyed by our diseases, by our rum, and by our gunpowder. Legal protection has at intervals only been thought of in their behalf; and the unsuitableness of our laws to their condition, as for instance, in their exclusion from courts of justice by reason of their inability to take an oath, has exposed them to every species of violence without the remotest chance of redress. On this particular head, of evidence without an oath, our law has at length been amended by a statute of last Session; but even that amendment is made in the imperfect manner so discreditable in our management of what concerns these poor people.

Institutions for their benefit, tried and recommended by the highest and most experienced colonial authorities, were rejected at home. But such institutions have begun to be supported by the government, although in a way that is at this moment the subject of bitter comment in the new legislature at Sydney. It is a great point gained, that a special fund of 15 per cent. on the land revenue should have been appropriated by the crown for the support of those institutions; and the principle which is thus respected, in favour of the natives, to a certain extent, may be expected to be carried on at an early day, to its true limit. The money to be expended upon the Aborigines, must not be derived from a precarious source; and its supply ought to be measured only by the amount wanted to pay for *suitable* establishments, whatever they may be; and until it be resolved

to appropriate funds for them according to this principle, we must continue to hear the governor of New South Wales declare, in the words of Sir George Gipps, not long ago, that the 'atrocities by, and on the Aborigines, bring discredit on the whole colony.'*

In the new settlements without convicts, the Swan River and South Australia, the government admits the duty of caring for the natives, but does nothing worthy of the name of an effort to civilize them, although the attempts made for that end have eminently succeeded. The same disregard to their right to the soil, which has injured them in New South Wales, prevails in both these colonies; and it has been declared to a Committee of the House of Commons by a gentleman of great experience and credit, Mr. Fife Angas, that individual natives in South Australia, *to whom particular tracts of land belonged at our coming*, were deprived of them, to make room for settlers under crown grants. Yet it is an opinion adopted in Downing-street, which more than one minister has advocated, that it is the design of providence to let the whole race be extinguished, seeing that it has no capacity for the social usages, which constitute the basis of civilization, and of which usages, holding land in severalty is an important one.

So little regard has hitherto been paid by the government to the subject of the protection and improvement of the natives of Australia, that though a considerable sum of money has been of late years devoted to an establishment of *protectors*, it has remained for a member of the new popular legislature of Sydney last year to move for returns of the protective proceedings, with a view to a proper improvement of the system; and still more to the discredit of the government, a petition from a body of the convicts addressed to Lord Stanley two years ago, earnestly calls for measures to save the natives of New South Wales from horrible suffering and destruction. Next to the nullity of information laid before parliament in the last seven years, respecting the Indians of North America, and the natives of South Africa stand the shamefully meagre accounts of the aborigines of Australia.

Nevertheless, Lord John Russell, in 1840, did order, in a document that has appeared in a colonial newspaper, a yearly report to 'be made for the information of her Majesty and of parliament, stating all the transactions of the past year relating to the condition of the natives, their numbers, their residence at any particular spot, the changes in their social condition, the schools, and all other particulars, including the state and prospects of the aboriginal races.' They who are well acquainted

* Speech to the Council, 9 Sept. 1842, House of Commons papers, No. 109 1843, p. 15.

with this simple people, can bear witness to the value of such reports. Notwithstanding the ignorant and utter contempt in which they are held by some persons, it is a curious and well authenticated fact, that so far from being essentially inferior to Europeans, a numerous and respectable family in France sprang from an Australian stock; and from our own books published upon the Aboriginal Australians during sixty years, there might be gleaned a volume of anecdotes, showing they have all our passions, good as well as bad, and are not deficient in any of our aspirations.

Thirdly, In South Africa, two facts triumphantly vindicate humane policy towards the natives; whilst a melancholy series of massacres, of which the whites as well as the natives have been victims *in the last seven years*, and of which the public knows almost nothing, strongly expose the unwise proceedings of the government in that important part of the world.

In the first place, to our credit, it is to be stated, that the Hottentots are become a civilized people from being so utterly devoid of all the marks of civilization, that they were for centuries adduced as examples of utter and hopeless barbarism. At present, however, they hold in the Cape colony respectable stations in society, many of them being orderly peasants and industrious small landowners; and on the borders of that colony a considerable body of them have long maintained themselves in an honourable independence under exceedingly difficult circumstances. Consequently the Hottentots connected with the Cape colony, who were fast dwindling into a miserable remnant of a once considerable pastoral race, are now increasing in number, and fast mingling with the general colonial population. This happy change has arisen from the improvement of the laws affecting the Hottentots, from the exertions of the Missionaries in their behalf, and from their now having some share of the crown lands of the colony. More remains to be done to complete this good work; but it is difficult to contemplate the present condition of such a people, contrasted with what it was forty years ago, without being amazed at the hesitation of the government to use their example as a model for our proceedings wherever the same circumstances exist. The success is mainly attributable to the energies of a civilised colony being brought *innocently* to bear upon the capacities of a rude people, with a considerable amount of checks imposed upon colonial vices, and a considerable degree of encouragement afforded to foster the good qualities of the natives.

The second fact in South Africa, which recommends humane policy, is the generally tranquil state of the relations of the Cape colony with the Caffres on the Albany frontier. What has been well done there since 1836, has been thwarted by gross neglects; but independently of the evil results of those gross neglects, that fron-

tier presents the exceedingly satisfactory picture of a barbarous people gradually adopting civilized usages. In disputes with us, the very same individuals now appeal to our courts of law, who, within these ten years, used to seek fearful revenge, instead of justice, for violences suffered from us; and although the colonists have much to complain of in the neglect of important details, which would be corrected if well known at home, the general condition of this frontier is certainly satisfactory.*

It is inconceivable, that for seven years, parliament should have been kept entirely in the dark on the whole subject of the Caffres and Hottentots, although a revolution in policy has been introduced within that period into the administration of Cape affairs, and the progress of these tribes is in a high degree interesting. The consequence is, a profound degree of ignorance respecting those affairs, in which the government so amply shares, so as to have rejected a good plan for the settlement of New Zealand difficulties *on the extraordinary ground, that no example exists of a barbarous people being safe with British colonists through any measure whatever.* 'NO METHOD HAS YET BEEN FOUND,' said the land and emigration commissioners to lord Stanley, on the 30th of April, 1842, 'WHICH HAS PROVED SUCCESSFUL FOR THE CIVILIZATION OF SAVAGES, BROUGHT INTO CONTACT WITH EUROPEANS.' Therefore Lord Stanley rejected the plan of the Rev. Montagu Hawtrey, although it must have prevented the evils which now distract New Zealand.

Knowledge of the affairs of the Hottentots alone would have prevented these errors.

The dark side of the picture in South Africa, concerns the colonization of Natal, and the settlement of the interior, including the country thronged with the remnants of a hundred ruined tribes, from Latakoo to the Natal mountains.

In this region, upwards of 10,000 Cape colonists have been wandering about for the last seven years, determined to obtain new settlements at all hazards, but far from being insuperably indisposed to submit to proper guidance in obtaining them. The government has looked on at this dangerous movement with absolute apathy; and it is only in the year 1843, after an emigration which inflicted unspeakable calamity upon the natives of Africa, at the price of frightful suffering on the part of the emigrants, who were British subjects, that the Natal colony is at length founded.

For several years, the emigrants made war and peace under

* Whilst these pages are passing through the press, accounts have arrived of the Government having consented to revive, what in effect is the old system of *commandos* on the Caffre frontier. If the report be false, it affords a fresh proof of the evil of not publishing periodically, authentic details, of the real facts. If it be true, we shall soon hear enough of the results.

an independent flag; and exercised all the powers of an independent people. They destroyed African chiefs allied to us, and they lost many hundreds of their own best men, their women and children, under the most disastrous circumstances. They were treated by our government as if they were absolutely free agents; and at length fought pitched battles with the Queen's troops. And all this only because the government did not understand their case, and refused to learn the facts of it. The colonial office was so ill informed in all this matter, as to expect the quiet return of the 10,000 emigrants into the Cape colony.

This colony is founded, too, in the very country which for twenty years, other British subjects have inhabited; and the colonial authorities have supported them in earnestly calling upon the government at home to adopt it as a British possession. During the last fifteen years also, the adoption of that country has been proposed under circumstances the most promising for the native tribes, but in vain; and there is hitherto no sign that the colonization of Natal will be pursued upon a system calculated to benefit them, or to prevent the speedy recurrence of past calamities.

A fourth example is offered in the case of New Zealand, where the government might reasonably have been expected to abandon its old errors as to the treatment of the aborigines. It was mainly in order to gratify the philanthropists in a sincere, but mistaken wish to benefit the natives in another way, that the colonization of these islands was refused in 1838 to the powerful body which ultimately, aided by other circumstances, compelled the adoption of that measure; and when at last it was determined upon, two principles seemed fixed beyond all controversy; namely, first, that the consent of the natives should be sacredly respected as a condition precedent to settlement; and second, that a system of justice, and a regular course of measures to promote the civilization of the natives, should accompany settlement, so as to prevent that consent leading to their ruin.

Neither of these principles has been respected. On the contrary, in regard to the first, government, after beginning with a formal recognition of the independent rights of the New Zealanders, and with a partial treaty, ended by a seizure of their whole country, on *the ground that there was not time to make treaties for it.* And in regard to the second, so far from justice or civilization being provided for, the government left—the very first thing demanding attention in a new country—the *land-titles,* insufficiently provided for.

The utter contempt too, with which the public hope of an improved system of dealing with the New Zealanders, has been disappointed, is shewn by a most remarkable circumstance, de-

clared in a parliamentary document. This is the fact of money belonging to the New Zealanders, and in the hands of the government for the express purpose of meeting the expense of establishments necessary for their protection and improvement, being '*borrowed*,' as it is called, from that fund, by the government itself, to pay the current colonial charges. This fact is so extraordinary, that the clearest proof ought to be adduced to support the statement of it. The New Zealand correspondence (House of Commons' papers, 1843, No. 134, p. 25.), supplies such proof, in Governor Hobson's accounts. The fund for the Aborigines, is there set at £5,116, or 15 per Cent. upon the proceeds of the actual land sales. The amount actually expended for the Aborigines, is set at £1,120, the *balance* £3,996, being 'borrowed,' says the governor, to meet the general liabilities of the colony. The estimate for the next year, increases the sum to be expended upon the Aborigines department, to £2480, (p. 29.), leaving still a considerable sum *borrowed* by the British government, from the natives of New Zealand, or by the guardian from its wards. On this head, the estimates, also, of the next year have a reprehensible omission. The probable proceeds of the sale of 'Crown-lands,' are set at £50,000. (p. 38, ib.), but not one word is said of the 15 per Cent. upon this sum of £7,500., that *belongs to the Aborigines*. In the preceding year, the 15 per Cent. was duly credited to them; and the transaction boldly proclaimed as a loan—in other words, as a flagrant breach of trust. This year, the aborigines fund is silently suppressed in the accounts; in other words, the wards are silently plundered by their guardians. Last year the money was *borrowed;* this year, by the natural progress of unrebuked abuse,—it is taken.

In this way, the natives are deprived of institutions, indispensable for their safety and comfort, those institutions being literally starved for want of adequate incomes. Hence, in order to raise money for the proper religious and educational establishments, the bishop of the Church of England in New Zealand, Selwyn, a man of admirable qualities, is driven to appeal to the resident clergy, and to the congregations, for money for them; and the want of money deprives the natives of medical aid, of which all parties agree in declaring that they have the extremest need. That in such a case, the British government should *borrow* money from the New Zealanders' treasury, of which it is the holder, is one of those monstrous perversions of right, which too often disgrace our administration, when the interests of the Aborigines are concerned.

The consequences of our abuse of power, and our neglect of opportunities to use it well, are beginning to show themselves. What was predicted over and over again, by individuals upon whom no imputation could be cast—by Bishop Selwyn, by Dr.

Dieffenbach, an intelligent German in the service of the New Zealand Company, and by other impartial persons, has happened. Blood has been shed in one of the Company's settlements, solely in consequence of the government having neglected its duty as to the land.

This case has attracted more attention, than occurrences of a similar character in districts of New Zealand, not connected with the Company. But the other cases have had more sanguinary consequences: and on one occasion, the fury of the combatants was such, that Bishop Selwyn, who interposed at great hazard to reconcile them, was utterly disregarded—contrary to the usual reception given to the missionaries. This conflict arose from our governor's improper management of the native lands.

The humiliating confession remains to be made. In New Zealand, the old system condemned by the Aborigines Committee of the House of Commons, in 1835, and solemnly promised to be abandoned, has resumed its influence. The New Zealand Company, deprived of the means it had proposed to devote to the good of the natives, was too readily content with its victory over the government in compelling the foundation of the colony; and making up the quarrel with the colonial office, that company has acquiesced in the neglect of its duty, by the government. The company's seventh report (30th May, 1843), *omits* altogether the topic of the delay in settling the land claims which was so soon to expose it to the heavy blow sustained in the violent deaths of Captain Wakefield and his colleagues; and in the unwise spirit of flattery of the government in which that report is drawn up, the directors are betrayed into a most unfortunate disregard of facts.

'The Nelson settlement,' says the report, has received the honour of a visit from the bishop of New Zealand, who has expressed himself in terms of *high gratification with all that he had* seen at this *infant* settlement. [Seventh report of the directors of the Zealand Company, 1843.—p. 8.]

This was the settlement, in a remote district of which the calamity of June occurred; and we regret to say, that Bishop Selwyn's own account of what he witnessed at Nelson is, as directly contrary as possible, to the words of this report.

The bishop's observations are confirmed by a dispatch of the Acting-governor of New Zealand, dated in September, 1842, in which that functionary speaks of 'the unhappy disputes which exist between the natives and the settlers of the southern district.' The company's agent had also before most urgently pressed for a settlement of the great difficulties arising upon this head.

But at home, these concurrent calls were received almost with indifference, not only in Downing-street, but also in the New Zealand House, to the extreme dissatisfaction of all who under-

stood the alarming position of affairs indicated by these accounts.

The New Zealand Company is entitled to great credit for the good it has done; but if it do not manfully retrace its steps, and give up its unnatural alliance with the corruptions of the colonial office, all its disappointments will be richly deserved. The only atonement the Company can offer to its own people and to the public for an inconsiderate acquiescence in proceedings so fatal to New Zealand as those of the colonial office are, is to insist upon the whole land case, and the whole case of the Aborigines (*now before parliament,*) being thoroughly investigated. Colonization is stopped. The existing settlements are in confusion. The natives are obviously on the eve of exterminating wars with us. Nevertheless, the public and parliament hear nothing yet of any measures being meditated in any quarter at all approaching in extent those which were formally proposed in the bill of the New Zealand Association, defeated by the colonial office in 1838, which aimed distinctly, for the first time in our colonial history, at the establishment of a system by act of parliament, to protect and improve Aborigines.

Fifthly. British North America, and the Oregon country, offer examples as to which it is to be doubted, whether our want of foresight as statesmen, or our cruelty as men, constitutes the stronger ground of reproach to us. Different degrees of suffering have been experienced in different portions of those regions. In Newfoundland we have destroyed all the natives. In the other colonies we have done little to improve them; and not long ago, a plan was adopted by the government of Upper Canada, and encouraged at home, for their expulsion in the manner effected in the United States—a scheme happily exposed with vigour, and it was succeeded by the beginning of a better system. In the countries within the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, the general character of our intercourse with the natives in times past, may be inferred from the inquiries before parliament early in the last century, and in 1835-6-7. Of late years, credit has been given to the Company for having improved its system; but unless its assailants bear false testimony, much remains still to be done, before the Indians of the north can be expected to escape the fate that has hitherto too extensively afflicted their race.

Oregon at this moment, of all North America, excites the greatest interest. It is a region six or seven hundred miles square, containing space for twenty millions of souls; with a good soil, and fine climate—excellently situated in reference to the South Seas, the Asiatic Archipelago, and China.

The population of Oregon is about 100,000 Indians, 2000

American squatters, and perhaps 1000 Hudson's-Bay Company traders and their servants, from the Sandwich Islands and from every other corner of the earth.

From before the old American war, enterprizing men have repeatedly urged the government to adopt that country as British; and its exclusive colonization would have been easy and profitable. It is now a subject of strenuous rivalry between us and the United States.

By the neglect of our government, and through the preference of trading monopolies over a humane system of colonization, we are likely to lose a fine field of emigration, and to be beaten by the Americans upon what ought to have been our own territory.

On one head, the negotiations now pending in Washington respecting the conflicting claims of the Americans and ourselves to the sovereignty of Oregon, might be most honourable to both governments. The amplest provision should be made *now* for the protection and civilization of the Indians of the country. Some good and *successful* efforts are making on their behalf already; but, in other respects, they are in a fearful position. The accounts of their treatment, revealed by the Rev. H. Beaver, not long ago, justify all our apprehensions for their fate; but in the present dispute, the two governments should be disposed to recommend their respective titles to the world, by being ready to do good to that wretched race. Authentic statements of what is done for them on a small scale, prove that more would be eminently useful; and the philanthropist could not be more wisely employed at this moment than in pressing their claims; while the more successful proceedings of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in Canada offer a still better guide for their protection.

In describing, however, the present state of Oregon, Mr. Farnham, a respectable American traveller, gives favourable accounts of the American missionaries, and of the results of their labours in that country. But another American writer declares of this whole land, notwithstanding these comparatively small efforts to do good there, that the state of violence and disorder in it is beyond all example.

The true principle upon which the difficulties of the Oregon country ought to be settled, was suggested by an American writer, the Rev. Samuel Parker, some years ago. 'The sovereignty,' says he, 'has been agitated in the Parliament of Great Britain, and in the Congress of the United States. But the natives claim it as theirs, and say, they only permit white men to reside among them.' (Exploring Tour beyond the Rocky Mountains, 1838, p. 26.)

This writer frankly admits the good done by some of the white residents at Oregon, and he is not blind to the vices of the native character. But he closes his valuable journal, by a warm appeal in favour of the Indians, which confirms our long experience of their capacity; and which in the present crisis of British and American interests in the North West, should rouse the philanthropists and statesmen of both nations, to make a great effort for their protection and improvement. When we find, as we do in the parliamentary paper already cited, that the probable success of 'a Liberator of the Indian race,' has lately threatened the entire ruin of the Hudson's Bay Company's trade, by a rising, (House of Commons Papers, 1842, No. 547, p. 26), we are anxious to know more of this Company's proceedings towards the natives; and we trust that the correspondence with the Foreign Office, on this remarkable case, '*not appended to those papers*,' will be produced. When we hear of 'a LIBERATOR,' of any race, we at once suspect that something wrong excites discontent; and, above all, when we have such testimony in favour of the Indian race, all doubt vanishes about their destiny, provided our philanthropists will be wise and stirring, and our statesmen can be made to think on the subject.

Here, then, is room for enlightened negotiation, and humane international policy. Trials prove what may be made of the wildest Indian, as of the most debased Hottentot, and the cannibal New Zealander. It remains to be seen whether the two great *British* governments, in whose hands the fate of the Indian is placed, have virtue or wisdom to save him.

The case of Tahiti, and the other South Sea islands connected with us, is very peculiar; and perhaps even more disastrous and menacing than that of any other semi-barbarous countries, under our influence. Without entering into the exceedingly interesting details which exhibit British enterprise and science from the time of Cook and Banks; and British philanthropy, from the voyage of the Duff, and the visits of Omai and Lee Boo to England, in the most honourable light, it is enough to say in general terms, that with an immense superiority in almost all respects, and in almost every group of the South Seas, our government has been permitted to let that superiority be apparently lost; so that our rivals have taken advantage of our success to the extreme hazard to the native people, as well as to our disgrace.

How it has happened, that, instead of being leaders in every humane proceeding, we are actually, as a state, behind our neighbours,—now struggling for possession of Oregon, again driven from Tahiti and the Sandwich Islands, and only holding the sovereignty of New Zealand through the energy of a private

company, and of Natal, after letting torrents of blood be shed on account of our apathy, is well worth the trouble to ascertain.

Two causes seem to have led to this unfortunate state of things. The first is, that our statesmen have not for many years attended to colonial affairs; whence, as was shown in a former article on Franklin's works, (July, 1843, p. 29), those affairs have been exposed to the influence of false principles.

But secondly, and independently of that great error of administration; it is an opinion shared by many eminent persons, of whom Sir R. Peel, as has been seen, confessed he is one, that some mysterious causes, amounting altogether to an overwhelming necessity, prevent the more civilized nations extending their influence without fatal disturbance to the less civilized races. This opinion is not new; nor is it confined to particular parties of men. It has long formed the foundation of the statesman's apology for neglecting means that would bring those nations and races into peaceful and mutually advantageous communication. It has also led the philanthropist to seek other means, such as exclusive missionary efforts, or such as combinations of well disposed individuals, independently of religious missions, to prepare the way for a safer intercourse than now takes place between the Aborigines of colonies and colonists, instead of calling upon government to reform its laws, and increase its civilizing and protecting establishments, which would present the vast machine of society at large to the savage, for his instruction and useful employment.

This opinion is submitted to be profoundly erroneous; and it is traceable to a simple neglect of the facts of the whole question. Grave historians of very different schools have long shared that neglect. Sismondi, and others in our own time; Bossuet and Voltaire, in times past, neglect the periods in which conflicts have occurred between the more and the less civilized nations; or when mankind has been struggling with the difficulties incident to the dawn of civilization, *upon the express ground* that the history of those conflicts or periods can afford us no lessons. These eminent writers forgot that the civilized states, which they were labouring to enlighten, were in actual conflict all over the world with many barbarous people; and that nothing has long been more wanting to most enlightened nations than a knowledge of the means adapted to lessen the difficulties, and the calamities now accompanying their intercourse with such neighbours. But this great social want can only be supplied through familiarity with all the material facts of the case, of which the chiefest are, the history and condition of barbarians, and our daily dealings with them.

The Aborigines Committee of the House of Commons de-

clared a great truth, when it stated in its general report that *ignorance* on the part of our government was the source of the generally impolitic and cruel proceedings in the colonies. The great error of that committee lay in not recommending, as it was urged to do by at least one of the witnesses, that the government should at once take means itself to acquire the knowledge necessary for the correction of those proceedings, and to impart general information to parliament and to the public, so that we might really open a new career of improvement and happiness where we are now disturbers and destroyers.

It is upon this basis of *knowledge of facts* that all plans must be built for the amelioration of the condition of the aborigines of the colonies, and for rendering the progress of Great Britain by land and by sea a progress of true glory and christian benevolence.

Instead of parliament being, in 1844, utterly ignorant of the state of South Africa during the last seven years, we should continue to print year by year all the materials and details of the progress of British subjects from the Cape of Storms into the remotest interior, where far more fatal storms than those of the sea, are ever raging. And so in Canada and all other scenes of our colonization and trading, whether in the wilds of America, or in the multitudinous islands of the southern or eastern seas; or the plains of India, deeds are daily done of which a record alone would lessen the amount, and mitigate all the atrocity.

Papers enough are published, when great disasters befall us. We would produce them as part of our system, and with good analyses, so as to familiarise the public with the knowledge indispensable to prevent those disasters.

This done, our governors abroad would act under our eyes; and *our ministers at home* would be able to read the despatches to some purpose, which at present *they seldom understand when they do read them*.

In the foregoing sketch, our relations with the natives of the South Seas, and of India and China, are included in those with the American, the African, and the Australian. In two points of view, all these tribes, infinitely varying as they do from the destitute and idle New Hollander, or Terra Fuegian, to the refined and industrious Chinese and Hindoo, stand on the very same ground. First, *We are steadily pressing upon them all; and unanimously, we are not agreed among ourselves as to the fittest means to prevent our progress being injurious to them;* whilst every civilized nation pursues more or less eagerly the same course in regard to its immediate uncivilized neighbours. Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than this state of the subject; which is

connected with so many vital interests, and in some respects, as in the case of the Sandwich Islands and Tahiti, is brought to that point of urgent necessity for settlement, that procrastination will now be a crime.

In regard to what concerns our own administration of these affairs, the first thing to be done is to take them out of the obscurity in which they are now hidden.*

Concurrently with the regular publicity of events, a series of specific measures should be immediately instituted in each colony, according to its peculiar character and wants. These measures should apply to every subject affecting the welfare of the colonists and their neighbours. Titles to lands should be settled at any cost. Sufficient protectors and medical attendants should be appointed at any expence. An act of parliament

* An important means of familiarizing the public with correct and full views of the human race, is the plan of a *museum of man*, of which an exceedingly interesting portion has recently been exhibited in London. Great credit is due to the projector of this institution, Captain Shippard of Kensington, for his developement of his object in four magnificent, illuminated paintings from Arabian history; and in gigantic maps. Both teach great lessons of humanity by bringing the remote world and its people home to us. On the latter head, more especially, we cannot forbear quoting two passages, which well support such designs. The first is by a Greek professor, in Gaul, in the time of the Emperor Constans, A.D. 350, who suggested the idea of such a map, as Captain Shippard contemplates:—

'Let the students,' says he, 'see upon the walls of their college the whole earth, and every sea; all the conquests of their sovereigns, the cities, tribes, and nations. The eye being on these things is infinitely a quicker teacher than the ear. There should be visible on those maps the situation, the extent, the distances of every place; the sources and currents of the rivers; the lines of the coasts; the bays and indentations of the surrounding ocean. Thus the exploits of our emperors can be represented in the liveliest manner as the weary messengers bring their daily news from the scenes of their glory. The waters of Persia, the burning plains of Libya, the many branches of the Rhine and Nile, the peaceful Egyptians, and the wild Moors; the forests of Britain, the marshes of Batavia—every nation with its peculiar manners and arms—all will be made familiar to our youth, and the world be the more delighted in by being brought familiarly home to our minds.'

The second is a similar suggestion by the lamented Professor of History at Oxford.

'A real knowledge of geography,' says Dr. Arnold, 'embraces at once a knowledge of the earth, and of the dwellings of man on it. It stretches one hand to history, and the other to geology and physiology. . . I find it extremely difficult,' he continues, 'to remember the position of towns, when I have no other association unto them, than their situation relatively to each other. But let us once understand the real geography of a country, its organic structure, the form of its skeletons, that is, of its hills, the magnitude and course of its veins and arteries, that is, of its streams and rivers, let me conceive of it as of a whole made up of connected parts; and then the position of man's dwellings, viewed in reference to those parts, becomes at once easily remembered, and vividly intelligible besides.'—(Professor Arnold's Lectures at Oxford, pp. 160, 161.)

should be passed to secure the execution of these things, and to provide for every other point essential to success.*

This would be *a system*; and if we were writing a book instead of an article in a review, we could fill up this outline without difficulty.

Differences of opinion prevail on some of its special points; but upon that of regular and early publicity, *as the great foundation of all*, we insist, without the slightest hesitation, inasmuch as no objection has ever been offered to it. Eminent men of all parties have concurred in recommending Lord Stanley to take steps to have an analysis of the materials which concern all our relations with barbarians, arranged under the authority of the crown; and to the single point of a regular publication of such materials, we earnestly call the attention of every one who wishes to see those relations stand on a safe and satisfactory basis, and to establish a *system*, without which our intercourse with barbarous people must continue to produce unceasing misery where we might secure general happiness.

Brief Notices.

A Selection from the Speeches and Writings of the late Lord King. With a Short Introductory Memoir. By Earl Fortescue. 8vo. London: Longman.

This volume will be welcomed by a numerous class of intelligent men. Lord King was far before his generation. His views were enlarged and liberal, his convictions deeper, and his pursuit of what he deemed right more single-minded and earnest than was usual

[illegible] of extreme importance, noticed in our catalogue of publications, [illegible] *Aid to Aborigines*, does seem most urgently to demand [illegible] all other causes of their ruin be removed, and this alone [illegible] must be extinguished under our hands. The following [illegible] New Zealand newspaper, of the latest date, shews, if true, how [illegible] appreciated by the best of men. For that reason, we give [illegible] published under the eyes of Bishop Selwyn in that [illegible] the heavy charge contained in it may have the consi[illegible] powerful friends at home:—

[illegible] New Zealand,' says the Southern Cross of the 20th [illegible] short time ago to establish a dispensary to [illegible] to the poor of both races in this place, [illegible] native guardian, threw cold water upon [illegible] to the ground.'

[illegible] wanted in this matter.

with his compeers. The hereditary notions of his class were to a great extent discarded, and he became in fact, if not in profession, the harbinger of times in which the question of right takes precedence of all others, and is slowly yet certainly working itself into public confidence. 'A deeply-rooted conviction of the sinfulness as well as the folly of intolerance, religious and civil,' was one of his most prominent characteristics, and exposed him to the fiercest attacks of a bigoted priesthood and a despotic oligarchy. Unmoved by their hostility, he steadily persevered in his honourable course, the consistent advocate of 'those great political truths which, when advanced by him nearly thirty years ago, were ridiculed as visionary, or denounced as dangerous, not only by overwhelming majorities of both branches of the legislature, but by the great bulk of all the higher classes throughout the country.'

The present volume consists of a republication of some of his speeches and writings, with the addition of a few other papers drawn up at different times for his own information or amusement. They relate, with few exceptions, to topics of permanent interest, while they throw considerable light on the views which were prevalent and the policy which was adopted in the early portion of the present century. It is well for the men of our day who are seeking the practical realization of the views broached by the more eminent of their predecessors, to render themselves intimately conversant with their writings. The speculative and the practical will thus be best conjoined,—the men of action will derive from the thoughts of abstract resources an element of consistency and force, which will increase a hundred fold their probability of success. Earl Fortescue's brief memoir is executed in a manner which induces deep regret at its not having been greatly extended. Such a character and career as Lord King's deserved to be more fully developed, and no one was more competent to do this than his noble relative.

The H—— Family: Trälinnan; Axel and Anna; and other Tales. By Frederika Bremer. Translated by Mary Howitt. 2 vols. London: Longman.

We have so lately recommended Miss Bremer's admirable tales to our readers, that we need do little more than announce these two volumes, which complete her published works. 'The H—— Family,' which occupies the first volume, is a tale of domestic life, possessing, though scarcely in an equal degree, the same graphic power and eloquence as characterize all Frederika Bremer's works. It has, however, rather too much of exaggeration; and Elizabeth the blind girl, is a character as unnatural as it is painful. The smaller pieces which fill the second volume, are pleasing and graceful, although the same fault of exaggeration rather injures their effect. They are, however, very probably, a collection from her earlier works; and had they not been written by Frederika Bremer, we should perhaps have criticized them less severely. Still we thank Mary Howitt for these volumes; 'we all,' as she truly says, 'owe gratitude to the writer;' and we fully agree with her, that the Swedish novels 'have not only strengthened many a heart in the fulfilment of daily duties, but have caused the path of household life to be strewn with the roses of love and kindness.'

An Encyclopædia of Domestic Economy; comprising such subjects as are most immediately connected with housekeeping, as the construction of domestic edifices with the mode of warming, ventilating, and lighting them; a description of the various articles of furniture, with the nature of their materials; duties of servants; a general account of the animal and vegetable substances used as food, and the methods of preserving and preparing them by cooking; making bread; the chemical nature and the preparation of all kinds of fermented liquors used as beverage; materials employed in dress and the toilette; business of the laundry; description of the various wheel carriages; preservation of health; domestic medicine, &c. By Thomas Webster, F.G.S., &c., assisted by the late Mrs. Parkes. Illustrated with nearly one thousand woodcuts. London: Longman & Co.

An octavo volume of twelve hundred and sixty-four pages on the subject of domestic economy will probably startle many readers, as we honestly confess it did ourselves. Accustomed as we are to large books on almost every subject, we were not prepared for this, and consequently set about the examination of the volume with considerable doubt as to the wisdom or usefulness of such a publication. This feeling, however, gradually gave way as we proceeded in our inspection, and is now supplanted by a high estimate of Mr. Webster's labours, and a concern to secure for him the return, to which so much drudgery, skilfully directed to promote the comfort and welfare of others, is entitled. We can readily credit his statement that the compilation of the work has occupied all his leisure time for the last ten years, and are only surprised that his perseverance should have held out so long. The title page sufficiently betokens the wide range of topics included in his work, and all are treated with a fulness which leaves nothing to be desired. It has been the object of the editor to combine science with practice, a knowledge of principles with the ordinary details and daily recurring duties of domestic life. In some departments of the work he has been assisted by a lady whose qualifications are beyond dispute, and the result of their united labours is the production of a volume which exhausts the subject, and defies all competition. The work is richly illustrated with wood-cuts, adding greatly to its value. We strongly recommend every lady, and all others who are concerned in the management of domestic affairs, to make themselves familiar with Mr. Webster's volume, which must speedily be regarded as an indispensable book of reference to every housekeeper.

The Alliance of Church and State unscriptural, inexpedient, and injurious. By the Rev. John Ely, Minister of East Parade Chapel, Leeds. London: Jackson & Walford.

The substance of a sermon delivered in the ordinary course of ministration, and published by request, in the form of a tract. As a lucid enumeration of the arguments against the union of church and state from scriptural principle, practical working, and inherent tendency, it is well fitted for distribution amongst dissenters, (many of whom we are sorry to say have very vague ideas on the momentous character of the question,

and therefore would fain let it sleep,) and also amongst those born and brought up in the pale of the establishment. The latter will not find in its tone and temper any just cause of offence.

Monastic and Social Life in the Twelfth Century, as exemplified in the Chronicles of Jocelin of Brakelond. Translated with Notes, Introduction, &c. By T. E. Tomlins, Esq. Whittaker & Co.

This very interesting fragment of local history was published by the Camden Society about two years ago; and as some of our readers may remember, has afforded the theme for Thomas Carlyle's celebrated essay, 'Past and Present.' It was indeed to be regretted that so curious and graphic a document should be confined to its original Latin, and we therefore welcome this very excellent translation as calculated to afford to English readers a good specimen of the genuine monkish chronicle. The work is well got up; it has a very useful and well-written preface and notes; and when we add that the price is only two shillings, we are sure we have said enough to recommend 'The Popular Library of Modern Authors,' of which this work forms one of the numbers, to general patronage.

Agathonia: a Romance. London: Edward Moxon, 1844.

The scene of this love-story is laid in the eighth century at Rhodes, and Saracens, Jews and Christians are the *dramatis personæ*. At a fourth of the length, it might have served the purpose of an annual or magazine, and as a maiden effort, have done the writer credit, though we must count it a failure if it be by some practised hand. It is indebted to the unaccustomedness of the epoch for much of its air of originality. The attempt at the oriental style of narration is unsuccessful, and some of the devices adopted are puerile conceits; such, for instance, as printing in Hebrew the rejoicing exclamation of the angels. The writer has read extensively, it is evident, but instead of merely incidental allusions, the narrative and dialogue are crowded with antique references; and for the son of a Saracen Emir, even though his mother were a Christian, Velid is far too familiar with scriptural fact and phrase. Save that it is designed to convey a moral, we should think the catastrophe needlessly painful, and yet what precise lesson the author had in view we cannot divine. There is this contrast, that Telephus, the impersonation of reason in religion, dies in doubt, while his granddaughter, Agathonia, in whom faith is symbolized, suffers martyrdom unquailingly; yet, to our thinking, her last utterance breathes far more of human tenderness and human merit than of the faith of the New Testament. We hope the remark will not be held out of place: a work of pure fiction we are quite ready to try by the canons of the imagination only, but religious truths, if they are interwoven, bring it under a higher and severer jurisdiction.

Rome and the Reformation; or a Tour in the South of France: a Letter to the Rev. Richard Burgess, honorary Secretary of the 'Foreign Aid Society.' By J. H. Merle D'Aubigne, D.D. London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley.

A narrative by the Historian of the Reformation of a recent journey in Dauphine and Languedoc. It is very interesting for the simplicity with which it is written, and the facts it contains. We did not previously know with what diligence and success French Protestant Evangelists were at work in the secluded districts which were the scene of such savage persecution at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and unfeignedly rejoice that God, as of old, is reserving to himself many who bow not the knee to Baal. The 'Foreign Aid Society,' if we mistake not, is episcopalian: its operations, however, as here exhibited, bear no trace of denominational distinction. We trust this letter, published in that hope, will bring it many subscribers.

Poems. By Coventry Patmore. London: Edward Moxon.

We opened this volume in expectation of smooth and elegant, but evidently manufactured lines. We found its contents of quite a different order. In spite of immaturity of taste, of mannerism, and an enfeebling diffuseness, there are unmistakable indications of power both of thought and expression. The versification here and there is rugged; some words, in particular 'surprise,' occur as rhymes unpleasantly often; many of the incidents narrated lie fairly open to critical banter, and in 'Sir Hubert' have been unnecessarily and disadvantageously varied from the tale of Federigo and Monna Giovanna in the Decameron. We may add, that if the reference on page 154 is to the Virgin Mary, it is worthy only of those effeminate thinkers who write themselves Anglo-Catholics, and if no more than a mystical sentimentalism, must still not pass unrebuked.

A Voice from the Vintage, or the force of example, addressed to those who think and feel. By the author of 'The Women of England.' London: Fisher.

Intemperance is so base a vice, and so fruitful a source of other vices, that they who labour for its diminution deserve the earnest support of all philanthropists. We confess that we approve so heartily the design of our excellent author, as to be extremely indisposed to question the truth of any opinions and counsels she gives on the subject. Let the women of England powerfully aid their talented countrywoman in her benevolent object.

Margaret, or the Pearl. By the Rev. Charles B. Tayler, M.A., author of 'May you like it, &c.' London: Longman & Co.

A tale intended in counteraction of those which have been so plentifully put forth by the Oxford school. This object is sought, not by argument in the form of dialogue, nor by that disparagement of manner which any

narrator may assume in token of disapproval, but by a delineation of evangelical religion, in its ennobling and purifying influences; its power to sustain under adversity, and even to gather thence an added lustre. The story is too simple to need analysis, and we shall not lessen its interest by attempting one. It is well and touchingly told: the great doctrines inculcated, are those of the gospel; there is unusually little of merely denominational reference for a clergyman of the Church of England, and the tone and spirit throughout are admirable. We could however have wished, that Mr. Taylor had not ended by making a countess of his heroine; she would have been better without the adventitious distinction. In teaching by example, probabilities rather than possibilities should be dealt with. Besides, looking at the high purpose of the narrative, anything which might be mistaken for secular reward, should have been avoided.

Walks about the City and Environs of Jerusalem. By W. H. Bartlett. 8vo. London: Virtue.

The work of Dr. Robinson has done much to render the topography of Palestine familiar to the English reader, and no biblical scholar should be content without thoroughly acquainting himself with the results of that distinguished scholar's laborious research. His volumes should be in the possession of every minister, and should receive an attentive and repeated perusal. Their value will be duly estimated by those only who make them a *study*. Much, however, was still wanting for the general reader, and we therefore welcome Mr. Bartlett's volume as an acceptable and most useful contribution to this department of biblical science. So far as Jerusalem and its environs are concerned, it supplies all that was needed, removing much obscurity, correcting many prevalent misconceptions, and giving a definite and intelligible form to the notions entertained respecting the various localities of the Holy City. The work is the result of personal inspection, and bears ample marks of the cautious and painstaking research of its author. The object proposed by Mr. Bartlett was 'to give a clear, connected, and accurate view of the city by gradually tracing its progress from the earliest period of authentic history, restoring its past appearance by a careful study of existing data, and exhibiting its present condition in a series of views, *chosen with express reference to historical illustration*, and in which the *local character* should be the only object, and where, at every step, the past and present should be compared.'

This object has been successfully accomplished, and the work before us is, in consequence, both instructive and entertaining, rich in valuable information, and capable of deeply interesting the reader. The *illustrations* are numerous, and some of them exceedingly beautiful, presenting a picture, the graphic power of which is considerable. The *getting up* of the work is elegant and tasteful, and we shall be surprised if it do not obtain, what it richly merits, a wide circulation.

Literary Intelligence.

The First Volume of the Wycliffe Society's Publication, containing Sel Writings of Wycliffe, under the Editorship of the Rev. Dr. Vaughan, of t Lancashire College, is in the press, and will be ready for delivery to Subsc bers in the ensuing Autumn.

Just Published.

The History of the English Revolution. By F. E. Dahlmann, late Profe sor of History in the University of Göttingen. Translated from the Germa by H. Evans Lloyd.

A Report of the whole Proceedings of the late General Assembly of tl Free Church of Scotland, relative to the State of Religion in the Land, wi an Introductory Narrative. By the Rev. A. Moody Stuart.

The Modern Syrians, or Native Society in Damascus, Aleppo, and the Mou tains of the Druses, from Notes made in those Parts during the years 1841-2- by an Oriental Student.

Guide to German Conversation and Letter Writing. Edited by W. Klaue Klattowski.

Evangelical Dissenters, God's Witnesses. By the Rev. W. Leask.

The Medals of Creation, or first Lessons in Geology, and on the Study Organic Remains. By Gideon Algernon Mantell, LL.D., F.R.S. 2 vo 12mo.

An Essay on the Constitution of the Earth.

A Brook by the Way. An Extract from the Diary of Hannah Kilham.

Essays on Natural History, chiefly Ornithology. By Charles Waterto Esq., author of Wanderings in South America. Second Series. With a Co tinuation of the Autobiography of the Author.

An Encyclopædia of Domestic Economy, comprising such subjects as most immediately connected with Housekeeping. By Thomas Webst F.G.S., &c., assisted by the late Mrs. Parkes. Illustrated with nearly 1,0 Woodcuts.

Memoirs of the House of Commons, from the Convention Parliament, 1688-9, to the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832. By W. C. Townse Esq., A.M., Recorder of Macclesfield. Vol. II.

He Pasa Ekklesia. An Original History of the Religious Denominatio at present existing in the United States, containing Authentic Accounts their Rise, Progress, Statistics, and Doctrines, &c. By I. Daniel Ru Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Hyponoia, or Thoughts on a Spiritual Understanding of the Apocalypse, Book of Revelation. With some Remarks on the Parousia, or Second Comi of the Lord Jesus Christ, and an Appendix upon the Man of Sin.

A Commentary on the First Chapter of Genesis. With Short Treatises Geology and on the Deluge. By Thomas Exley, M.A.

Walks in the Country. By Lord Leigh.

Bibliotheca Sacra, and Theological Reviews. No. II. May, 1844.

Visiting Societies and Lay Readers. A Letter to the Lord Bishop London. By Presbyter Catholicus.

Wealth, the Name, and Number of the Beast, 666, in the Book of Reve tion.

A Tract for the Times; being a Plea for the Jews. By Samuel A. Bradsha

The Position, Prospects, and Duties of that Body of Christians, usual denominated Independents, or Congregationalists, briefly considered. William Davis, Hastings.

A Treatise on the Science of Trade, as applied to Legislation. By Ge Baring Kemp, Esq.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1844.

Art. I. *The Life and Times of the Good Lord Cobham.* By Thomas Gaspey. 2 vols. London: H. Cunningham.

LITTLE is known by the generality of readers of the times which preceded the Reformation. The names of the monarchs who successively occupied the English throne, with a few of the more prominent events of their reigns, constitute in substance the historical knowledge of the great mass of English readers. And even these names and events stand out disjointed and apart from the circumstances of their times, being kept in the memory by national vanity, or by some signal display which they afforded of unwonted baseness, or of transcendent courage. Thus it is with the names of Richard and John, of the Black Prince and the Fifth Henry. Magna Charta is perpetually on our lips, the fields of Cressey and Agincourt are alluded to with undisguised exultation, and the wars of the roses, is a phrase familiar to every English ear. And yet it is obvious, that little is known about these facts themselves, and absolutely nothing respecting the circumstances out of which they grew,—the spirit of their respective times, which gave them birth and shaped their course. The generality of our countrymen, are familiar with a few points only of the historical scene; and are either deficient in leisure, or wanting in curiosity, to trace out the causes of the facts they know, or to analyze their influence on the institutions of the age or the temper of the national mind. Of the actual condition of the people of a former age, they know little more than of what is taking place in the interior of Africa; whilst the elements

which were even then busily at work, and out of which modern sympathies and modern liberty have grown, are as invisible to their eye as the atmosphere they breathe. The character of our historical school-books—of such at least as are in most general use—has greatly contributed to this deficiency. Nothing can well be conceived of more meagre or unsatisfactory, or better suited to store the memory with facts, without any of those connecting links which convert them into the lessons of wisdom,—the seeds of experience and philosophy.

If this be the case with general history, much more so is it with that which has respect to the morals and religion of the age. Hence it follows, that the centuries preceding the Reformation, are almost a total blank to the popular mind of this country. We talk of them as papal in contrast with what followed, and there is a convenient vagueness in the expression which conceals much ignorance. Two or three points of faith, or practice, are easily specified, but these are obviously received as by tradition, and must not be taken to denote a clear or intelligent apprehension of what the condition of the people was; what the character of their sympathies, the influences under which they acted, the passions which stirred them deeply, or the powers to which they most readily yielded obedience. Definite notions on these points, commenced with the Reformation, and few general readers are concerned to carry their enquiries beyond this epoch. They take it as their starting point, and are content even in tracing *its* course, with a very superficial measure of knowledge. Hence it has happened, that many noble men have been lost sight of, or their memory has been permitted to lie under unmerited reproach. They have slided out of public view, and in the lapse of centuries have been forgotten; or the calumnies of their enemies have been credited, and their reputation has suffered in consequence a total eclipse. Something of this kind has happened to Lord Cobham. Few, comparatively, are acquainted with his name and services; and of those who are so, many probably are prejudiced by the slanders so industriously propagated against him. We have never shown an unwillingness to do historical justice to the more prominent leaders of the catholic party at the time of the Reformation, and ought not therefore to be suspected of mere protestant predilections, if we now attempt to vindicate the memory of a man to whom scanty justice has been done. We welcome Mr. Gaspey's volumes, as an acceptable addition to our ecclesiastical biographies, and gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity they afford. They are written with intelligence and candour, throw considerable light on the times in which Lord Cobham lived, and can scarcely fail to lead an attentive reader to a more extensive

and scrutinizing perusal of our ecclesiastical records. 'To collect scattered facts and to present them in a shape which would faithfully exhibit the circumstances of the times in which Lord Cobham lived, has been the object of the writer. The wearying prolixity of the older chroniclers he has endeavoured to avoid, while offering something more than the scanty epitome furnished by their successors.'

Mr. Gaspey writes as a protestant, but without the bitterness, and with much more discrimination than is common to mere party writers. He condemns persecution wherever he meets it, but does not attribute its severities to the uncompounded wickedness to which they are ordinarily referred. In this we think he acts wisely, and lays the basis for a more satisfactory solution of the facts of the case, than can otherwise be obtained. His view is briefly expressed in the following sentence of his preface :—

'The persecutors did not act in the spirit of wanton cruelty, but, having important worldly interests to defend, they were too easily persuaded that to extirpate their enemies was to honour the Almighty; and when they were once excited to such a pitch, that bearing on the part of the accused, which is now celebrated as intrepid and sublime, was really thought, by the exasperated bigots of the fifteenth century, sacrilegious, abominable, and most offensive to the Divine Majesty.'—p. viii.

The precise period of the birth of Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham), is not known. It took place, we are informed, during the reign of Edward the Third, but as this extended from 1327 to 1377, it is impossible to determine the point with any exactness. Bale speaks of him as the son of Lord Reynold, of Cobham, in which he is clearly in error, his father being Sir Thomas Oldcastle, and his birth taking place in Herefordshire, where he served the office of sheriff, in the seventh year of Henry the Fourth. Little is known of his early life.

'From various records we come at the fact, that Oldcastle had fame as a soldier. Walsingham, though hostile to his principles, and anxious to degrade the Church Reformers, does not question his merit as a military man. He writes, '*Erat iste Johannes fortes viribus, operi Martio satis idoneus.*' If an enemy allows him a place among brave men, skilled in arms, while he denounces him as a most inexorable foe to the holy Catholic church, it is impossible to doubt that his friends had sufficient grounds for commending his valour. Sir John Oldcastle became a soldier early in life, and might have fought under John of Gaunt, in the reign of Edward the Third. No detailed account exists of his services, but that these, through the greater part of his career, were honourably remembered as truly meritorious, is abundantly proved.'—Vol. i. p. 50.

His youth was spent in dissipation, as one of the boon com-

panions of the Prince of Wales. The dissolute reckless life of the young prince has been painted, perhaps somewhat too darkly, by Shakspere; and Oldcastle, as one of his associates, could not fail to participate in his criminalities. Of a bold and ardent temperament, impatient of controul, and reckless of consequences, he pursued his giddy career without thought of the morrow, or concern about the opinion of his contemporaries. His early eulogists would gladly have concealed these facts, and in their attempts to do so, have failed to distinguish between the several periods of his life. He is made the subject of religious principle long before he knew its power, and his subsequent career is thus deprived of the moral lustre by which it was so eminently distinguished. Mr. Gaspey has acted with more discrimination, and in doing so, has proved himself the best friend of his hero's memory. Alluding to his early profligacies he remarks:—

'The admiring zeal of Bale would not allow him to touch on these. According to him, 'when once he had tested the Christian doctrine of John Wickliffe and of his disciples, and perceived their livings were according to the same, he abhorred all the superstitious sorceries (ceremonies I should say) of the proud Romish church. From thenceforth he brought all things to the touchstone of God's word. He tried all matters by the scriptures, and so proved their spirits, whether they were of God or nay.' As a public man, he certainly opposed what he considered abuses, but it is possible that he desired to make himself popular, before he became a very serious christian, and, like many others, was more on the alert to call for general reform in state affairs, than to reform his own life. When we read that 'he admonished Richard the Second, Henry the Fourth, and Henry the Fifth of the manifold abuses of the clergy,' we must understand that he did so by the part he took in Parliament. He was anxious to repress avarice and misconduct in others, but he was himself still addicted to enjoyments, which, in the fulness of time he learned to regard as serious offences against heaven. With much bitterness of heart he laments the sinful doings in which he had indulged, and it may be presumed, sadly recalled the share he had had in those scenes of dissipation, which had conferred an unenviable celebrity on the youthful days of his royal companion. The efforts of John of Gaunt in favour of Wickliffe might have commanded his admiration in the reign of Edward the Third, but his attention could at that period hardly have been steadfastly fixed on religion, or he would not have been found in the time of Henry the Fourth, in the ranks of dissipation. Eventually, the doctrines of Wickliffe made a profound impression on his mind, and he became an altered man. It was then that he comprehended the vanity of those pleasures, to which, from his youth he had been addicted, and learned to seek for enjoyment of a higher and more enduring character.' —ib. pp. 51, 52.

Much disservice is done to the cause of truth by the course

frequently adopted by the panegyrists of deceased men. We have to do with such as they really were, and must look to the whole of their career, and mark attentively the changes which their character underwent, if we would rightly estimate the force of their convictions, or render suitable honour to their religious profession.

It has been currently supposed that Sir John Oldcastle was intended to be represented under the character of Sir John Falstaff, his name having occurred in an ancient drama, from which it is conjectured that Shakspere caught the idea of the gay knight. Not the slightest similarity, however, can be discovered between the Oldcastle of 'The famous victories of Henry the Fifth,' and the Falstaff of Shakspere, while the dramatist in the epilogue to the second part of Henry the Fourth, expressly denies the identity of the latter with the Sir John Oldcastle of history. 'For anything, I know,' says Shakspere, 'Falstaff shall die of a sweat, unless already he be killed with your hard opinions; for Oldcastle died a martyr, and *this is not the man!*' The introduction of his name in such a connexion was probably one of the devices of his enemies to blacken the character of a man whom they had persecuted to death. This was the usual policy of the papal party, and in the present instance was in striking contrast with the facts of the case, for his enemies themselves being judges, Sir John Oldcastle was, as old Fuller remarks, 'a martial man of merit.'

He appears to have been early returned to parliament, though it is impossible to ascertain, in the absence of precise dates, the exact period when this occurred. He availed himself, however, of his position, to express freely the opinions he held respecting the clergy, whose luxury and indolence appear to have made a strong impression on his mind even before he was anxious for the vindication of religion, from their false teaching. In doing this he gave expression to the views of many of his countrymen, amongst whom the doctrines of Wickliffe had for some time past been making progress. The labours of that reformer had not been fruitless. They were felt in a thousand directions, and awakened the fear and the bitterest hostility of the clergy. His translation of the New Testament had constituted an epoch in the religious history of the country; while his appeal to the common sense of the people had set an example at which the papacy trembled. In exposing, therefore, the corruptions of the church, and denouncing the vices and usurpations of her ministers, the senator was sure of the response of many minds. He was sustained by the sympathy of a numerous and active party, and could appeal in vindication of his fearless rebukes, to a thousand facts which fell within the cognizance of his country.

men. The feeble reign of Richard the Second was also favourable to the free utterance of opinion, and thus served to break up the quietude and slavish submission of the public mind.

Though attached to the party of Henry, the accession of that monarch in 1399, was not favourable to the advancement of Oldcastle, as he was a reputed enemy of the church, whose favour Henry IV. was anxious to secure. The reformer, however, continued his countenance to 'Wickliffe's learning,' patronised such as were engaged in its advancement, and forwarded to the Bohemian reformers, Huss and Jerome, copies of the writings of Wickliffe. In the meantime, the spirit of resistance to ecclesiastical rapacity and oppression was advancing in England. A striking illustration of this was afforded in one of the earliest parliaments of Henry. The king wanted money, and applied to the Commons for it, who immediately answered that 'he might seize on the revenues of the church, which comprehended a third part of the riches of the whole realm, for which they rendered no personal services, and it was but just that the clergy should contribute out of their revenues towards the pressing necessities of the state.' It was further remarked, that 'the great and increasing riches of that body rendered them negligent of duty, and reducing their amount would therefore be to the church itself a benefit.'

'This message was conveyed to the king, through the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the whole body attended on this occasion of its delivery, but Arundel had no idea of quickening the zeal of the clergy by diminishing their means. He therefore took up the cudgels in their cause, and that too with equal courage and address. He denied the existence of any just grounds for complaint, and declared the clergy had always been liberal of their aid. They had granted tenths to the king more frequently than the people had paid fifteenths, and had enrolled more of their tenantry and servants to fight in his cause, than even the nobility had done; besides all which, they assisted ever and anon with their pious prayers, for the success of his arms. To the king himself, he then appealed, and represented that though the ecclesiastics fought not in person, it could not be inferred that they were unserviceable, since they sent into the field their vassals and tenants, whenever their bodily service was wanting. 'The stripping the clergy of their estates,' he went on to say, 'would put a stop to their progress [prayers?] both by night and by day, for the welfare of the state, and there was no expecting God's protection for the kingdom, if the prayers of the church were so little valued.'

'At this part of the speech, the Speaker of the House of Commons was seen to smile. Such an expression was, possibly, caused by the intimation that the prayers of the clergy for the welfare of the realm would cease if their profits were touched, and he indulged in this sarcastic remark, that 'the prayers of the church would afford but a very slender supply.'

'Arundel resumed, and with some emotion replied—'If the prayers of the church were so slighted, and that other considerations were not capable of suppressing the plots against the clergy, it would be found difficult to deprive them of their estates without exposing the kingdom to great danger, and so long as he continued Archbishop of Canterbury, he would oppose such injustice to the utmost of his power.'

'The prelate then suddenly fell on his knees before the king, and preferred an earnest appeal to his conscience, endeavouring to make him sensible, that of all the crimes a prince could commit, none was so heinous as an invasion of the Church's patrimony.

'Henry hastened to comfort the archbishop. He told him 'that he blamed not his zeal, but his fears were groundless, for when he ascended the throne he adopted a firm resolution to support the church with all his power, and he hoped, with God's assistance, to leave it better than he had found it.'

'The archbishop turned to the Commons and bitterly reproved their recommendation, declaring it to have been based on irreligion and avarice alone. 'You,' said he, 'and others like you, have advised our lord the king and his predecessors to confiscate the goods and lands of the alien priories and religious houses, on pretence that he would gain great riches by it, as indeed they were worth many thousands; but notwithstanding which, it is most true that the king is not half a mark the richer for them all; for you have extorted, or at least begged them, out of his hands, and have appropriated the said goods to your own uses. It may well, therefore, be conjectured that your request to have our temporalities taken from us, proceeds not so much for the king's profit, as for the gratification of your own inordinate covetousness; for without doubt, if the king, which God forbid, should fulfill your wicked purpose, he would not be one farthing the richer for it at the year's end,' and 'verily,' he added, 'I would sooner have my head cut off than see the church deprived of the least right pertaining to it.'

'The Commons made no reply to this sharp reprimand at the moment, but on returning to their own house, they determined to persevere with their recommendation. In this spirit a bill was introduced, to authorise the king to seize the revenues of the clergy. They passed it, but through the influence of the bishops it was thrown out in the Lords, and the object was for a time abandoned.

'It is quite certain that the king did not favour the new opinions. A crown so recently acquired, he probably felt would not sit firmly on his brow, without all the support which the sacred sanction of the church could afford. The exertions made by Arundel against Richard, gave that prelate a claim on his gratitude, and his influence was, doubtless, unsparingly used, to repress what he held to be a most dangerous heresy.'—ib. pp. 135—8.

Soon after this event—probably in 1412—Sir John Oldcastle, now Lord Cobham, was sent to France on military service. The distracted state of that kingdom afforded an opportunity of

which Henry was not slow to take advantage; and an English force was consequently despatched thither to support the interests of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Little is known of the proceedings of Cobham and his associates, save that they materially contributed to the success, and honourably opposed the cruelty of their ally, whose recent assassination of his rival the Duke of Orleans, was consistently followed by the savage butchery of his followers. The English force being dismissed with honour, Cobham returned to his more appropriate and not less hazardous station at home. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the church was the most formidable enemy which could be attacked. Others might be mollified or successfully resisted, but the papacy knew no mercy, and its power was equal to its will. Its career had hitherto been unchecked, for whatever progress Lollardism had made amongst the people, the ecclesiastical corporation was untouched. Its power, to all appearance, was greater than ever; while its vigilance had been increased, and its eagerness to put down opposition rendered more prompt and deadly by the occasional impugnment of its authority, and the obvious tendency of all reflecting men to ridicule its superstitious mummeries. Lord Cobham did not hesitate as to his course. Duty rather than expediency was his rule. His mind opened—gradually as it would seem—to the reception of religious truth, and his convictions became in consequence deeper, and his views more evangelical. His rebukes of the rapacity and indolence of the clergy were followed up by a keener sense of the wrongs done to religion, under the impulse of which all personal considerations were lost sight of, and both reputation and life embarked in the fearful struggle. Not that his views were ever so clear and scriptural as those which were subsequently held by Latimer, Hooper, and others. This was not to be expected. The progress of truth is generally slow, and we have need to marvel that this early advocate of a purer faith had learned so much, rather than be surprized that his progress was not greater. We shall presently see that his views on some important points were confused and partial; but on the great cardinal doctrine of the Christian system,—reconciliation to the Deity through faith in a vicarious sacrifice—he was perfectly one with the great body of evangelical protestants, for whose appearance he prepared the way.

Henry the Fourth had been assisted by the clergy in usurping the crown, and it was not long before he evinced his intention of rewarding their services. Immediately on his accession, Lingard tells us, he 'proclaimed himself the Protector of the church, against the assaults of the Lollards,' and announced, both to the convocation and parliament, his intention of upholding

its doctrines and privileges.* In the second year of his reign a law was passed, the preamble of which sets forth, that unauthorized preachers go about teaching heretical doctrines, holding conventicles, &c.; and it provides, that the bishop shall have power to arrest all persons suspected of such offences, and in case of conviction, to punish them with imprisonment and a fine to the king. It then enacts, that if the person so convicted shall refuse to renounce their doctrines, &c., or if, after abjuration, they relapse, they shall be delivered over to the civil power, to be burnt in some public place before the people. A terrible illustration was speedily afforded, in the case of William Sautre, of the relentless determination with which this statue was to be executed. Having been convicted of relapsing into heresy after recantation, he was, in the true spirit of ecclesiastical bigotry, handed over to the civil power, by whom the extreme penalty of the law was inflicted. 'As,' remarks Fox, 'King Henry the Fourth, who was the deposer of King Richard, was the first of all English kings that began the unmerciful burning of Christ's saints for standing against the pope; so was this William Sautre the true and faithful martyr of Christ, the first of all them in Wickliff's time that I find to be burned in the reign of the aforesaid king, which was in the year of our Lord 1400.'†

Such was the threatening example which stared Lord Cobham in the face. It was a practical illustration both of the power and of the determination of the clergy, and precluded the hope of impunity in the course on which he had entered. A series of regulations named after the archbishop, *Arundel's Constitutions*, was about the same time adopted by the convocation, which breathed the bitterest spirit of persecution, and enjoined the most rigorous search after heretics. 'Who would have thought,' says the martyrologist, 'by these laws and constitutions so substantially founded, so circumspectly provided, so diligently executed, but that the name and memory of this persecuted sort should utterly have been rooted up, and never could have stood? And yet such be the works of the Lord, passing all men's admiration—all this, notwithstanding, so far was it off, that the number and courage of these good men were vanquished, that rather they multiplied daily, and increased.'

Such was the state of law, and the avowed determination of the authorities, both civil and ecclesiastical, when Lord Cobham fearlessly declared his hostility to the latter, and from time to time called upon the legislature to check their usurpations and cruelty. His appeals, however, were fruitless; the king was the sworn ally of the clergy,

* Hist. of England, vol. iv., p. 443. † Acts and Monuments, III., 229.

and no change of policy took place on the accession of his son, in 1413. We have already seen, that Oldcastle had been a companion of the prince in his early and less honourable career; and, it is probable, that he calculated on religious persecution being discouraged when he came to the throne. If so, he must have been grievously disappointed, for the young monarch threw himself completely into the arms of the clergy, and lent his aid to all their nefarious measures. They were not slow to avail themselves of the advantage proffered, by seeking to awaken the jealousy of the prince against the men who were honest and fearless enough to reprobate their evil doings.

'The bishops exulted in the great accession of power which they had so unexpectedly gained, and panted for an opportunity to use it, so as to strike terror into all their opponents.

'The powerful protector of Wickliffe, John of Gaunt, was no more, and the persecutors of the great reformer who had seen the intended victim snatched from their grasp, at the moment when they fondly hoped to accomplish his destruction, feared not to overwhelm with the foulest obloquy the deceased prince, and all who favoured the opinions of that eminent man, whom he had so generously sustained. They affected to hold 'Wickliffe's learning' in horror, and were doubtless sincere in the alarm that they expressed, at the possibility of the spread of religious knowledge being likely, at no distant period, 'to enable women and tradespeople,' to argue with the priests who had long held them in thraldom, and earnestly wished to do so for ever. The cry was raised that the new sect aspired to temporal supremacy, as well as freedom to think for themselves, in spiritual matters; and 'Lollardy' was fiercely denounced as treason to the king, and rebellion against God. Those who clearly saw that their worldly interests were likely to suffer from the march of mind, easily persuaded themselves that their cause was the cause of heaven, and wished it to be understood, that they aimed but at vindicating the insulted majesty of the most High, while pursuing to the scaffold and the stake men who conscientiously scorned the observances enjoined or sanctioned by the church of Rome.'—ib. pp. 167, 168.

Twelve commissioners were appointed by the archbishop to search after heretics, and to examine the writings of Wickliffe; who reported two hundred and forty articles to be contained therein, contrary to the doctrines of the church. These were speedily laid before a convocation of the clergy, by whom it was decreed 'That it would be impossible to extirpate the doctrines of Wickliffe, unless certain great men, who were the professed abettors and maintainers of them, were taken off; that Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham, being the chief of them, should be first dealt withal: and that without delay a process should be issued out against him as a most notorious heretic.*

* Parl. Hist. I, 323.

The persecuting spirit of the convocation, was emulated by the parliament which met in April 1414, and passed a law inflicting the forfeiture of property and life, on all who read the Scriptures in English, depriving them of the privilege of sanctuary, and in case of their refusing to recant, or relapsing after pardon, enacting, that 'they should first be hanged for treason against the king, and then burned for heresy against God.'*

It must now have been sufficiently obvious to Lord Cobham, that it became him to prepare for the worst. He had nothing to expect from the forbearance of the clergy, and little reliance could be placed on the king. It was a fearful alternative to which he was reduced, and it is matter of deep regret that we have no record of his private life,—no transcript of the inner man at this period,—no disclosure, simple and authentic, of his mental struggles, the world of thought and feeling within, which could not but be deeply agitated by the dangers which thickened around him. It would have been more than interesting—in all probability highly instructive—to note how the spiritual rose above the physical, claimed relationship to another world, and borrowed thence a vigour and elevation which rendered him superior to all passing sorrows. Of such record we have no vestige. His public examinations are all that remain, and from these we must be content to gather our estimate of the man. The clergy were confident of the king, and feeling their advantage, they determined to proceed with caution. The impetuous temper of Henry might have interposed an effectual check, and it was therefore resolved to lay the case before him in order that his vanity might be soothed into an acquiescence in their schemes. Mr. Gaspey remarks:

'Before they went the length of issuing their summons, the members of the synod took into their most serious consideration all the difficulties that opposed their bold and cruel enterprise. Lord Cobham, they did not forget, was of high rank, had fame as a soldier, and had been in favour with the reigning king. It was known to Henry, that Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham had rendered good service in the preceding reign, and his own love of warlike glory naturally disposed him to favour a gallant soldier. But his generous, and in many respects superior mind, had not prevented him from being duped by designing men. The efforts made by those who were disgusted with the gross absurdities and oppressive exactions of the priests, he was made to suppose had for their object the overthrow of the monarchy, and he therefore believed that to countenance their doings would be to endanger his own authority. Though brave enough to meet death unmoved, amidst the shock of contending armies, he wanted that moral courage which could repel sanctified imposture, and despise those threats which the monks pro-

* Parl. Hist. I., 3, 2, 4.

fusely fulminated against all whom it was their pleasure to regard as the enemies of religion.

'The archbishop, with several other prelates, and many of the clergy, waited on the king, to represent to his majesty (his grace, or his highness it might be more correct to say, for the word 'majesty' was not adopted in addressing a monarch till a century later) the misdeeds of which Lord Cobham stood accused. He received them at Kennington, where a royal residence was then established, and heard with sorrow the fearful exhibition which Arundel and his companions made of the guilty deeds, and more infamous designs, of Lord Cobham. Though startled at the recital, the king did not fail to advocate the cause of mercy. He reminded them of the honourable order of knighthood which the accused bore, as well as of those deeds in arms which had illustrated the earlier part of his career, and these, he remarked, ought to incline them to deal favourably with the object of their vengeance. He recommended them 'to proceed with moderation, and to endeavour to reclaim the wanderer, so that he might yet be found an obedient son of the church, at the same time offering, if they failed to bring him to reason, to undertake the task himself, and, when admonished by him, he looked for the happiest result from the influence he had over Cobham.' Though the monarch professed for himself to feel a great desire to support the church, both in doctrine and in order, and was sensible that unity was the life of Christianity, because it maintained that '*love which is the fulfilling of the law*,' yet he thought the most prudent course to correct the erroneous was by mild persuasion and convincing arguments; for if the truth were on their side it would prevail by its own strength at last, which would be much better than to make use of those engines which had been for the most part employed but to subdue and destroy the truth.'

'It cannot be denied that the conduct of Henry was generous and humane while Lord Cobham had only offended the bishops and clergy. We shall presently be constrained to remark a mournful change. He was irregularly great, and, when he first interfered, was anxious to save a brave man from ruin, but he expected him to listen to his course of reason. Set right by him, he doubted not Lord Cobham would be weaned from his heresies, and abjure Lollardy for ever.

'In this announcement of the royal will, Arundel and his friends recognised everything that was sound in principle and exalted in goodness, and they failed not to declare how happy they would be if wisdom like the king's would essay that conversion of the refractory noble, to which their meaner powers had proved unequal. Henry finally promised that he would see Lord Cobham, and remonstrate with him on the errors into which he had been betrayed.'—ib. pp. 171—174.

The accused nobleman was speedily summoned to the royal presence, and counselled by humble submissions, to make 'a true and sincere reconciliation with holy church, which had been deeply scandalized by his recent courses.' His position was now perilous in the extreme, and most men would have quailed before its dangers. The personal regard professed by the monarch did not diminish the force of the temptations proffered, but Cobham

was equal to the crisis. He had evidently counted the cost, and was prepared for the worst. His principles were infixed deeply in his mind, and not life itself was to be purchased by their surrender:

'"I am ever most anxious,' Cobham replied, 'to yield prompt obedience to you my lawful sovereign, knowing you to be a Christian king, and, as God's vicegerent on earth, carrying the sword of justice to punish evil doers, and to protect those who are faithful to virtue. All I have of fortune, or hold from nature, are evermore at your command, and, offering you my whole obedience, I am ready, as I have ever been, to submit myself to what your grace may command. But suffer me to add, that, touching the pope and his spirituality, I owe him neither suit nor service, and from the sacred scriptures I know him to be the great Antichrist, the beast of perdition, and the enemy of God.' He added, growing warmer as he proceeded, 'His commands are unlawful, are against the truth, and he himself is an abomination standing in the holy place.'—ib. p. 175.

Henry was little prepared for so stern a rejection of his counsel. Being incapable of estimating the principles of his former companion, he attributed his conduct to perverseness and disloyalty. In the true spirit of despotism, he resented non-compliance with his advice as a personal affront, incompatible with true allegiance, and consequently resolved to leave the accused to the tender mercies of his foes. The monarch's own conversion, from profligacy to external propriety of conduct, had been the result of policy only, and it was not therefore to be wondered at if he failed to appreciate the higher and less flexible rules of his subject. After his interview with the king, Lord Cobham retired to Cowling Castle, in Kent, whence he was summoned by the archbishop, to appear before the consistory, on a charge of heresy. Refusing to yield obedience to this mandate, which he believed to be unsanctioned by the king; letters citatory were posted on the great gates of Rochester Cathedral, requiring him to appear in person, before Arundel at Ledy's in Kent, on the 11th day of the same month, 'all excuses to the contrary set apart.' Cobham still refused, and was in consequence condemned as 'guilty of most deep contumacy.' Feeling now that it was needful to vindicate himself from the charges preferred by his enemies, he drew up a confession of his faith, and hastened from Rochester to lay it before the king. This document is preserved by Fox, and was evidently drawn up with an anxious desire to avoid offence, so far as was consistent with a good conscience. Henry, however, refused to receive it, 'but commanded it,' says the martyrologist, 'to be delivered unto them that should be his judges.' Cobham had no confidence in their integrity, and therefore prayed in the martial spirit of his age that a hundred knights

with their esquires might be allowed to present themselves as his vindicators, or offered according to the law of arms, himself 'to fight for life or death with any man living, christian or heathen, in the quarrel of his faith; the king and the lords of his council excepted.' In this procedure we do not justify Lord Cobham. It was prompted by the spirit of his age, and was in obvious dissonance, from the meek and enduring temper of christianity. It partook more of the character of the military orders of the papal church, or of the chivalry pertaining to an English baron, than of the spirit which became an advocate of christian truth, a follower of the meek and lowly Saviour. It must be borne in mind, however, in justice to Lord Cobham, that the time had not arrived when the use of the sword was deemed unlawful in the defence of religion. In this challenge he was regarded by his contemporaries as only availing himself of the privilege of his knighthood, and would have been sustained by their concurrent approval, had his challenge been allowed and the destruction of many lives ensued. We have happily learned better, but amidst the clearer light of our day must not fail to do justice to our less informed, and therefore more erring predecessors.

A citation from the archbishop having been served on him in the king's privy chamber, Cobham appealed to the pope, which greatly incensed the monarch, who forthwith committed him to the Tower. On the 23d of September, 1413, he was brought before the archbishop and the bishops of London and Winchester, at the chapter-house of St. Pauls, where he underwent a rigorous examination, evidently designed to effect his conviction. With an affectation of mercy as hollow as that of the Inquisition, the inquiry was adjourned to the 25th, in order, professedly, to give him time to consider the decisions of the church, but really as Fox says, 'to blynd the multitude with somewhat.' On the appointed day they again met, when Arundel, referring to the former examination, remarked:

'"At that time I offered to absolve you, if absolution were asked. I now repeat the offer, if it be sought with due submission, and according to the form which Holy Church has ordained.'

'"That will I not do,' said Cobham; 'for against you I have never trespassed.'

'Then, kneeling on the pavement and raising his hands, he looked towards heaven and solemnly exclaimed, 'I shrive me here unto thee, O! my eternal living God, that in my frail youth I offended thee, Lord, most grievously, in pride, wrath, gluttony, and lechery. Many men have I hurt in my anger, and many other horrible sins have I committed, for which, O Lord! I humbly crave thy mercy.' Tears burst from his eyes while he spoke, and compelled him for a moment to pause; but, soon recovering himself, he proceeded with increased energy of voice

and manner: 'Lo, good people, for the breaking of God's law and his great commandments, these grave prelates and doctors never yet cursed me; but for offending against laws of their own, and doubtful traditions, most cruelly do they humble me, as they have done others; and therefore it will in the end be seen that they and their laws, in accordance with what is promised in the word of God shall be utterly destroyed.'—ib. p. 207.

The priestly inquisitor of course reproved this language, as contumacious, and demanded of the prisoner what he really believed, to which the latter replied, 'I believe fully and faithfully the universal laws of God. I believe that every thing is true that is contained in the holy and sacred scriptures, and in a word, all that my Lord God wills me to believe.'

This did not answer the purpose of his enemies, who endeavoured by further interrogative to draw from him some expression of dissent from the dogmas of the church. 'Believe you,' asked Arundel, 'that the bread remains merely bread after the consecration or sacramental words spoken over it?' To which the accused replied, 'I believe that in the sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body in form of bread—the same that was born of the Virgin Mary, done on the cross, dead and buried, and which, on the third day, arose from death to life, and is now glorified in heaven.' This declaration might, and probably would have satisfied any other than a clerical examiner, more intent on the detection of heresy and the destruction of an opponent than on the exercise of that charity of which the founder of christianity was so perfect a model. It is plain that Cobham, with all his abhorrence of the fraud and licentiousness of the clergy, had not wholly purged himself from their errors. His view of the Lord's Supper was confused and mystical, leaning towards that of the papal church, though affording some indication of tendency towards the more simple and rational belief of modern times. 'He did not,' as Mr. Gaspey remarks, 'deny transubstantiation; it was his belief that part of the flesh of the Redeemer was present in the sacrament after consecration in the form of bread, but that the bread utterly ceased to exist as material bread, his senses contradicted.' Unmoved by the obvious determination of his enemies, and concluding, probably, that as his case was prejudged, it was in vain to appeal to the good feeling and understanding of his judges, the prisoner spoke out without reserve in terms which bitterly exasperated his persecutors. 'I repeat,' he replied to an inquiry respecting his belief in the church, 'what I before stated, that all the scriptures of the sacred book are true. All that is grounded on them I believe thoroughly, for I know it is God's pleasure that I should do so. In your lordly laws and determinations, I have no belief.

Those from whom they spring form no part of Christs true church. On the contrary, ye are the very antichrist, and opposed directly to his most holy law and will. The laws you have made tend not to his glory, but to the gratification of your own pride and covetousness.' He bore noble testimony to the virtue of Wickliffe, and the potency of his doctrines, declaring that he had never abstained from sin until he became acquainted with them, and adding, with combined firmness and humility, 'Since I learned therein to fear my Lord God, it has, I trust, been otherwise with me. So much grace could I never find in all your vain-glorious instructions.' One of his examiners pressed him on the subject of pilgrimages and the worship of sacred relics, to whom he frankly replied:

'"I owe them no service by any commandment of God, and therefore I care not to seek them in order to gratify your avarice. To cleanse them from cobwebs and dust would be well, and so put them by that they may not be defaced, or else to bury them fair in the ground, as is done by aged people whom we know well to be God's images. It is in my estimation a wonderful thing that saints, being dead, should become so rapacious, and so importunately beg, seeing that, while they lived, they constantly opposed themselves to covetousness and begging. This must I add,—and I would all the world heard my words,—that with shrines and idols, your feigned absolutions and pretended pardons, ye draw to yourselves the substance and wealth, and with these the chief worldly pleasures, of all the countries in which your influence is acknowledged.'—ib. p. 226.

Refusing to recant his opinions, the archbishop and the whole assembly rose and stood uncovered whilst the former pronounced sentence on the prisoner as 'a most pernicious, detestable heretic," unworthy of the fellowship of the church, and meriting the severest penalty which the magistrate could inflict. It was an awful moment, but the prisoner was prepared, and bore himself with heroic firmness. The crown and the mitre were both arrayed against him, and his confidence in his popularity which had probably borne him up in the early part of the struggle, must now have failed. The martyr, however, gathered strength from an invisible source, and his demeanour was in consequence worthy of the primitive professors of his faith. Lingard's brief account of Lord Cobham's examination is deeply tinctured with clerical prejudice. Unhappily for the reputation of his history, he can never approach the matter in controversy between his church and its impugners, without betraying the partial and one-sided view of a narrow-minded polemic. He represents the conduct of the accused 'as arrogant and insulting,' and that of his judge as 'mild and dignified,' a contrast which, we are bold to affirm, few other men would have ventured to make.*

* Hist. of England, v. 5.

'Cobham listened attentively while the sentence was being read. His courage seemed to rise as his danger became more imminent; his countenance was more cheerful than before, and strong 'from the faith that was in him;' in that sad hour the condemned prisoner rose superior to his proud and malignant enemies.

'"Though you may judge my body," said he, when the archbishop had ceased, 'which is but a wretched thing, yet sure and certain I am, that ye can no more harm my soul than could Satan that of Job. He that created me, will, of his infinite mercy, save me according to his promise. Of this I have no manner of doubt; and for the articles before rehearsed, I will stand to them to the very death, with the grace of my eternal God.' Then, looking on the spectators by whom he was surrounded, he extended his hands, and spake as follows, with a loud voice:—'Good Christian people, for God's sake beware of these cruel men, for they will else beguile you and lead you into hell with themselves; for Christ hath plainly told you, if one blind man lead another, both are likely to fall into a ditch.'

'But if he momentarily spoke with stern indignation of his persecutors, he soon proved other feelings, and, sinking on his knees, he addressed a prayer to the Creator of man for those who had pronounced his doom. Raising his eyes to heaven, 'Lord God eternal,' he exclaimed, with emotion, 'I beseech thee, in thy infinite mercy, to forgive my pursuers, if it be thy blessed will.'"—ib. pp. 243, 244.

With a meanness worthy of their calling, his persecutors put forth in his name a forged recantation of the opinions he had so nobly avowed. They were not satisfied with his degradation, it was not enough to gratify their malice that his life was in their hands, but they sought, by blasting his reputation, to rob him of his only earthly reward, and thus to prevent others from following his example. His friends, however, promptly vindicated his fame, and there is now no doubt amongst the candid of any party concerning the spuriousness of the document in question. A respite was granted him for some days, during which he contrived to escape from the Tower by means which have never been ascertained. Various conjectures were afloat, but none of them are supported by sufficient evidence to warrant our detaining the reader, from the conclusion of his story, by their examination. A large reward was offered for his apprehension, and every method which vigilant power could devise was employed to effect it. His first shelter was the house of a husbandman in the neighbourhood of St. Albans, whence he was speedily compelled to retire farther from the metropolis.

Immediately on his release, some of the Lollards appear to have contemplated an insurrectionary movement. The numbers implicated were not considerable, and the accounts furnished of the whole affair are meagre, and evidently distorted by the bigotry of the recording chroniclers. No tittle of evidence exists

in proof of Lord Cobham being implicated in the plot, yet his enemies took advantage of it to represent him to the king as its mainspring and leader. Henry and his supple parliament accused him in consequence, of a levelling design against property and the government, and affirmed that it was the intention of the heretical party to make him regent of the kingdom. 'But these,' as Sir James Mackintosh remarks, 'were accusations which no man dared to confute, and of which the most complete confutation could not have saved him from perishing by the flames as a heretic; a punishment which clearly enough shows the nature of his alleged offence.'*

His subsequent history may be told in a few words. For four years he eluded the pursuit of his enemies, but was ultimately discovered in Wales by Lord Powis, to whom belongs the disgrace of his apprehension. Our author's account of his arrest is as follows:

'Residing in Wales, he had gained information that the noble object of priestly vengeance had sought concealment in his neighbourhood, and he determined, if possible, to secure him, and thus gain fame, as well as a considerable acquisition of fortune. The friends of the bishops corresponded with him from time to time, and are described as 'feeding him with lordly gifts and promises, to accomplish their desire, which, in the end, he did. Having gained a knowledge of the unfortunate Lollard's hiding-place, he proceeded, accompanied by a number of armed men, determined to take him, dead or alive. The appearance of a force which he had no prospect of opposing with success, did not awe Cobham into submission. He had always borne the character of a brave man, and the desperate situation in which he stood made him resolute to sell life as dearly as possible. A cruel death, in the midst of exulting enemies, was all he could expect from a surrender; and feeling this, and preferring to die like a soldier in conflict, rather than as a malefactor at a place of execution, he was prepared to struggle to the last. But this consolation was denied to the veteran. In a fierce encounter, he had the misfortune to be grievously wounded. The accounts which have reached us are confused and somewhat at variance. 'It cost,' says Fuller, 'some blows and blood to apprehend him, till a woman, at last, with a stool, broke the Lord Cobham's legs, whereby he became lame.' What female was likely to be there, and to act a part so unfeminine, savage, and determined, we are at a loss to guess. It is not to be supposed that the force despatched against him by Lord Powis would have included a female; and it is most improbable that any woman in the neighbourhood, or elsewhere, volunteered to take a share, and such a share, in the scene. To say nothing of the danger inseparable from mingling in a fight like that which preceded Lord Cobham's capture, the good name which he enjoyed was such that a tumultuary rising against him could hardly have taken place, and there was nothing in his life to make him the object of woman's vengeance.

* Hist. of England, I. 358.

'Sir Edward Charlton is the name mentioned by some writers, as that of the individual who made Cobham prisoner. It is stated in a writ published by Hearne, but no reason can be assigned why this should be relied upon rather than the rolls of parliament. If Sir Edward Charlton were an actor in the tragedy, he was certainly acting under the directions of Earl Powis. That Cobham was seized by the peer's own hand, was never asserted; but it has not been doubted that to him belonged the merit, such as it might be of making the heretic prisoner. The struggle was desperate, and Cobham became unhappily disabled. A wound in the leg rendered it impossible for him to defend himself, and in that crippled state he was secured by the assailants.

This was early in December, 1417. A parliament had been called to sit on the 16th of November, which had met and been warmly congratulated on the successful progress of the king's arms in France. The joy inspired by victory did not make the enemies of Lord Cobham less thirsty for his blood than they had previously shown themselves. The moment it was known that he was wounded and a prisoner, his noble captor received instructions to send him, sick as he was from the injuries he had received, to London without delay.'—Vol. ii. pp. 242,—244.

He was conveyed to London in a horse-litter, and on the 18th of December, 1417, was arraigned before the house of peers. His condemnation followed as a matter of course: 'he rendering thanks unto God, that he had so appointed him to suffer for his name's sake.' His execution took place in St. Giles's fields, whither he was drawn on a hurdle, and the form of it was strikingly illustrative of the bitterness of his foes. 'He was hanged up by the middle,' says Fox, 'in chains of iron, and so consumed alive in the fire, praising the name of God, so long as his life lasted.'

Thus terminated the earthly career of Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham, than whom, considering the ignorance of his age, and the peculiarity of his social position, the church has had few martyrs more true to their convictions, or more heroic in the discharge of duty. The memory of such men is blessed, and should be had in perpetual remembrance. It will survive when that of princes and conquerors is forgotten, and be held in increasing veneration as mankind rise in intelligence and virtue. Our youths should be trained in a knowledge of their history. Their minds should be early stored with whatever is known of their principles and spirit, their sacred conscientiousness, their manly advocacy of truth under all circumstances, and at every peril. Were this the case, our nonconformity would be of a more intelligent and less flexible character than it is. We should be bolder in the utterance of our convictions, and more honest n following them out to their legitimate consequences. On ooking around us, we cannot but regret the general absence of

that spirit which animated such men as Lord Cobham. Were he to reappear amongst us with the clearer and more scriptural views which subsequent inquiries have elicited from the word of God, how keenly would he resent our supineness, rebuke our dishonourable acquiescence in the corruptions of the church, and call on us by the terms of our profession, to give practical effect to our principles.

Art. II. *A System of Logic, Ratiocinative, and Inductive, being a connected View of the Principles of Evidence, and the Methods of Scientific Investigation.* By John Stuart Mill. 2 vols. London: Parker.

THESE volumes afford encouraging indication of the revival which is taking place in the study of mental science, and are eminently fitted to conduce to its progress. 'In the existing state of the cultivation of the sciences,' Mr. Mill judiciously remarks, 'there would be a very strong presumption against any one who should imagine that he had effected a revolution in the theory of the investigation of truth, or added any fundamentally new process to the practice of it.' The time appears to have gone by, when every Columbus in philosophy might expect a new world to reward his search, and the adventurous and observant explorer of the domain of mental science might strike into untrodden paths in every direction, and stumble on new or forgotten truths almost at every turn. Very much, however, yet remains for us to accomplish in this, as well as other departments of philosophy,—in laying down correct maps (if we may be allowed to carry on the metaphor) of the broad regions which our predecessors had the honour of first exploring, in opening roads from point to point, removing the tangled thickets with which large tracts are still overspread, and increasing by careful labour the fertility of the soil. 'To cement together the detached fragments of a subject, never yet treated as a whole; to harmonize the true portions of discordant theories, by supplying the links of thought necessary to connect them, and by disentangling them from the errors with which they are always more or less interwoven,' is a task of no mean importance, which to perform well demands powers of profound and original thought, as well as patient and judicious investigation, of a very uncommon order. It is a task of this kind which Mr. Mill has proposed to himself; and if it shall be thought that his success is not in all respects complete, it will be admitted, we think, that he has displayed very distinguished abilities in its perform-

ance, and produced a work worthy of taking a permanent and high rank among the standard treatises on mental philosophy.

The limits to which this article is necessarily restricted would not allow of a detailed examination of the whole work. Our observations, therefore, will chiefly relate to two or three of what we deem the more important points.

That which seems first to claim attention is, the extent which Mr. Mill assigns to the science of logic. Everybody knows how loose and variable the use of the term has been, as employed by writers of different schools. It is not, however, as might at first sight appear, a mere verbal question. The question is not merely—what meaning, or how many meanings, shall we assign to the word 'logic;' but, (since all applications of the term have some reference, more or less determinate, to processes and rules of *reasoning*,) what are those mental processes, concerned in the investigation of results, which are so connected, that they ought properly to be regarded as objects of a single science. This question is evidently one of real, not merely verbal importance. In answer to it, we cannot but think, that Mr. Mill's view of the extent of the science is more philosophical than that of those writers who use the term in a more restricted, or in a looser sense. Archbishop Whately, in his able and lucid treatise, defines logic as the science (and art) of reasoning. But in the course of his work it appears, that, by 'reasoning,' he means *deduction* merely; whereby we proceed to general propositions and particulars, or at least to those which are *not more* general. If, however, we observe a train of argumentation as it passes in the mind, or read a page of an argumentative author, we shall find almost at every step another process constantly interweaving itself with the former; namely *induction*,* or the assumption of generals from particulars. These two processes are so intimately connected, that (excepting in the deductions of pure science) we seldom go far in a train of argument without finding the latter intermingling with the former; and the term 'reasoning' is in common language applied indiscriminately to both. To tear them apart, then, and make one exclusively the object of the science of logic, would appear an arbitrary and unphilosophical procedure. Archbishop Whateley has endeavoured to elude this objection by exhibiting induction as a species of deduction; while the learned and able reviewer of his treatise in the Edinburgh Review, (1833) disapproving of this explanation, has drawn out a form of what he terms *inductive syllogism*, subject to formal rules, analogous to those of deduction. But a careful examination will show, that this so called 'logical induction' is nothing but a verbal transformation,—a process in fact

* Using the term in a loose sense.

of *naming*, rather than of *proof;* while, in Whateley's explanation, the induction is first *assumed* as a premise, and then (very ingeniously) deduced as a conclusion. Both the Archbishop and his reviewer, it will be found, evade the real difficulty, by asserting that the *real* induction, *i.e.* the assumption of the truth of a universal, from the ascertained truth of one or more particulars, is 'an extra-logical process,' whose validity must be determined in each case by the principles of the particular science. (See Whateley, p. 263. 6th ed.) This is tantamount to admitting that the principles of evidence are different in every different branch of inquiry, and can be brought under no general rules; and therefore, that while one-half of the mental process in the investigation of truth is susceptible of the most rigid analysis, the other (and often more important) half is incapable of being reduced to any science at all. This is a startling doctrine: we believe it to be also an incorrect one, having its source in the habit of applying the idea of formal and demonstrative certainty to processes essentially incapable of it, but nevertheless amenable to rules and principles of their own, capable of being framed into a science. The very fact, however, that these views are maintained by such practised and penetrating thinkers as the writers in question, shows the difficulty of the task Mr. Mill has undertaken, the practical refutation of them by the establishment of a system of inductive logic.

Book I, devoted to 'names and propositions,' we must pass over without lengthened remark; not that we deem it unimportant, or that it does not offer several points that tempt discussion, but because it would lead us beyond our limits.* The points which we had marked as questionable do not at all interfere with the correctness of the expression in which the inquiries of this book into the theory of propositions are summed up (p. 216). 'Every proposition asserts, that some given subject does or does not possess some attribute; or, that some given attribute is or is not (either in all or in some portion of the subjects in which it is met with) conjoined with some other attribute.'

We come, therefore, to Book II., 'Of Reasoning;' and here we meet with what is to our mind the least satisfactory part of Mr. Mill's work: viz., his account of deduction, or, as he prefers to call it, (though without giving any reason for such a restricted use of the term,) ratiocination; the scientific form of which is syllogism. We must be content to intimate, rather

* We cannot forbear, however, expressing our regret that Mr. Mill should have added the sanction of his example to what appears to us the very objectionable phraseology employed by Dr. Brown and some other writers, by which 'feeling' is used as a generic term, comprehending under it all the varieties of mental phenomena.

than fully to develope our objections, which chiefly relate to these two positions:—1st, 'that all inference is from particulars to particulars' (p. 259); and 2ndly, that the syllogism, according to the established way of regarding it, is 'not a process of inference,' *i.e.*, 'that nothing ever was or can be proved by syllogism, which was not known, or assumed to be known before.' (p. 244.) Connected with this is the assertion (p. 245), that 'it must be granted, that in every syllogism, considered as an argument to prove the conclusion, there is a *petitio principii*.' We must premise that we fully agree with the Author, that the *dictum de omni*, as he explains it, (and as it is to be found explained in Archbishop Whateley's 'Analytical Outline,') is an insufficient substratum for the syllogism, and in fact, merely authorises *verbal transformations*. But we should be glad to know on what passage of Aristotle's works either Mr. Mill or Archbishop Whateley grounds this view of the 'dictum.' The view proceeds, if we understand it, on a peculiar theory of propositions, of which we think Mr. Mill has sufficiently exposed the erroneous character. (Book i., ch. 5, § 3.) But in fact, a different explanation of the 'dictum' is given by Whateley himself in his 'Synthetical Compendium;' and, Mr. Mill seems not to be aware that his two 'principles' (p. 241) almost exactly correspond to Whateley's two 'axioms or canons,' (Logic, p. 83), on which the latter founds the rules of syllogism. Yet, as we think it will appear, it is only on this view of the syllogism that Mr. Mill's objections can be sustained. Before proceeding, however, it may be as well just to revert to the distinction between induction and deduction. If preceding writers on logic have erred in making induction a species of syllogism, Mr. Mill surely errs in going to the opposite extreme. Aristotle's account of the relation between these two processes appears to us both more perspicuous and more philosophical than the one under consideration. According to that philosopher, there are two grand processes by which we infer the truth of propositions. The first of these is when from particulars we ascend to general propositions. This he calls, (though the term is not indeed restricted by him to this sense,) epagogè, *anglicè*, induction. The second is when from general propositions we infer less general, or at least not more general ones. This he calls apodeixis, to which the English term 'demonstration' corresponds in etymology as well as in application. These processes are perfectly distinct. The greater part, indeed, of the universal propositions from which our demonstrations start, (Mr. Mill would even include mathematical axioms,) are obtained by induction; but this makes no difference in the process of deduction (or demonstration) itself. *That* would proceed in precisely the same manner, if all these universal propo-

sitions were known by intuition, without the use of induction at all. Now Mr. Mill is not content with these two old-fashioned methods. He contends, as already stated, that, in reality, we reason *from particulars to particulars*, without passing through general propositions: that this is the essential process in syllogistic reasoning: and, that the general propositions which appear as the premises, are only a contrivance for '*registering*' our particular propositions, so as to be used even after they are individually forgotten. We cannot but deem this one of those false apparent simplifications which in reality confuse a subject. Somewhat as though a person should think to *simplify* musical notation by disusing the distinction of clefs, and writing all the parts on one stave of eleven lines. It is evident that, although this might seem at first sight the simpler plan, it would in fact produce inextricable confusion. It would be scarcely possible to read music written on such a system. In the same way, admitting Mr. Mill's account of the process of reasoning to be a correct representation, (as the stave without clefs would be of the succession of musical sounds,) yet it would be necessary to make the division commonly made, in order to any certain or intelligible rules being given or applied. Even admitting that *in fact* we reason frequently from particular to particular, without the intervention of any general principle, yet (as Mr. Mill admits,) our conclusion *supposes* the truth of the general proposition: *i. e.*, if the latter be not true, the conclusion cannot be true: but on the other hand, it is certain that we often do reason with an explicit reference to the general proposition, and our conclusion is then formally as well as really correct, since it does not take anything for granted, which is not expressed. This being the case, what conceivable advantage is gained by regarding the unscientific process, the truth or fallacy of which depends on something not expressed, as the type of reasoning in general?

We should, however, demur to the fact itself, considered as a statement of what generally takes place. Mr. Mill's examples by no means appear to establish his point; and we venture to think he has been led astray by not sufficiently bearing in mind, (what yet so practised a thinker must be perfectly acquainted with,) that the operations of the mind are often so rapid and subtile, that, the mind itself fails to take notice of them. How many unobserved links, for example, must intervene between our looking at a printed page, and receiving the meaning of the author! Or, to take a yet stronger instance, how paradoxical the assertion at first appears, that we do not *see* distance, but infer it by an exercise of judgment! Much in the same way, the mind may feel the force of a general principle, and deduce the conclusion so

rapidly, that the inference will appear to be made immediately, 'from particular to particular,' without the aid of any general proposition.* Thus, in Mr. Mill's example of the village matron who prescribes for a neighbour's child the same remedy that cured 'her Lucy,' a simple question would at once elicit the general principle assumed in her conclusion. If we ask *what makes* her think the remedy will answer, she would be at no loss to turn her enthymem into a syllogism, by answering, that 'what is good in one case, must be good in another,' and would stare at our simplicity in putting the question. In this, as in innumerable cases, the particular premise only need be expressed; the mind at once, and almost unconsciously, *fits it on* to the appropriate general, and draws the conclusion. But the general maxim must be *in the mind*, or the uncertainty which is felt, will at once be shown by some such remark as, 'I don't see *how* that proves your point,' or, 'I fail to perceive the force of your argument,' or, 'On what *principle* do you infer that?' Again, in the example at p. 246, our conviction, that 'the Duke of Wellington is mortal,' is surely grounded, not on the multitude of individual instances of death, from Adam downwards, but on the general proposition, of which these facts furnish *evidence*, that all men *are* mortal; *i. e.*, not only have died hitherto, but *will* continue to do so. Though, as we shall endeavour immediately to show, this ought not to be regarded as a *syllogism*. Another instance adduced, is that of practical skill from experience: the Author gives the case of a famous dyer, who always measured his ingredients by handfuls, and was quite unable to impart his skill to others. Now, without stopping to inquire whether this is properly a case of *reasoning*, we submit, that there is no proof that the dyer had not general maxims in his own mind, though he was unable to translate them (so to speak) into the ordinary language of measures and weights.

But we must hasten to glance at the second point referred to, the claim of the syllogism to the name of reasoning, and the *petitio principii* which is charged upon it, founded on the well-known rule, that a syllogism is vicious if any thing more is contained in the conclusion, than was assumed in the premises. We must allow, that, if such an argument as, 'All men are mortal; Socrates is a man; *therefore* Socrates is mortal,'—be admitted as a fair type of syllogism, then Mr. Mill's objections

* And the more general the proposition is, the more likely we are in this manner to overlook it, at the very moment that we are taking it for granted. Thus, in the case of those very general propositions which Stewart calls 'primary elements of reason,' and which are acquired long before the mind is able to put them into words, the very fact, that they are so essential to *all* our reasonings, would render it ridiculous formally to state them in *any*.

would have weight. But, at the peril perhaps of being reckoned as great heretics almost as Mr. Mill, we boldly deny that this is a syllogism at all, or anything more than a verbal imitation of one. For the proper name, 'Socrates,' is nothing but another (and more convenient) expression for 'this man.' What appears as the minor premise is, therefore, merely equivalent to the trifling proposition, that 'this man is a man;' and in no way contributes to the conclusion. The particular proposition, 'this man is mortal,' follows immediately from the general one, 'all men,' &c., being necessarily implied in it. It is not a case of *reasoning* at all, but a mere verbal transformation, effected (in logical phrase) by limiting the quantity of the proposition. If, indeed, there were any doubt whether the being called Socrates were a man or not, (*e. g.* if he might be an angel), then the minor would be a *real* premise, requiring independent *proof;* and the whole would be a real syllogism. But, in this case, Mr. Mill's objections would not apply. For here we come upon what appears to be the root of the erroneous views (as we cannot avoid considering them) adopted by this able writer. The rule of the syllogism, as above stated, is, that the conclusion must contain nothing but what is contained in the *premises;* but, in the example adduced as a fair specimen of syllogism, the conclusion is in fact contained in *one* premise; and, therefore, considered as an argument, it is, as Mr. Mill justly regards it, a mere begging of the question, and no 'process of inference' at all: unless we consider changing the quantity, from general to particular, a process of inference.

Now let us look at a *real* syllogism. Suppose any one should argue thus: 'Every citizen has a right to refuse an unjust impost: church rates are unjust; *therefore* we have a right to refuse them.' Here the conclusion is not contained in either premise, singly. A man might hold the first position, but deny the second, and very many actually do hold the second, but not the first, but no one in his senses could admit both, and yet deny the conclusion. In a real syllogism, then, the conclusion depends not on either premise alone, but on the union of the two. It is not a mere verbal transformation, but a real process of inference. There is no begging the question, for the thing to be proved, is not assumed in either premise. The conclusion is like the bag of gold which was to be delivered, 'not to one, nor to two, but to the three,' and which none of the three separately could claim as his own. Whether the premises be obtained by induction, or by intuition, or be assumed as mere baseless hypotheses, makes no difference in the process itself: grant the premises, *and put them together,* and the conclusion

follows of necessity. And to deny the name of reasoning to this process, appears to us a perversion of language.*

We are quite aware, that the views we are here endeavouring to defend, would make sad havoc with the examples of syllogisms given in many of the common treatises of logic, which we should condemn as no genuine syllogisms, but mere verbal counterfeits. We fear, that Aristotle himself, must come in for some share of the censure. But, the point to be considered, is not the correctness of this or that example, nor even the fame of Aristotle, (which ought by no means to be regarded as resting alone, or even chiefly, on the Organon,) but the nature and value of syllogism, as a mental process. Nothing has tended more, perhaps, to obscure the true nature of syllogism, than the puerile examples often adduced in illustration of its rules. Take, *e. g.*, one gravely brought forward by Lord Monboddo: 'Every animal is a substance; every man is an animal; *therefore* (!) every man is a substance.' Truly, if *this* be a fair specimen of syllogism, we have nothing more to say in its defence. One would really suppose, it was intended by way of ridicule, did not his lordship seriously assure us that he adduces it, 'in proof of the utility of logic.' By a similar process, we might prove that 'lead is heavy,' because all weighty substances are heavy, and lead is a weighty substance; and make fifty syllogisms to prove, that water is a liquid, that fire burns, that blue is a colour, and numberless other conclusions of the like instructive character. No wonder that such egregious trifling disgusted people of sense, and made them rashly conclude, that logic was only an ingenious art of playing with words. Every one sees, that such a pseudo-syllogism is, as we have said, a mere verbal transformation, a process of naming, not of inference.

The point might be easily illustrated by presenting, in contrast, amples of real syllogisms, (like that about church-rates,) but this we must leave to our readers, apprehensive that we have already trespassed on their patience. The matter might seem to be plain enough, and yet, strange to say, we find the objections which would really apply to such a pseudo-syllogism as that notable one from Lord Monboddo, urged in proof of the futility of Aristotle's system, and treated as unanswerable, by such men as Reid, Campbell, Stewart, and (much to our surprise) Mr. Mill; and even Archbishop Whateley, (in one part of his work,†)

* We might add, that it seems a misuse of language, though of a less important kind, to apply 'premise,' not to the propositions from which a conclusion is drawn, but to the *evidence* on which these propositions themselves rest. On any theory of the syllogism, what is gained by such a departure from established usage?

† Analyt. Outline, p. 39. We cannot suppose the archbishop intended this, though his words are open to such an interpretation.

of the syllogism in a form which seems to lay
For, to sum up the matter very
class-name, the minor term must
and therefore the minor premise does
merely the meaning of a word, and is
proposition.' There are not in this
that the major term by itself implies the
must be regarded as following, not by
quality. If (as in many *soi-*
books of logic the major premise itself is
in which a higher genus is affirmed
process is still further removed from the
purely verbal. So far then we concede
syllogism in which the premises assert
hypothetical makes no difference), not
the words, the case appears to us
forms of syllogism to be reckoned
process of deductive reasoning—

that we advance these views, differ-
perhaps in expression more than
Archbishop Whately, and other
system. They appear to us to fur-
which the syllogism can be success-
hackneyed charge of *petitio principii*.
readers for having dwelt so long on
say, that we have endeavoured to
as seemed consistent with tolerable
give due justice to the views so ingeni-
estimation of the work
us to attach such importance to what
admirable and masterly perform-
had to do so, because this por-
work seems scarcely in harmony with its general
with the judicious and profound remarks in the
Chapters of Book III., on the importance of de-
and the task it is destined to assume, in many of
now regarded as inductive sciences. The entire view
of syllogistic reasoning given in Book II. might, we conceive, be
remodelled, not merely without prejudice, but with advantage
to the clearness and consistency of the whole work. The fact,
if to be so regarded, (though we have endeavoured to show that
it is at least questionable,) might be stated, that in practice we
often reason from particulars to particulars. But the unscien-
tific character of such reasoning would be pointed out; real
syllogisms would be carefully distinguished from verbal trans-

formations (as real induction is, very ably, Book III. chap. 2); the two grand provinces of induction and deduction more clearly and broadly defined; and the reader would be then prepared to enter on the main subject with a distinct knowledge of what he was about, and to understand how, in all practical inquiries, these two processes combine, interweave, and mutually confirm each other. At present, the tendency of Book II. must be, we should fear, rather to bewilder and confuse the reader's mind. This tendency is increased, rather than otherwise, by the metaphysical discussions of chaps. 5. and 6., which, although naturally suggested by Mr. Mill's theory of demonstration, seem hardly in place in this part of the work. The reader is forced either to keep himself in the disagreeable attitude of an antagonist to his author, or else to surrender his established views on the subject of demonstration, with no proof that he ought to do so, beyond two or three plausible examples, and in uncertainty how far this concession may lead him.

Having bestowed so much time on what must be considered, after all, but the threshold of the main inquiry, we must content ourselves with a rapid survey of the remainder of the work.

Book III., 'Of Induction,' comprises twenty-five chapters. In chap. 1., Induction is defined to be 'the operation of discovering and proving general propositions.'* We have already remarked, that the author finds himself obliged in practice to lay aside his theory of deduction, and to speak in accordance with the views generally entertained. In chap. 2., Induction is well distinguished from that verbal transformation which obtains its name in the common books on logic; from so-called mathematical induction; and from the process called by Mr. Whewell, 'colligation of facts.' In chapters 3. and 4., on 'the grounds of induction,' and on 'laws of nature,' it is shewn, that our inductive reasoning rests on the assumption of the constancy of the laws of nature; and that 'a logic of induction' rests on the existence of certain 'uniformities' of nature, attested by experience, by being brought into connexion with which, other and weaker inductions may be raised to the same degree of certainty. Among these uniformities, the most important as regards co-existent phenomena, are the laws of number and space; as regards successive phenomena, the law of causation, to which chap. 5. is devoted. Leaving the discussion of the real nature of causation, and our idea of cause, as pertaining to another science, Mr. Mill concerns himself simply with 'physical causes,' defining a cause to be 'the sum total of the conditions, positive and negative, taken together; the whole of the

* More concisely, p. 370, 'Generalization from experience.'

contingencies of every description, which being realized, the consequence invariably follows;' or better, (in order to obviate Reid's objection to this view of causation) 'the antecedent, or concurrence of antecedents,' upon which it invariably and *unconditionally* follows.' Chap. 6, treats of the 'composition of causes,' pointing out two cases of the conjunct action of causes; —one, in which the joint effect is the compound result of the separate effects; the other, in which a new effect of an entirely different character results: the first is distinguished as the *mechanical*, the second as the *chemical* composition of causes.

After an excellent chapter on 'Observation and Experiment,' the Author proceeds, in chap. 8, to unfold the four methods of experimental inquiry:—the 'method of agreement,' the 'method of difference,' the 'method of residues,' and the 'method of concomitant variations.' Those of our readers who are familiar with Sir John Herschel's admirable Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy, will be at no loss to understand what these four methods are. They are beautifully illustrated in the following chapter by some striking and well-chosen examples afforded by the researches of Justus, Liebig, and other eminent 'interrogators of nature.' The next chapter treats of the 'plurality of causes, and intermixture of effects,' pointing out the imperfections thence attending, in certain branches of inquiry, the employment of experimental methods, and thus introducing, (chap. 11), the consideration of the 'deductive method,' by shewing the necessity for its employment. The deductive method is then divided into three stages: induction, by which the premises are obtained; ratiocination, (or what is commonly called deduction), by which consequences are inferred; and verification, by which the conclusions are shown to accord with observed phenomena, and without which the process would be essentially incomplete. The two succeeding chapters, which conclude the first volume, are occupied with the 'explanation of the laws of nature,' *i. e.*, the resolving of them into other laws. In this, it is well remarked, we do but substitute one mystery for another; we cannot *explain* the laws of nature in the sense of rendering them less wonderful; all that we can do is to advance somewhat nearer to the solution of the great problem—'What are the fewest assumptions, which being granted, the order of nature as it exists would be the result?' (p. 560.) Here, again, some of the most striking examples are afforded by the masterly speculations of Liebig, whose philosophic genius is not less evinced by his felicitous conjectures, which almost carry conviction with them, than by his achievements in the more sober and obscure path of patient experiment. 'The Deductive Method,' concludes Mr. Mill, 'in the present state of

knowledge, is destined irrevocably to predominate in the course of scientific investigation, from this time forward. . . . Deduction is the great scientific work of the present and of future ages. The portion henceforth reserved for specific experience in the achievements of science is mainly that of suggesting hints to be followed up by the deductive inquirer, and of confirming or checking his conclusions.'

In the opening chapter of Vol. II. (chap. 14), the 'limits to the explanation of the laws of nature,' and the use of hypothesis, are ably pointed out. These last four chapters contain 'the general outlines of the theory of the generation of derivative laws from alternate ones.' A chapter is then devoted to the peculiar case of progressive effects, arising from the continued action of causes. Of the remaining ten chapters the leading topics are: empirical laws, *i. e.*, cases of uniformity in phenomena which we cannot refer to any known law of causation; the doctrine of chance and probability; other laws of nature besides the laws of causation, (such as the laws of extension and number); and the 'grounds of disbelief.'

The fourth book is occupied with "Operations subsidiary to Induction." And here, did our space permit, we would gladly insert an extract or two from the admirable observations on language, contained in the fourth and fifth chapters. We must content ourselves with referring our readers to the volumes themselves. These two chapters are especially deserving of perusal, and would alone be sufficient to indicate an original and truly philosophic mind. Book V. treats 'Of Fallacies.' Under this head Mr. Mill repeatedly refers to Archbishop Whateley's work, and bestows well-merited eulogy on the manner in which the subject is there handled; but Mr. Mill's own enumeration naturally takes a wider range than Whateley's, in accordance with the general system of the present treatise. Fallacies are divided into five classes: *à priori* fallacies; fallacies of induction, which are either fallacies of observation, or fallacies of generalization; fallacies of deduction; and fallacies of confusion. The examples are, as usual, very happily chosen, and this book will be found by no means the least valuable part of the work.

The VIth and concluding book, is a kind of supplement, devoted to 'the logic of the moral sciences.' Under this head are included the science of mind, the science of the formation of character, and the science of society. In these branches of inquiry, if we except that portion of social science called political economy, any thing deserving the name of science has yet to be created. Here, therefore, if anywhere, we may look for a beneficial application of the logical principles to the elucidation of which the present work is devoted. It will easily be supposed, that in

this wide field of discussion there is much that tempts comment. But we refrain. Perhaps Mr. Mill may err in over-estimating the power of the human mind in respect to subjects like these; but, at all events, it must be owned, that his speculations are those not merely of a bold intellect, but of an acute, sagacious, and comprehensive one.

It may be observed, that we have said nothing as to Mr. Mill's metaphysics. In fact, he has, in a manner, warned us off this ground, by premising that his work does not assume any particular metaphysical system. From some parts of the work, however, in which points of this character necessarily come under notice, his opinions would appear to be those of the ultra-empirical school. See, for example, the chapter 'on the evidence of the law of causation; and the discussions in the 5th and 6th chapters of Book II.' Mr. Mill appears to think, that there may be worlds in which the law of causation does not prevail, and events succeed one another 'at random;' and that our powers do not enable us to decide whether space be finite or infinite, since it is a question beyond our experience. It seems naturally to follow, that *for any thing we know*, there may be a number so great as to be insusceptible of addition, and a point of time at which duration will terminate! What reason can be shown, if we once commit such high treason against our mental faculties as to admit the possibility of these suppositions—what reason can be shown for stopping anywhere short of absolute Pyrrhonism, and so doing away with all reliance on logic, inductive, 'ratiocinative,' or any other? But this by the way.

There are some other points on which we have been tempted to break a lance with Mr. Mill; but even supposing ourselves (as reviewers are bound to do) in the right, this would not detract from our high estimate of his treatise as a whole. It is a work which perhaps no other philosophic school, nor any age previous to our own, could have produced; to which no one would have been competent who did not possess, in addition to the qualifications usually deemed essential to a logician, a mind trained to methods of scientific inquiry, and familiar with the principles and results of those investigations by which philosophers, from Newton to Liebig, have won from nature so many of her secrets, and rendered the present so pre-eminently the age of science. A work of this character can hardly be expected to become speedily or extensively popular; but, if it aids in forming the minds of the few thinkers by whom the future progress of knowledge will be guided, the Author will find in this his noblest success and reward. An inaptitude to judge of the value of evidence, it has been most truly remarked, lies at the root of the most opposite errors: of unreasonable unbelief, as well as of

too easy credulity. It is a striking characteristic, not merely of those who professedly exalt blind faith above reason, but of many who call themselves 'rationalists' *par excellence*. Let us have men well trained to the appreciation of evidence in the school of Archbishop Whateley and Mr. Mill, and we shall be provided with one of the best safe-guards, alike against German scepticism or mysticism, and Oxford popery.

Art. III. *Religion in the United States of America; or, an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relations to the State, and present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States; with Notices of the Un-evangelical Denominations.* By the Rev. Robert Baird, author of 'L'union de l'Eglise et de l'Etat, dans la Nouvelle Angleterre.' Glasgow and Edinburgh: Blackie and Sons. 1844.

COLONIZATION appears to be the special duty or privilege of the Anglo-Saxon race. Their success may be regarded as a proof of their aptness for the task. They scatter themselves over the earth as if the original law of fecundity and dispersion had been re-enacted for their peculiar observance. In all portions of the globe are they to be found engaged in varied enterprise, and distinguished under every climate by their native energy and perseverance; though these qualities have too often been exhibited or called into action in consequence of persecution and unjust legislation, and a foreign shore has been sought from love of freedom and independence, or has been the result of expatriation for conscience' sake. We long for the period when these qualities of the Anglo-Saxon blood, sanctified and devoted by the grace of God, and sustained by faith and prayer, shall be developed to their full extent in the evangelization of the human family; when love of enterprise shall arise from love of souls, and emigration be identified with missionary travel; when other purposes, besides commercial advantage shall direct the navigation of distant seas, and the natives of newly discovered regions be favoured with nobler boons than the produce of the looms of Manchester or the forges of Sheffield.

Spanish navies had discovered the islands which lie upon the coast of America, ere English vessels had directed their course to the western world. John and Sebastian Cabot, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, discovered the Western Continent. England's supremacy in North America was followed by her own revolt at home against priestly power, and the new world became the asylum of exiled protestantism.

French ambition was, for a season, successful in claiming im-

mense portions of America, and it brought along with it jesuitism and popery. But it was destined to incessant opposition and final overthrow. The planting of the colony of Massachusetts followed that of Virginia, and it was succeeded by those of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. The men engaged in the formation of the New England colonies have been seldom surpassed in sagacity and prowess—in piety and benevolent exertion. Many of them were men of education and rank—they were eminently free from the low and degrading vices of the statesmen of that age. The political trust committed to them was felt to be an awful deposit. It was their constant aim, one which they carried with them to the council-chamber and bore back with them to the closet in their religious exercises, that each colonist should exhibit the lofty mien of a freeman, and wear the dignity of an heir to heaven—that he should bow the knee to none but God, and bear no yoke but His, who is meek and lowly in heart. Their political schemes were based on comprehensive notions of righteousness and philanthropy. Religion was with them the primary concern—the worship of God a prominent institution. These holy duties claimed the first clauses of their charters—the first position of their townships—the first labour of their settlements.

The early colonists too were nature's aristocracy. Our country was not worthy of them. Taxed by a despotic government, and tithed by an usurping hierarchy, and, yet neither protected by the one, nor allowed to worship the God of their fathers in peace by the other; stigmatized as rebels by the former, and insulted as puritans by the latter, they bravely left their fatherland and sought a refuge in the far off wilderness, between which and the scene of oppression, rolled the broad surges of the Atlantic. The grief of bidding farewell to friends, country, and home, did not produce a sentimental lethargy, but was borne with manly courage and christian heroism. In the long and tedious voyage their hearts sunk not. Their spirit did not fail them in the midst of those difficulties and dangers with which foreign adventure abounds. The sultry climate, the swamp and the forest, the solitary encampment, and the whoop of the savage, were calmly and successfully encountered. Like their leaders, the majority of them were men of God. The men that landed from the 'May-flower,' on the rock of Plymouth, felt themselves to be 'chosen vessels,' and the consciousness of their solemn consecration was the deepest sensation of their religious experience. The preservation of the ordinances of religion was a principal endeavour with them. The first trees of the virgin forest were felled for the sanctuary—'a man was famous according as he had lifted up axes upon the thick trees.' Truly did they vow,

If I forget thee O Jerusalem, let my hand forget her cunning. Their inner life nourished itself by frequent days of fasting and prayer. These were seasons of coveted enjoyment. Their firmness might be somewhat stern, their rigidness of observance might generate formality, yet their heart was with God, his law their guide, his glory their aim. In every crisis they enquired at the oracle of Jehovah; in seasons of deliverance they entered his courts with praise—'a multitude that kept holyday;' in times of impending danger they placed themselves under the protection of him to whom the shields of the earth belong. They were a people worthy of those high-souled patriots who were their leaders, both in civil polity and religion. Few statesmen of that day had the purity of Winthrop, few ministers the learning of Cotton, the endowments of Hooker, or the self-sacrificing spirit of Roger Williams.

Mr. Baird begins by describing the general appearance and form of the American continent, and proceeds to sketch the various early attempts at colonization. Like most Americans, he is proud of his country, and imagines its institutions quite incomprehensible to the inhabitants of the old world. We may enumerate its states, and even read their charters, talk of its congress, senate, and president; we may even study the immortal charter of Jefferson, and yet we are but in ignorance as to the spirit of American institutions. The words we speak are symbols of ideas and processes unknown to us, initiation more thorough than was required by the ancient mysteries will scarcely profit us. However we console ourselves, we are not entirely ignorant; we know what voluntaryism is, and bless God for our knowledge of it, as developed in Mr. Baird's book. That we have some idea of American slavery, Americans know full well. The world is convinced that Sydney Smith comprehends 'repudiation.'

It is especially to the religious condition of America that Mr. Baird calls the attention of his readers, and more particularly to the nature, working, and result of the voluntary principle. The religious character of the early colonists being briefly delineated down to the epoch of the revolution, Mr. Baird proceeds to determine the effect of this national struggle upon the christianity of America. That was a noble conflict, calling into action such patriots as Washington, and counsellors as Franklin. It was a war of principle on the part of America, a war of oppression on the part of Britain. The colonies acted with heroic resolution, British valour and enterprize quailed before them. But war is adverse to religion; it could not thrive in the midst of bloodshed and confusion. Society was unsettled, and the opinions of men became unstable; French liberalism grew

popular, and the pride of youthful democracy allied itself to infidelity; released from human bonds it fancied itself liberated from divine obligation. The dissolution of the union of church and state—an union which had subsisted from the commencement of the thirteen colonies, was not the immediate result of the revolution, nor was it effected by a speedy change. Even in Massachusetts, down to 1833, the church was allied to the state; neither was the separation of church and state the work of politicians who were hostile to christianity: it was the work of the churches themselves and of their ministers. The first state in which it was achieved was the most unlikely. Virginia was a colony in which episcopacy took early root; it was peopled by cavaliers, whose notions of church government were of the Laudean school; but in Virginia the impious union was first abolished through the exertion of presbyterians and baptists. Jefferson, indeed, gave all the aid in his power, but the 'arch infidel' had not the merit of originating the measure. Other states soon followed the example of Virginia. There were men who were rather alarmed at such movements; men like Dr. Dwight, whose heart trembled for the ark of God: but a few years served to dissipate these fears. The book before us is a proof of the power of the voluntary principle; it exhibits the working of that system in a free country;—the churches of America are 'free indeed.' No potentate claims to be their head; they are at liberty to adopt what alterations in their constitution they please; they do not bow to congress to sanction a prayer-book or ratify a confession. No man has power to intrude a pastor upon a parish—some son or nephew, that must be provided for. The churches are not in fear of a court of Queen's Bench, if they exercise discipline; sale of advowsons is unheard of, squabbles about church-rates are unknown. The church exercises all its functions with the utmost fearlessness and ease—no sect tramples on another. The episcopalian assumes no lordly dignity over the baptist; no bishop rears his mitred front in the halls of congress; the arrogancy and indolence of a hireling priesthood are not to be seen; nor yet is the nation horrified at the pompous and inhuman dicta of clerical justices of the peace, in whose eyes poaching is the worst of crimes, and preservation of the game laws the first of duties; the days and nights of their legislators are not wasted by interminable controversies, about first fruits and tithes, church lands, and *regium donum*. No man pays for the support of another's religion, and the term 'toleration' is not found on the statute book. The church of Christ stands fast in the liberty wherewith Christ makes his people free, neither cast in the mould of antique fashion, nor crushed beneath the patronage

of civil power. 'The churches have rest, and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, are multiplied.'

But has this voluntary principle energy enough to support and propagate the religion of Jesus? The problem has been solved; but did it need a practical solution in order to convince men that it was the law of the New Testament? The economy of Christ's house is clearly announced in the Holy oracles: all compulsion is spurned—the influence of the heart alone is recognised; every offering must be spontaneous; what is wrung by force is not accepted. Believers in Jesus obey his law of finance and contribute to the maintenance of the gospel. This principle is mighty in its simplicity, and by its gigantic energies carried the religion of the cross through the Roman empire. Then the church was free, unfettered, virtuous. That she was corrupted by wealth is apparent, and that wealth came from the abuse of the voluntary principle. Feuds and factions, the most disgraceful, followed her union with the state, omens of the fatal distractions of succeeding times. As soon as she leaned on the arm of the state for defence, and depended on the national exchequer for support, her native energy departed—the panoply of God was exchanged for the armour of men; and, her feet instead of being shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, left behind them traces of more than heathen cruelty, of more than Saracen ferocity.

For what is the past history of the state church of this country? Is it not the roll of Ezekiel, in which was written 'lamentations, and mourning, and woe.' Yet such effects are the natural fruits of the system. Is not its very foundation partiality and injustice; the elevation of one sect by the thraldom of others? Upheld at the national expense, it gives no adequate return of labour; dissenters are liable to heavy disabilities, because they do not profess the national faith; the claims of political justice are thwarted, and the rights of conscience usurped, and society is therefore divided into exclusive castes, on principles that bear the stamp of impious tyranny; and religion itself endures the suffocation of foolish and interested friendship, its glory is stained, its unity destroyed. While then the past utters its testimony still echoed by the present—while the woes of Ireland, the strifes of England, and tedious litigations as those so lately seen in Scotland continue, we must agitate and enlighten. Our opponents have not been slow in assigning motives which we utterly condemn—which are at variance with every principle we profess, and every object which we strive to obtain. If they have not been able to rebut our reasonings, they have impugned our motives as treasonable and unscriptural;

if they could not arrest the march of our opinions, or bridle the rapid progress of knowledge and discussion, they have not failed to brand us with the stigma of mean and mercenary impulse. We wish the past and future to be in joyous apposition; we wish to rescue the church from the slavery in which she is buried by stooping to solicit the pay and patronage of the state, and to elevate her to the free and buoyant attitude of an independent society. Shall we shrink from the holy task? Can it be, that a state church will have long existence? The sacredness of its name, the years of its duration, the wealth of its palaces, the truth and talent of its defenders, have not procured immunity from the spirit of search and of reform. Its origin, constitution, and working, have been carefully investigated, its doom has been pronounced. Can such a system, steeped in injustice, continue to flourish in a period of spiritual reformation?—a system so unjust to dissenters, whom it persecutes and oppresses—whose support it claims, whose persons it nauseates—so unjust to its own adherents, whose independence it barters, whose liberality it stifles, whose compliance with scriptural law, and enjoyment of christian privilege in support of their pastors, it forfeits and prevents—so unjust to religion, whose native strength it suspects, and whose alleged debility it feigns to assist by its compulsory enactments—so rebellious, in fine, against the Head of the church, usurping his prerogative, contravening his statutes, presenting robbery for burnt-offering upon his altars, and acting as if he had not infused into his gospel a strength sufficient for its support and extension—as if, without the aid of human policy, that society could not prosper which Jesus has purchased by his blood, and which is protected by his sceptre of universal sovereignty. Will the age which glories in the erasure of monopolizing charters and patents, exults in the abolition of the nefarious system of colonial slavery, and is perpetually expressing its resolution of proceeding still more boldly in such deeds of freedom and philanthropy, suffer an institution like the established church to remain as a solitary monument of rapacity and despotism? No; as surely as the snow dissolves before the heat of summer, must this institution perish in the progress of that national emancipation, the first fruits of which have been so auspiciously reaped. What folly to fortify error, when men are united for its demolition; the man who traces characters of self-applause on the sand during the recess of the tide is not guilty of a more egregious absurdity.

But we appeal to America on behalf of the working of the voluntary principle. What has the voluntary principle done in that country? Mr. Baird's publication is designed to answer the question. By what test shall we try it? By the architecture

of the churches? Even here is no room for doubt; sacred edifices in the large towns being equal in taste and splendour to many modern ones of the old country. Shall we try it by the salaries of the pastors? We shall find in America no princely incomes such as prelates enjoy in England. Yet pastors in expensive towns have handsome salaries, and in the majority of cases a competency is enjoyed. Rates of expense in living vary very much in America. M. Beaumont, in his 'Marie, ou Esclavage aux Etats Unis,' exaggerates when he declares the ministry is not only honourable, but lucrative—preachers making a fortune in a few years. The exaggeration is at least a presumption of the truth of our statement. Or shall we judge of the efficiency of the voluntary principle by the church accommodation? Even here, where the greatest difficulty is to be encountered from a rapidly increasing and far spread population in new settlements, we are not afraid of the test, especially if placed side by side with the means of religious instruction enjoyed by British colonies. Mr. Baird was an eye witness to the process of providing accommodation, and thus speaks of it:

'Thus when in the state of Alabama, in February, 1831, I visited the town of Montgomery, in company with a worthy baptist minister, in the course of an extensive tour through the western states, in behalf of one of our benevolent societies. It was then hardly more than a large village, and on the night of the second of the two days we spent in it, we preached in a large school-house which, if I remember rightly, was the only place for holding religious meetings existing there at the time. We had a good congregation, though a circus was held hard by. Just three years after, when repeating the same tour, I spent a Sabbath, and one or two days more at the same spot, but under amazingly different circumstances. In the morning I preached in a presbyterian church, built of frames, and covered with boards, and every way comfortable, to at least 600 persons. The church, which reckoned 100 members, had got a young man as pastor, to whom they gave a yearly stipend of 1,000 dollars. At night I preached in a baptist church, built of brick, but not quite finished, which could hold 300 persons at least. Besides these, there were one methodist episcopal, and one protestant methodist church, each, in as far as I recollect, as large as the baptist church. Then there was an episcopal church, not less in size, though probably with a smaller congregation than the baptist church. And withal, there was a Roman catholic church, though not a large one, I believe. All this after an interval of only three years! Eventful years they had been. A revival of religion, which took place during one of them, had brought many souls to the knowledge of salvation.'—p. 300.

Shall we turn now to institutions of learning? What shall we say of 103 colleges and 10,000 students, or, taking in other schools almost on an equality with the colleges, 173 seminaries and 16,233 alumni. Sixty-one of the 103 colleges have been

opened within the last twenty-five years. Mr. Baird estimates that, since the year 1816, a sum approaching to 2,000,000 dollars has been raised by voluntary effort for the erection and endowment of colleges. Eighty-two of these colleges are under the influence of decided orthodoxy and active piety. We do not for a moment compare such institutions on the aggregate with those of similar name at home, yet some of them need not blush at the comparison. Biblical literature is advancing with rapid pace in America. Some of our best books in the English tongue, on that science, are imported from the States. Sunday school teaching is also widely cultivated. On the Sabbath, before he left his home for Washington, there to become his country's chief magistrate, and alas, within a month afterwards to die, the late President Harrison met as usual his Bible class, a class of young women in a humble Sunday school on the banks of the Ohio. Opportune aid to very many young men during the period of their studies is also afforded by the American education society, while a similar society in the episcopal church is at present assisting about a seventh of all the students in its various theological schools. The 18th chapter of the first book of this work gives an interesting account of the theological seminaries, especially those of Andover and Princeton. The entire number of these belonging to orthodox protestants, are 38, with nearly 1,500 students. 'The angel who redeems from all evil bless the lads.'

Amidst a population of such rapid growth and wide extent as that of the United States, there must be much need for the operations of a home missionary society. Hear what the voluntary principle does in one of these societies, the American Home Missionary.

'Let us now turn to what was done by this society in the year ending 1st of May, 1842. During that year it had 791 missionaries and agents, of whom 548 had been in its service the preceding year, and 243 were employed for the first time. These men laboured in all the States and Territories of the Union; a few, also, in Canada. The number of presbyterian and congregational churches in Iowa and Wisconsin had been doubled in the course of the year by the society's means. The number of congregations and missionary stations occupied, was 987; and the Sunday schools and Bible classes under the direction of the missionaries were attended by 64,300 persons. In 288 congregations, the sum of 14,476 dollars had been collected for religious and benevolent societies, and many of the feeble churches had contributed largely for them in aid of missions to the heathen. There had been revivals in 109 churches, and 3,018 conversions were reported by 288 missionaries. The disbursements of the society were 107,085 dollars; the receipts 95,291.' —p. 313.

The American mission of the presbyterian church is no way behind.

'From 1838 to 1841, the missionaries increased from 31 to 272, according to the report for 1841, which is the latest I have seen. It presents a summary for that year of 272 missionaries employed; 500 Sunday schools, attended by at least 25,000 scholars, connected with the churches under their care; 3,100 members added to the churches, of whom were 1,800 upon examination of their faith, and 1,300 upon letters of recommendation from other churches; 22,000 persons gathered into temperance societies; 35,455 dollars of receipts. The average expense of each missionary was 130 dollars. The Board pursues the wise course of simply helping congregations that as yet are unable to maintain pastors, by granting them so much on their undertaking to make up the deficiency'—p. 319.

And there are also home missions of the episcopal, baptist, and methodist churches. All labouring in the common field, all earnestly promoting the common salvation.

Efforts to diffuse the sacred scriptures are no less vigorously prosecuted in America. The voluntary principle manifests its power and zeal in the circulation of religious tracts and books. The operations of no society in America seem to have been prosecuted with greater vigour or more wisdom. Its report for 1842, states, that since its commencement it has sent forth 1,016 different publications, of which 131 form volumes of various sizes by themselves; and the remainder are, with few exceptions, what are called tracts, each consisting of four pages and upwards, but requiring more than one to make a volume. It has published some broad-sheets and hand-bills for posting up in public places, or otherwise. And besides these 1,016 publications at home, it has aided in the publication of 1,634 in foreign lands. The copies of its publications thrown off last year amounted to 4,812,000, of which 245,000 were volumes. During the same period, 4,478,799, including 185,152 volumes, actually issued from its depository. Among the volumes were 2,786 sets of the Evangelical Family Library, of fifteen volumes each; and 524 sets of the Christian Library, of forty-five volumes each. Above 8,000 separate volumes, also, of these sets were sold, and 91,000 copies of the Christian Almanac for the United States. From 100 to 150,000 of some of the smaller tracts were distributed, and the total sent into circulation during 17 years has been 1,220,090,921 pages, or about 123,000,000 of tracts and volumes. The receipts for last year amounted to 34,941 dollars from donations, and 56,214 from sales; in all, 91,155 dollars. Fifteen thousand dollars were sent to foreign countries in aid of the tract cause abroad.

'I shall now conclude by giving the summary of what was accomplished in New York during the six months preceding the 20th June, 1842, as presented at the regular monthly public meeting, held in one

of the churches on the evening of that day, and published in one of the religious papers of that city :—

'1,047 Average number of visitors (or distributors).
309,871 Tracts distributed.
604 Bibles, and 505 Testaments received from the New York Bible Society, and supplied to the destitute.
2,096 Volumes from the Ward Libraries.
1,079 Children gathered into Sabbath schools.
335 Children gathered into public schools.
131 Persons gathered into Bible classes.
622 Persons induced to attend church.
835 Temperance pledges obtained.
633 District Prayer-meetings held.
15 Backsliders reclaimed.
218 Persons hopefully converted.
155 Converts united with evangelical churches.'—pp. 375—378.

What simple machinery, what immense results! The religious literature of America has a life and healthfulness in it quite refreshing to contemplate.

'Nearly sixty evangelical religious newspapers are published once a week. The Methodists publish eight, including one in the German tongue, and all under the direction of their conference. The Episcopalians have twelve; the Baptists nine or ten; the Presbyterians of all classes, including the Congregationalists, Dutch and German, Reformed, and Lutherans, about thirty more. This estimate includes evangelical protestant papers only. In all, they cannot have fewer than 250,000 subscribers. The Christian Advocate (Methodist), published at New York, has about 26,000; a few years ago it had 30,000, but the number fell in consequence of the establishment of other methodist papers. The New York Observer has 16,000 subscribers, and several of the rest have a circulation of from 5,000 to 10,000 each.'—p. 384.

In every department of beneficence, the voluntary principle is called into exercise. Its power is not of occasional but steady operation. It is not like the thunder shower drenching one valley and scarce shedding a few drops upon another. But it resembles the 'waters above the firmament,' which pour themselves down in copious, fertilising, universal showers. The population of America is increasing at the rate of 500,000 a year, and it requires a great effort to supply this augmenting number with the means of grace. One would think that the energies of the American churches would all be expended on home operations. When we read, that annually 880 churches are erected at an expense of about 1,500,000 dollars; and that about 4,480,200 dollars are expended on ministers' salaries; that 1,600 ministers of the gospel are supported by the Home Missions; and that all such operations and contributions must be every year not only kept up, but increased, we might think

that the churches of the United States might be fully occupied with the masses which are spreading over their own prairies and valleys, and stretching to the new settlements of Iowa, and Wisconsin. But voluntaryism is an expansive principle. It grows with the exigencies which need its supply. It began of old at Jerusalem, but it soon embraced the civilized world. It may commence at home, spread through a neighbourhood, and fill a country; but its undulations grow wider and fuller as they recede from the centre of its birth, till they are commensurate with the bounds of the globe. So it has wrought in America. It had been well had the Indians been converted, and not shot, or driven to the west. Kind treatment might have dispossessed them of much of their hostility to civilization and religion. The great sins of America are her treatment of the Indians and negroes. Let her emancipate the one, and 'do justly and love mercy,' in respect to the other. Let her give liberty to her sable bondmen, and preserve inviolate her treaties with the red men. 'Let her unloose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke. Then shall her light break forth as the morning, and her health spring forth speedily; and the righteousness of the Lord go before her: his glory shall be her rearward.'

Mr. Baird has not described the conduct of the American *government* towards the Indians, as it appears to us. We recur with pleasure to the efforts of the *churches*, to the labours of Eliot, Mayhew, Sergeant, and Edwards. But the tribes are dying out, melting like snow before the advance of white men, whose pioneers are gunpowder, brandy, and small-pox.

The world shares in the power and effort of American voluntaryism. There is the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, sustained by 3,000 churches, and 2,000,000 christians, having 26 missions in various parts of the world; embracing 87 stations, 145 ordained missionaries, 44 lay-helpers, and other assistants to the number of 560, and expending annually 300,000 dollars—educating 24,400 youth in its schools, working in 31 languages, by 15 printing establishments, to the extent of 290,000,000 pages of book-tracts, and scriptures. Then there is the Board for Presbyterian missions, having 65 labourers; the Baptist Board, with its 97 missionaries, and 102 native preachers; the Methodist Episcopal Church, supporting 85 missionaries; other sects, the Episcopal church, the Lutheran church, and United Brethren, are pursuing the same good work. The Foreign Evangelical Society is busy on the continent of Europe, in France, Belgium, and Switzerland, and among the population of Lower Canada.

It refreshes us to behold such activity in the cause of truth, such liberality for the heathen, amounting yearly to 572,198

dollars. It is not the result of feverish excitement, but of a steady, vigorous, warm piety, which is more and more assuming the aspect of his generosity, 'who, though he was rich yet for our sakes became poor.' Shall we omit the Colonization Society, Mr. Baird has devoted a whole chapter to it. We suspect its principles, and certainly the motives of its advocates have not been disguised. It has become a kind of safety valve. By removing free blacks away from their shackled brethren, it sends away such excitement as might tempt the negro to wrest his freedom from his masters. It rivets bondage on the sons of Ham; and exiles from America many who must claim it for their native soil. Mr. Baird calmly says of it:

'Its friends have been apt to recommend it as presenting the sole method of ridding the United States of slavery. This is absurd. It has diverted the minds of slave-holders in the south, from the duty of universally emancipating their slaves, whether they shall remain in the country or not; and in so far it has done mischief. Its friends have said too much also, about the impossibility of the coloured population, rising to respectability and political equality in the United States. The difficulties are indeed great, but good men should never lend their aid in fostering the unreasonable prejudices against the coloured race, entertained by too large a part of our people.'—p. 719.

May we not now appeal to the voluntaryism of America, as a proof of the efficacy of the much abused and misunderstood voluntary principle? Considering all the circumstances, may we not pronounce the demonstration complete? Voluntaryism, as Mr. Baird has well shown, had had many obstacles to contend with in America; such as the vastness of the country, while emigrants from various nations bring with them a great variety of opinions - the thinness of the population, the area of the United States territory, being more than 2,000,000 square miles (the great valley of Mississippi being six times as large as the kingdom of France), and the population in 1840 being 17,068,666 a very small population to a surface so immense. Mr. Baird also notices slavery as among the chief obstacles to the complete success of the voluntary principle. This curse blights all within its reach, masters as well as servants, hardening the one, barbarising the other. We are glad to see Mr. Baird's honesty in speaking out against slavery, though perhaps his language might have been stronger and more pointed. 'It must be noted, that while such are the difficulties that oppose the maintenance of a Christian ministry in the slave-holding states, there is a special necessity for the preaching of the Gospel there. It is emphatically by the *hearing* of the word, that the slaves can be expected to come to the knowledge of salvation. A most unwise and injurious legislation has in most of those states forbidden the teaching of the slaves to read! And although, doubtless, this

not universally obeyed, and here and there a good many th read, and teach others to do so privately, yet, it is from ce of the living teacher, that the great bulk of that class United States must receive instruction in divine things. s be to God! no legislature in any state has forbidden the ing of the Gospel to those who are in bonds of slavery; any thousands of them, it is believed, have not heard it in (p. 79.)

re are those who suppose, that a state must be infidel or ic, if it do not endow some Christian sect. Mr. Baird that the American government cannot be justly charged ither indifference or hostility to Christianity. He has in- an able paper on this subject, from Dr. Wheaton, ambas- from the United States to the Court of Berlin; a paper r of a careful perusal.

k V. of Mr. Baird's treatise, is entitled 'The Church and in America.' It contains much interesting and useful ation on a variety of topics. There is in this section, ter on revivals, written expressly for the work by the . A. Goodrich, of Yale College. It is a long and able entering calmly, minutely, and scripturally into the sub- nd written in a lucid and elegant style. But we have not rselves room for further remarks, or for any extracts. of Mr. Baird's notices in reference to the organization scipline of the American churches, are meant especially ntinental readers, who know the church merely as a state ation, and its discipline only by report.

k VI., gives an account of the evangelical churches in ca, the history, progress, and statistics, of the various The information communicated is authenticated by suf- evidence. We believe it is the fullest and most impartial nt, which has yet been given to the British public. The eat divisions of the American church may thus be arranged:

	Churches or Places of Worship.	Ministers.	Communicants	Population.
palian .	1,164	1,033	105,745	712,000
egational .	1,500	1,250	160,000	1,000,000
t . . .	8,561	4,375	622,478	3,423,000
yterian .	6,611	4,161	591,803	3,312,000
dist . .	25,134	4,112	935,418	5,400,000
	42,970	14,931	2,415,444	13,847,000

e number of ministers in the above table, excludes Metho-

dist local preachers, and licentiates of the Baptist and Presbyterian churches, who cannot be estimated at less than 1,000. Thus, taking the population of the States by the returns of 1842, there is an orthodox minister of some denomination or other, for every 1,200 souls. What a blissful result of Christian principle.

Book VII., contains an account of the unevangelical sects, Papists, Unitarians, Universalists, Jews, Socialists, Shakers, and Mormonites. Mr. Baird is pretty full on the subject of Unitarianism, and especially on its origin in New England. How artfully and insidiously the poison wrought its way into the churches. Error was gradually introduced by 'the sleight of men and cunning craftiness.' A lesson to all to beware of any defection, to maintain without compromise, or modification, every element of the truth as it is in Jesus.

Much has been written about the growth of popery in the American states. Many fearful predictions have been uttered about its final triumph in the republic. Travellers of very opposite views unite in such gloomy forebodings. The fantastic sketches of Captain Marryatt, are tinged deeply with such colouring. The same results abound in the rapid and brilliant generalizations of De-Tocqueville. But the spirit of American freedom is hostile to popery, which increases mainly, if not solely, by the large emigrations from Germany and Ireland. Bishop England admits, that 50,000 papists in his diocese had been lost to the mother church by conversion to Protestantism. Popery is supported in America, however, by large grants from the Propaganda Society in France, and the Leopold Society in Austria. We have no fears for America, though we know that popish influence puts forth its utmost energies to proselytise in the prairies of the far west. The other sects need not to be noticed. They are mere froth-bubbles, that rise for a moment and soon vanish. The foreign missions of the American churches, which we have already noticed, are fully developed by Mr. Baird, in Book VIII.

Of the immense mass of information, so lucidly arranged and compacted, we have given but a brief and hurried outline. We have read the book with unmingled satisfaction. No work on America can at all compete with it. Few persons have enjoyed such advantages for the compilation of such a work, as Mr. Baird. He travelled the Union frequently, as the agent of various religious societies; and is on terms of intimacy with the leading ministers and members of the various religious denominations. No little time and pains must have been spent in collecting the materials out of which this treatise on the religious condition of America has been compiled. It will become the

andard book of reference on the subject. He has also been uch in Europe, and this book is specially meant for inquirers a the continent; and has been published, both in the French nd German languages. It must enlighten every honest in-uirer, who wishes to know the power, purity, and life of the hurch, when separated from state domination. There are minds France and Germany panting for spiritual freedom, to whom his book will be a welcome repast. The men who are moving England for the abolition of the establishment, will also find in many incitements to persevere in their arduous course, for, in due time they shall reap if they faint not.' We take leave f the author with sincere gratitude, for the information he has iven us in so interesting a form, and with unfeigned admiration f his patient labour, in accurate statistical calculation, in honest nd impartial enquiry. His earnest and prayerful desire, to pro-ote the cause of God and truth on the earth, recommend him and is volume to the churches of Christ. He has done a good work n behalf of spiritual christianity, in exhibiting the American hurches in their freedom and energy, so that their 'zeal may rovoke very many.'

Art. IV. *The Print Collector.—An Introduction to the Knowledge necessary for pursuing a Collection of Ancient Prints. Containing Suggestions as to the Mode of commencing Collector, the Selection of Specimens, the Prices and Care of Prints: also, Notices of the Marks of Proprietorship used by Collectors: Remarks on the ancient and modern Practice of the Art: and a* Catalogue-raisonné *of Books on Engravings and Prints.* Small Quarto. London: Saunders and Otley. 1844.

2. *The Art of Engraving, with the various Modes of Operation: illustrated with Specimens of the different Styles of Engraving.* By T. H. Fielding. London: Ackerman. 1841.

THE 'Print Collector' is a pleasing, and in some respects, an instructive book, but passing rather too superficially for real use, over a subject, which demands more than most others, accurate and distinct exemplification. The simple question—What is it that constitutes a good print? appeals to a degree and quality of skill attained by few; implying a readiness and certainty of judgment, neither very commonly possessed, nor very easily put into language when the possessor may be called upon for definition. There is little difficulty in stating these facts: we may point to dexterities of execution, to lines and intersections

of great beauty and effect, to harmonious and expressive combinations, yet in all this there may be a very meagre amount of clear and definite explanation. The terms of our exposition may be correct and explicit, involving sound principle and just criticism, and they may be perfectly intelligible to the initiated, but they are caviare to the million, and not to the million only, but to not a few who have given, it may be, the best part of a life to the study of graphic art. The truth is, we believe, that up to a certain point, it is easy enough to obtain knowledge about these matters, but beyond it there is required, in addition to a sharp and sure discrimination, somewhat, if not of direct practice, of conversance, at least, with those to whom the processes are familiar.

Dilettanti are a numerous family; expert in the small talk of collectorship, adepts in the mysteries of proofs and 'states,' infallible in knowledge of the minutest variations to which a plate may have been subjected in the course of its 'eventful history,' but too often grievously deficient in all that lies without this contracted circle. Such skill as this is cheap enough; a little reading; much poring, with armed eye, over etchings and engravings; the average quantum of gossiping in sale-rooms and print-shops; a catalogue acquaintance with the principal collections; such a course of discipline as this, in combination with a reasonable proportion of self-confidence, will richly furnish forth an accomplished connoisseur. The *artistic* study of these things is an altogether different and more arduous affair, and every really instructive dissertation on the subject must keep this steadily in view. To know not only what is to be admired, but why we are to admire; not merely to give details, but to assign reasons; to evolve principle from experiment, both in success and failure;—in such a mode of treatment there might be some chance of acquiring knowledge for which we do not at present know exactly where to look.

The volume in our hands travels lightly and pleasantly enough along the high road of art graphical: miscellaneous observations on print-collecting—illustrative anecdotes, not very new, nor quite correctly told; Michael Angelo and his mutilated Cupid, Payne Knight, and Pistrucci—classification and modes of graving—selection of prints, peculiarities, accidents, tricks—prices, auction-room, Niellos, and their discovery by Zani—limits and characteristics of a collection—care and keeping of prints—collecting miscellanies, false proofs—bibliography. This may not be a very systematic arrangement, but it is at least sufficiently comprehensive both for instruction and amusement, and it will be found to contain something of the first, with more of the latter. The precise proportion of each may perhaps be more

clearly illustrated by a few desultory remarks than by a compact dissertation. We have referred to a want of correctness in our author's anecdotic narrations, and we give the following, both as an instance of this defect, and as an example of the calamities to which the self-confident are exposed.

'Hudson, the portrait painter, the master of Sir Joshua, was so fortunate as to obtain a fine impression of the very rare etching by Rembrandt, called the coach landscape. On occasion of this acquisition he gave a supper to his amateur friends at which to display his purchase. Benjamin Wilson, his brother painter, who had a good judgment in this branch of art, and knew that Hudson had very little, though affecting great enthusiasm for it, amused himself at his expense. He etched a plate in the style of Rembrandt, and sent an impression to Paris, and circulated a report at home that there had been discovered in France a print by Rembrandt, hitherto unknown, and apparently a companion to the coach landscape; that money had been offered for it for the king's collection, but the proprietor meant to bring it to England for sale. Hudson hereupon, to anticipate his English friends, hasted over to Paris and bought the print. On his return he collected all his amateur friends in London to a second supper, given specially for the purpose of receiving their congratulations, and which he received accordingly. Very shortly after this, the whole of the same party, and Hudson with them, were invited to a supper at Wilson's. When all were introduced to the supper-table, every plate was found turned down, and on the guests lifting them, behold under every one appeared an impression of the unhappy companion of the coach landscape, and under Hudson's plate lay the money that he had paid to Wilson's confederate in Paris for the purchase.'

This anecdote is neither well nor accurately given. It is true in the main fact, but all the circumstances are either gratuitous or exaggerated, and by much too ornamental for the somewhat rough and coarse habits of the parties concerned. There was no correspondence with Paris, nothing said of a tempting offer from the *Bibliotheque Royale*, nor of a contemplated voyage to the English El Dorado, in quest of a wealthy and witless purchaser. Hudson was much less of a gull than the 'print-collector' makes him, and his speculation came rather more within the limits of prudence and probability, than appears in the present version.

The print lies before us, having been some twenty or thirty years in our possession. It has the stamped initials M. R. (Michael Rysbrack, we believe), and is pencil-marked with the significant monosyllable 'scarce,' whether correctly or not we cannot say. It is, obviously enough, an imitation of Rembrandt, but with so little of Rembrandtesque feeling or execution, that a very moderate degree of critical usage should have sufficed to put a purchaser on his guard. In the upper part, to the left, is

etched the following inscription, which disposes, quite satisfactorily, of the high value set upon the print and, with it, of the trip to Paris. 'A proof-print from this plate, designed and etched by B. Wilson, was sold as a verry fine Rembrandt, to one of the greatest connoisseurs for six shillings, the 17th April, 1751.' The simple truth of the affair is, we believe, that the 'connoisseur' was accustomed to give himself absurd airs on the strength of a rather doubtful discrimination in matters connected with the practice and history of engraving, and that Wilson determined to bring his skill and science to the test of actual experiment. The plate was etched, an impression laid in the way, eagerly purchased and triumphantly exhibited. Wilson followed up his success by inviting a party, the connoisseur inclusive, to supper, when, on removing the cover of the centre dish, it exhibited a sirloin, profusely ornamented with impressions from the 'verry fine Rembrandt.' We remember to have seen, many years since, another etching, by the same hand and with the same mischievous intent, of a *head*, with a nearly similar epigraph, but differing in price and date. Our own recollection of particulars is not very distinct, but from a reference to Edwards's 'Anecdotes of Painting,' it appears that the sum given for this worthless imposture was *two guineas*—a startling amount certainly, but very far from sustaining the circumstances of the 'print collector' legend.

The work before us touches lightly on the various and sometimes rather ingenious deceptions that are, or at least have been, practised in all departments of the profession, from the engraver, who gives his name to a copper that he has not even scratched, or the printer, who secures his own allotment of earliest impressions, to the trader, who writes 'proof' on a retouched plate; but we feel it hardly expedient, even in the cause of art, to meddle with matters affecting individual character, and it may be sufficient to suggest that, though a fair degree of knowledge and caution may generally suffice to keep a collector clear of gross imposition, in all doubtful matters he will do wisely to take counsel, and wiselier still to supersede the expediency of asking advice, by abstaining altogether from any speculation on which there lies the shadow of a doubt.

Print collecting must, of course, be somewhat expensive, but it need not be extravagant. A very fair and instructive collection, if skilfully and slowly got together, may be made at comparatively low cost. Some of the richest specimens of the graver are, for instance, to be found among portraits, and these are generally of easy purchase. They do not display the higher and more difficult combinations of art, and they may be of little personal interest, but as engravings they are frequently of the

greatest excellence, and exhibit the finest examples of the master's skill.

The 'Art of Engraving,' though not sufficiently minute and extended in detail for uses strictly practical, is clearly written and pleasantly illustrated; as an amateur's manual, it will furnish him with satisfactory information on all the usual processes of the different styles of engraving.

Art. V. *Mary Schweidler, The Amber Witch: the most interesting trial for witchcraft ever known Printed from an imperfect manuscript by her father, Abraham Schweidler, the pastor of Coserow in the island of Usedom.* Edited by W. Meinhold, Doctor of Theology, and Pastor, &c. Translated from the German by Lady Duff Gordon. London: John Murray.

The Sadducees, we are told, said 'that there was neither angel nor spirit,' and some such unbelievers, in public profession and broad daylight, there have always been; but we very much question whether this scepticism stood the test of solitude and darkness. The fancies which are easily shaken off by day will take no denial of access to the mind when they gather amidst the shadows of the evening, while our senses—not to be implicitly relied on in the sunshine—do little else then than fable with us, calling up and creating vague but ominous shapes and sounds, in the silence and remoteness from human help and companionship. The universality of this experience shows that it springs from the constitution of our being, since the records of every age and nation may be cited in its proof. The people of all lands, under the widest possible diversity of social union and improvement, have been irresistibly led into the recognition of other than the visible agencies of the world, and have referred events, the causes of which were beyond their knowledge, to the influence and operation of such agencies. It is true, the fictitious impersonation varies, but the belief embodied remains, and, the forms assumed by it, can be accounted for only on the hypothesis of a revelation, in the very earliest ages, to the purport of the biblical representation, which the genius of different nations has diversified into the tales so universally current. The ancient mythology peopled hills and forests and the caverns of the sea with inferior divinities; and when the religion of the state was changed, they retained under other names their places in the popular imagination. Many of the so called 'Fathers' of the Christian church never questioned the existence of fauns and

satyrs, lemurs and lares, but recognized in them so many incarnations or rather transformations of that fallen host which their scriptures affirmed had been cast down from heaven, and of whose expulsion some memorials, derived by direct tradition, or traced in the light reflected and re-reflected from Israelitish sources, were preserved in the legendary overthrow of the Titans. Nor did they conceive that such appearances were of the past only. Some of themselves had not unfrequently been visited and assailed by Satan, though we must believe—since their account of the conflict is the sole one extant—that they invariably came off victorious. Their successors in the church, it is clear, were of that opinion, for on the strength of such exploits they filled the calendar with sainted names; and thus, in place of discrediting diabolical appearances, they created to themselves an opposing host, endowed with like facilities and habits of interaction among men.

How far the Adversary may have been suffered to deceive the nations with signs and wonders of this particular kind, we know not. Yet the remark is obvious, that, had it been permitted of old, there is no reason in the nature of things why it should not be so now. If it were consistent with the laws of the spiritual economy and physical world in those days, it would be in our own; and, granting the fact of his personal intercourse with men, surely the meanest of evil intelligences, and much more that proud spirit who led principalities and powers in revolt, would have scorned the ridiculous annoyances ascribed to him by these testifyers to his presence, even had his tremendous purpose of final ruin admitted of jesting. Equally out of character, if we may use the phrase, were the contracts which in more modern times he was supposed to enter into with witches, who, by the surrender of soul and body, obtained from him superhuman power to work mischief. The servitude of an apostate spirit were a needless bribe to betray to perdition such hungerers after evil. Yet what higher doctrine could be looked for among the people, after the long rule and sacramental salvation of the church of Rome*. If the absolution of a priest were valid, and the reception of the eucharist an infallible passport to heaven, no wonder that the Evil One demanded a legal bond—a formal and open surrender. It must have been after all a hazardous speculation on his part, when payment could be so easily evaded in the very hour of its falling due.

Confessions of witchcraft have been urged as evidence of the

* The witch-panics in protestant countries have occurred at just about that interval after the era of Reformation, when the new doctrine of malign agency, absolutely transcending sacerdotal or saintly restraint, might be expected to be working its way into practical belief and imaginative influence among the lowest of the people.

reality of the crime; but, setting aside those wrung out by torture, it may be remarked, in abatement of the authority of the rest, that there have always been individuals whose first desire was power, who delighted in the homage of their neighbours, from whatever motive yielded; that there have ever been, the envious and revengeful prone to utterances of spleen and invocations of evil. These would look and say significant things when that evil came to pass; they would incur all the penalties of hatred if only they might be feared; and it is no more than the natural result of the laws of habit and association that they should come in the course of time to believe themselves possessed of the powers attributed to or assumed by them: while in reference to others, again, condemned under manifestly false accusation, there would be nothing strange if, maddened by such gross injustice, they grasped at the faculties of vengeance which it was insisted they could exercise, and concentrated their indignation and despair into some wild and terrible form of anathema.

During the middle ages, however, to have thrown out doubts of the possibility or of the actual fact of contracts with Satan, would have been accounted downright atheism. Credence in them was part of the religion of the time, it carried captive the strongest and subtlest intellects; and though since then the discoveries of science have been continually narrowing and removing further away the frontier of the inexplicable, the mysterious, the supernatural; and, at the same time working a wide change in men's ideas of what does really lie across the boundary of that land of shadows; though causes once regarded as ultimate are found to be but proximate, and a few general laws are held sufficient to account for results formerly supposed to demand individual and tutelary superintendence; the very same belief is still strong in many parts of the continent, and lingers here and there in some nooks and corners of our own land.

Laws have been in force against witchcraft all over Europe, and many have suffered by them for that crime, upon evidence of the most preposterous kind. Here in England, acquittal has been made to depend upon floating or sinking in a pool, on ability to repeat without slip or omission, the Lord's prayer; or on out-weighing the great church Bible; and the tale before us, is founded on events of a corresponding character, which occurred, as is matter of historical record, in Pomerania, two hundred years ago.

It opens abruptly in the midst of the Thirty Years War. A party of Imperialists have sacked the village of Coserow, in an island of the Baltic; and its pastor, the recorder of the narrative, his daughter Mary its heroine, and his old maid servant

Ilse, are introduced as in great want and perplexity, living from day to day upon the charity of the few remaining parishioners, themselves in little better plight. A second incursion of the troops drives them out into the caverns and hiding places of the Streckelberg mountain, where they subsist upon fieldfares caught in the bushes, likened by the old pastor to the quails in the wilderness, and on berries. The style has a German homeliness and quaintness, but it is unaffected—full of minute touches intended to mark out the gentleness, graceful innocence (with a dash of feminine vanity), and self denial of Mary Schweidler; and the contrasted discontent, envy, and hatefulness of one Lizzie Kolken a reputed witch. The incidents hang so closely together, and are so interlinked in one way or other with the result, as to make fitting selection within the limits which we can afford, a work of unusual difficulty, but we must give one specimen of this part of the story, premising that the pastor has taught his only child Latin and Greek:

'When I awoke next morning, just as the blessed sun rose out of the sea and peeped over the mountain, I heard my poor hungry child already standing outside the cave, reciting the beautiful verses about the joys of paradise which St. Augustine wrote and I had taught her. She sobbed for grief as she spoke the words:

'Uno pane vivunt cives utriusque patriæ
Avidi et semper pleni, quod habent desiderant
Non *satietas* fastidit, neque fames cruciat
Inhiantes semper edunt, et edentes inhiant
Flos perpetuus rosarum ver agit perpetuum,
Candent lilia, rubescit crocus, sudat balsamum,
Virent prata, vernant sata, rivi mellis influunt
Pigmentorum spirat odor liquor et aromatum,
Pendent poma floridorum non lapsura nemorum
Non alternat luna vices, sol vel cursus syderum
Agnus est fœlicis urbis lumen inocciduum.'*

At these words my heart was melted; and when she ceased from speaking, I asked, 'What art thou doing, my child?' Whereupon she answered, 'Father I am eating.' Thereat my tears now indeed began to flow, and I praised her for feeding her soul, as she had no meat for her body. I had not, however, spoken long, before she cried to me to come and look at the great wonder that had risen out of the sea, and

* The following version is from the pen of a friend.—TRANS.

'In that far land the citizens all share one equal bread,
And keep desire and hunger still, although to fulness fed;
Unwearied by satiety, unracked by hunger's strife,
The air they breathe is nourishment, and spiritual life!
Around them, bright with endless Spring, perpetual roses bloom;
Warm balsams gratefully exude luxurious perfume;
Red crocuses, and lilies white, shine dazzling in the sun;
Green meadows yield them harvests green, and streams with honey run;
Unbroken droop the laden boughs, with heavy fruitage bent,
Of incense and of odours strange the air is redolent;
And neither sun, nor moon, nor stars, dispense their changeful light,
But the Lamb's eternal glory makes the happy city bright!'

already appeared over the cave. For behold a cloud, in shape just like a cross, came over us, and let great heavy drops, as big or bigger than large peas, fall on our heads, after which it sank behind the coppice. I presently arose, and ran up the mountain with my daughter to look after it. It floated on towards the Achterwater, where it spread itself out into a long blue streak, whereon the sun shone so brightly that it seemed like a golden bridge, on which as my child said, the blessed angels danced. I fell on my knees with her, and thanked the Lord that our cross had passed away from us; but alas! our cross was yet to come, as will be told hereafter.'—p. 10.

The famine increases and they are brought to the verge of starvation, when one afternoon, the daughter while seeking blackberries on the Streckelberg, finds a vein of amber, by the sale of fragments from which they obtain more than enough for their present necessities, and are able to 'feed all the congregation.' We should observe, that the father charges his daughter for various reasons to keep their good fortune secret, and does not scruple to meet untimely questioning with a falsehood. This is out of keeping with his character and office; and, though it is, true the concealment costs them dear eventually, the lesson to be learnt is one of which the writer is apparently unconscious.

Wittich von Appelmann, the district-sheriff, a man of licentious life, to whom in his sore need the pastor had ventured to apply for some long outstanding first fruits, and who had scornfully denied him any help, accidentally catches sight of Mary Schweidler as he rides past to a wolf hunt, and in this way his plot against her begins:

'Next day came old Seden his squint-eyed wife, limping like a lame dog, and put it to my daughter whether she would not go into the service of the sheriff; praised him as a good and pious man; and vowed that all the world said of him were foul lies, as she herself could bear witness, seeing that she had lived in his service for above ten years. *Item*, she praised the good cheer they had there, and the handsome beer-money that the great lords who often lay there gave the servants which waited upon them; that she herself had more than once received a rosenoble from his princely highness Duke Ernest Ludewig; moreover, many pretty fellows came there, which might make her fortune, inasmuch as she was a fair woman, and might take her choice of a husband; whereas here in Coserow, where nobody ever came, she might wait till she was old and ugly, before she got a curch on her head, &c. Hereat my daughter was beyond measure angered, and answered, 'Ah! thou old witch, and who has told thee that I wish to go into service, to get a curch on my head? Go thy ways, and never enter the house again, for I have naught to do with thee.' Whereupon she walked away again, muttering between her teeth.'—p. 45.

By various means the sheriff tries to win her to his will, or at least get her into his power, but finding his direct efforts fail, he uses more subtle means and seeks to fasten on her the re-

putation of a witch. This is at length, through the help of Lizzie Kolken, effected. One by one, friends and neighbours fall away, till even old Ilse, who had resisted their entreaties to leave them in the height of the famine, makes excuse to be gone. Mary is arrested under the sheriff's warrant, carried to his castle at Pudgla, where he again tempts her, and the next day, formally arraigned before her judges, 'his worship, Master Samuel Pieper, *consul dirigens*, and the *Camerarius*, Gebhart Wenzel,' the sheriff himself being the head of the court.

'After Dom. Consul had heaved a deep sigh, and gazed at her from head to foot, he first asked her name, and how old she was; *item*. if she knew why she was summoned before them? On the last point she answered that the sheriff had already told her father the reason; that she wished not to wrong any one, but thought that the sheriff himself had brought upon her the repute of a witch, in order to gain her to his wicked will. Hereupon she told all his ways with her, from the very first, and how he would by all means have had her for his housekeeper; and that when she would not (although he had many times come himself to her father his house), one day, as he went out of the door, he had muttered in his beard, 'I will have her, despite of all!' which their servant Claus Neels had heard, as he stood in the stable; and he had also sought to gain his ends by means of an ungodly woman, one Lizzie Kolken, who had formerly been in his service; that this woman, belike, had contrived the spells which they laid to her charge; she herself knew nothing of witchcraft; *item*, she related what the sheriff had done to her the evening before, when she had just come, and when he for the first time spoke out plainly, thinking that she was then altogether in his power.'—pp. 77—8.

After having replied to the accusations of bewitching cattle and crops, and declared the true origin of the sudden wealth of her father, the examination is thus recorded:

'*Questio*. Whether, then, she still maintained that she knew nothing of the devil?—*Responsio*. She maintained it now, and would maintain it until her life's end. *Q*. And nevertheless, as had been seen by witnesses, she had been re-baptized by him in the sea in broad daylight.—Here again she blushed, and for a moment was silent. *Q*. Why did she blush again? She should for God his sake think on her salvation, and confess the truth.—*R*. She had bathed herself in the sea, seeing that the day was very hot; that was the whole truth. *Q*. What chaste maiden would ever bathe in the sea? Thou liest; or wilt thou even yet deny that thou didst bewitch old Paasch his little girl with a white roll?—*R*. Alas! alas! She loved the child as though it were her own little sister; not only had she taught her as well as all the other children without reward, but during the heavy famine she had often taken the bit from her own mouth to put it into the little child's. How then could she have wished to do her such grievous harm? *Q*. Wilt thou even yet deny?—Reverend Abraham, how stubborn is your child! See here, is this no witches' salve, which the constable

ched out of thy coffer last night? Is this no witches' salve, eh?—
It was a salve for the skin, which would make it soft and white, as
: apothecary at Wolgast had told her, of whom she bought it.
Hereupon he shook his head, and went on: How! wilt thou
:n lastly deny that on this last Saturday the 10th July at twelve
lock at night, thou didst on the Streckelberg call upon thy paramour
: devil in dreadful words, whereupon he appeared to thee in the
ape of a great hairy giant, and clipped thee and toyed with thee?
these words she grew more pale than a corpse, and tottered so that
: was forced to hold by a chair; and I, wretched man, who would
ıdily have sworn away my life for her, when I saw and heard this,
r senses forsook me, so that I fell down from the bench, and *Dom.*
nsul had to call in the constable to help me up. * * * *Summa:* I should
ll nigh have perished in my distress, but for the little rose, which by
: help of God's mercy kept me up bravely, and now the whole court
se and exhorted my poor fainting child, by the living God, and as she
ıuld save her soul, to deny no longer, but in pity to herself and her
her to confess the truth. Hereupon she heaved a deep sigh, and
ew as red as she had been pale before, insomuch that even her hand
on the chair was like scarlet, and she did not raise her eyes from the
ound—*R.* She would now then confess the simple truth, as she saw
ht well that wicked people had stolen after and watched her at nights.
ıat she had been to seek for amber on the mountain, and that to drive
ay fear she had, as she was wont to do at her work, recited the Latin
rmen which her father had made on the illustrious king Gustavus
lolphus: when young Rüdiger of Nienkerken, who had oft-times been
her father's house and talked of love to her, came out of the coppice,
d when she cried out for fear, spoke to her in Latin, and clasped her
his arms. That he wore a great wolf's-skin coat, so that folks should
t know him if they met him, and tell the lord his father that he had
en on the mountain by night. At this her confession I fell into sheer
spair, and cried in great wrath, 'O thou ungodly and undutiful child,
ter all then thou hast a paramour! Did not I forbid thee to go up the
ountain by night? What didst thou want on the mountain by night?'
ıd I began to moan and weep and wring my hands, so that *Dom. Consul*
ven had pity on me, and drew near to comfort me. Meanwhile she herself
ame towards me, and began to defend herself, saying, with many tears,
hat she had gone up the mountain by night, against my commands, to
get so much amber that she might secretly buy for me, against my
birth-day, the *opera Sancti Augustini*, which the Cantor at Wolgast
wanted to sell. That it was not her fault that the young lord lay in
wait for her one night; and that she would swear to me, by the living
God, that naught that was unseemly had happened between them there,
and that she was still a maid.—pp. 83—5.

She is taken to the Streckelberg to point out the spot where the amber was discovered, but neither she nor her father is able to find it; a huge hill of sand having been heaped, as by a whirlwind, above what they believed to be the place. The superstitious prejudices of the judges are excited against the prisoner by a

storm which bursts over them on their way back to Pudgla, and there a far heavier trial awaits her. The old knight Hans von Nienkerken writes to the court, that his son utterly denies having met her on the mountain; and the consul, who goes himself to Mellinthal declares, that he saw the young nobleman who lay sick from vexation, and who in his presence, and with many imprecations on the witch, reiterated the denial. No wonder, that in the bitterness of her spirit she exclaims, 'Cursed be the man that trusteth in man.'

On the morrow the witnesses are examined, old Lizzie bearing chief but inconsistent testimony against her.

'Such contradictions amazed even *Dom. Consul*, and he began to threaten the old hag with the rack if she told such lies; whereupon she answered and said, 'List, then whether I lie! When she went naked into the water she had no mark on her body, but when she came out again I saw that she had between her breasts a mark the size of a silver penny, whence I perceived that the devil had given it her, although I had not seen him about her, nor indeed, had I seen any one, either spirit or child of man, for she seemed to be quite alone.'

This mark is found, and held to be an infallible token of guilt. In the formal defence of the advocate granted, whose whole bearing towards her is in admirable accordance with the spirit of those times, no mention is made of the sheriff's offers or plotting, as the advocate insists that it would be bad policy to accuse him, 'seeing that his cousin is a member of the central princely court,' to the revision of which the proceedings are about to be submitted. Its decree, therefore, is, that there is sufficient evidence of evil fame, of mischief openly committed, and of the appearance of Satan on the mountain to warrant her being put to the question. She is clothed in the black torture-shift, led barefoot before the tribunal, and again admonished to confess. She meekly asserts her innocence, and entreats their pity, but closes with this admonition, and in this faith: 'Do then as ye list, but have a care how ye will answer it to the highest judge of all. Again, I say, the lamb feareth nought, for it is in the hand of the Good Shepherd.'

At the command to the executioner to proceed, the father utters a terrible cry, and swoons; and overcome by her desire to spare him the sight of her sufferings, and by her own maidenly dread of the license of torture threatened, she declares her readiness to 'confess whatever they will.' The examination proceeds:

'*Questio.* Whether she could bewitch?—*Responsio.* Yes, she could bewitch. *Q.* Who taught her to do so?—*R.* Satan himself. *Q.* How many devils had she?—*R.* One devil was enough for her. *Q.* What was this devil called?—*Illa* (considering.) His name was *Disidæmonia.**

* Δεισιδαιμονία—Superstition.

'Hereat *Dom. Consul* shuddered and said, that that must be a very terrible devil indeed, for that he had never heard such a name before, and that she must spell it, so that *Scriba* might make no *error*; which she did, and he then went on as follows:

'*Q.* In what shape had he appeared to her?—*R.* In the shape of the sheriff, and sometimes as a goat with terrible horns. *Q.* Whether Satan had re-baptized her, and where?—*R.* In the sea. *Q.* What name had he given her?—*R.* ——.* Q. Whether any of the neighbours had been by when she was re-baptized, and which of them?—*R.* Hereupon my matchless child cast up her eyes towards Heaven, as though doubting whether she should fyle old Lizzie or not, but at last she said, No! *Q.* She must have had sponsors; who were they? and what gift had they given her as christening money?—*R.* There were none there save spirits; wherefore old Lizzie could see no one when she came and looked on at her re-baptism. *Q.* Whether she had ever lived with the devil?—*R.* She had never lived anywhere save in her father's house. *Q.* She did not choose to understand. He meant whether she had ever played the wanton with Satan, and known him carnally? Hereupon she blushed, and was so ashamed that she covered her face with her hands, and presently began to weep and to sob; and as, after many questions, she gave no answer, she was again admonished to speak the truth, or that the executioner should lift her up on the ladder again. At last she said, 'No!' which, howbeit the worshipful court would not believe, and bade the executioner seize her again, whereupon she answered 'Yes!' *Q.* Whether she had found the devil hot or cold?—*R.* She did not remember which. *Q.* Whether she had ever conceived by Satan, and given birth to a changeling, and of what shape?—*R.* No, never. *Q.* Whether the foul fiend had given her any sign or mark about her body, and in what part thereof?—*R.* That the mark had already been seen by the worshipful court.

'She was next charged with all the witchcraft done in the village, and owned to it all, save that she still said that she knew naught of old Seden, his death, *item*, of little Paasch, her sickness, nor, lastly, would she confess that she had, by the help of the foul fiend, raked up my crop, or conjured the caterpillars into my orchard. And albeit they again threatened her with the question, and even ordered the executioner to lay her on the bench and put on the thumb-screw to frighten her; she remained firm, and said, 'Why should you torture me, seeing that I have confessed far heavier crimes than these, which it will not save my life to deny.?''—pp. 119, 120.

To these questions, it is evident that she answers in another than the literal sense: the same force of objection, therefore, does not lie against this part of the tale, as against the denial of the amber-finding by her father. We are quite aware that offence may be taken on a different ground, historical fidelity having rendered necessary the record in this grave judicial shape of some things from which modern conventional delicacy shrinks;

* 'It was impossible to decipher this name in the MS.'

but there is a fastidiousness which is more nice than wise, or perhaps than pure, since extreme sensitiveness to what is by no means necessarily evil, only proves too familiar an acquaintance with the ways in which it may be made such.

We must pass over the sudden death of Lizzie Kolken and her full confession to the pastor, (which, in the absence of other witnesses, avails him nothing,) as also the chapter in which he is tempted by the sheriff, till he urges his daughter to accept his offers of deliverance and shame, and at her touching rebuke bewails his sin and begs her forgiveness, that we may come to the crisis of the story. A pile has been raised on the Streckelberg, whither the procession to execution sets out, accompanied by a great multitude. At sight of the flowers in the meadows, Mary repeats the Latin verses we have already quoted, and the crowd of revilers taking the words for an incantation, fall back. The very guard follow their example, when a tempest is seen labouring up from the Achterwater; so that in spite of the sheriff's threats and curses, they are left nearly alone:

'Meanwhile, however, the storm came up from the southward, with thunder, lightning, hail, and such a wind, as though the all-righteous God would manifest his wrath against these ruthless murderers; and the tops of the lofty beeches around us were beaten together like besoms, so that our cart was covered with leaves as with hail, and no one could hear his own voice for the noise. This happened just as we were entering the forest from the convent dam, and the sheriff now rode close behind us, beside the coach wherein was *Dom. Consul.* Moreover, just as we were crossing the bridge over the mill-race, we were seized by the blast, which swept up a hollow from the Achterwater with such force that we conceived it must drive our cart down the abyss, which was at least forty feet deep or more; and seeing, that, at the same time, the horses did as though they were upon ice, and could not stand, the driver halted to let the storm pass over, the which the sheriff no sooner perceived, than he galloped up and bade him go on forthwith. Whereupon the man flogged on the horses, but they slipped about after so strange a fashion, that our guards with the pitchforks fell back, and my child cried aloud for fear; and when we were come to the place where the great water-wheel turned just below us, the driver fell with his horse, which broke one of its legs. Then the constable jumped down from the cart, but straightway fell too, on the slippery ground; *item*, the driver, after getting on his legs again, fell a second time. Hereupon the sheriff, with a curse, spurred on his grey charger, which likewise began to slip as our horses had also done. Nevertheless, he came sliding towards us, without, however, falling down; and when he saw that the horse with the broken leg still tried to get up, but always straightway fell again on the slippery ground, he hallooed and beckoned the fellows with pitchforks to come and unharness the mare; *item*, to push the cart over the bridge, lest it should be carried down the precipice. Presently a long flash of lightning shot into the water below us, followed by a clap of

nder so sudden and so awful that the whole bridge shook, and the riff, his horse, (our horses stood quite still) started back a few paces, : its footing, and, together with its rider, shot headlong down upon great mill-wheel below, whereupon a fearful cry arose from all those t stood behind us on the bridge. For a while naught could be seen the white foam, until the sheriff, his legs and body, were borne up » the air by the wheel, his head being stuck fast between the fellies; t thus, fearful to behold, he went round and round upon the wheel. ught ailed the grey charger, which swam about in the mill-pond ew.'—p. 146.

They themselves, with great difficulty, cross the bridge. The ath of the sheriff only exasperates the mob, and the prisoner hurried forward to the foot of the mountain, and within sight the pile. But deliverance comes at last, and that by the ands of no other than young Rüdiger, of Nienkerken, who had en kept by force from bearing witness to the innocence of her om he loves, and his cousin laid in his bed by his father to ceive the judges.

We must refer our readers to the volume itself for the conclu-n—a little too story-like—of the tale. The entire narrative is markable—full of simplicity, tenderness, and truthfulness to ture: those who begin will be sure to finish it. In some minor ints the translation has too antique an air, but taken as a hole, we doubt whether any version, and we see several are ad-rtised, will equal Lady Duff Gordon's. The book is just ne of those best put into an English dress by a woman.

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rt. VI. *Lectures delivered at Broadmead Chapel, Bristol.* By John Foster. pp. 419. London: Jackson and Walford.

HESE lectures were not prepared for the press by their lamented uthor, but consist of his full and copious notes, containing he principal thoughts in the discourses as they were delivered om the pulpit. Nothing has been done by the editor beyond he arrangement of the paragraphs, the punctuation, and the ldition of a word occasionally to complete the sense. It would e absurd to suppose that the lectures as they thus appear, are good as they would have been, if published by the author. o man writes for the pulpit as he would for the press, or would oose to have printed what he had preached, without correction d improvement. As a general rule, therefore, we are no ends to the publication of what even great men may happen leave in a state which *may do* for publication. Except in rticular cases, we think the right of a man to appear only in e dress which he himself would have approved, ought to be

recognised and acted upon; and the history of posthumous works is not such as to evince the policy of its general violation. The verdict of the living agrees with what would doubtless be, could it be heard, the voice of the dead. At the same time we consider the lectures before us an exception to the rule which we might wish to lay down. The character of Mr. Foster's mind, and the state of completeness in which he left these lectures, to say nothing of more general considerations, supply a full justification of the editor in presenting them to the public. They will not lessen, if they do not increase, the reputation of the great man, of whose preaching they are nearly the only extant specimens.

To those familiar with his writings it is unnecessary to describe the contents of this volume. Those who have attentively read his reviews must have formed a tolerably correct conception of the general characteristics of the lectures, for though lectures and reviews are, in many respects necessarily very different things, they must bear to some extent, the same intellectual features, and reveal the same moral and religious principles, especially when the author possesses such mental qualities, and such views of truth and goodness, as Mr. Foster. It has indeed been objected to him that he mixed the preacher too much with the critic, and composed his reviews in the spirit of sectarianism, simply because of the decision and consistency with which he applied his rule of christian principles and moral duty, to the characters and subjects that were brought before him. The reproach will be esteemed a eulogy by all who are not prepared to regard revealed and ethical truth, as things of merely doubtful speculation, or to treat matters of the highest concern to men as they would not treat matters of simple taste or science. Mr. Foster *had* a faith—he believed in God, and also in Christ—but unless the application of its broadest outlines, and most essential elements to the views and actions of men, be a token of narrowmindedness and bigotry, unbefitting a reviewer, no man was further from the reproach than he. But the principles which he dared not to deny, or conceal as a critic, he naturally brought out more prominently and minutely as a lecturer, and thus reached the standard by which he so often, and with so just a severity, tried the discourses of others. The reproof he had dealt out to unfaithful 'stewards of the mysteries of God' could never provoke the retort, 'Physician, heal thyself!'

But our readers need not be told that he who would expect to find in Mr. Foster's lectures anything like a complete system of evangelical doctrine, or a constant presentation of a few of its leading principles, will be disappointed. Apart from the fact that they were delivered before a select audience already well

grounded in the faith, there were causes to insure such disappointment in the habits and settled convictions of his mind. He did not impeach the wisdom of God, by supposing that the greatest portion of his revelation should be neglected; he did not imagine that the simplicity of the gospel meant its having but one doctrine; nor did he think that to 'preach Christ' was any other than to preach christianity. He presumed that those who constantly heard the truth might be considered as knowing it, and that the exercise of faith was not necessarily accompanied by loss of memory. He judged that to require a perpetual repetition of first principles, only proved that even they were not understood; and, that he who loves most the divine system will be most solicitous to leave no part of it unexplored. We cannot say that he always gave that strictly evangelical complexion to his subject, which the peculiar nature and relations of evangelical truth seem to us to require; but this was partly owing to the disgust which his mind received from the common methods of presenting it. There are few men who act by any principle, precisely as they would act if that principle were not foolishly and extravagantly applied by others, not to say that such application may require as well as suggest a different treatment of it by him who would bestow it to its right place and uses. Mr. Foster would perhaps have preached more of what is exclusively, and *therefore* erroneously called 'gospel,' if others had preached less of it; and his not preaching more of it was the execution of his purpose as a reformer, rather than the gratification of his taste as a divine. But if he was not always 'laying again the foundation,' like some, that foundation was laid, and laid well, and all who do not confound sense with sound, will recognise its essential connection with all the great views he developed of man, of Providence, and of God.

Mr. Foster was a Christian philosopher. Faith, with him, was the highest reason. Bowing with profound reverence to the intimations of revelation, 'receiving the kingdom of God as a little child,' he yet did not consider christianity as containing disclosures unlike, though superior, to 'what may be known of God' elsewhere, and believed it to express and confirm, not to deny and quench, the dictates of human consciousness. He therefore applied his mind to the *study* of christianity, he *thought* upon religion, rightly reckoning, that, if the Christ be represented as the divine logos, and if 'all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge be hidden' in the mystery that God hath revealed to men, the homage due to the gospel is that of the utmost exercise of the intellect upon its disclosures. He was not afraid of thinking lest he should think amiss, nor imagined that mental quiescence could consist with spiritual light. And

[illegible] he was an intellectual believer, he was an intellectual [illegible], disdaining the senseless prejudice of men who act as [illegible] condemnation extended to 'philosophy,' truly 'so [illegible] and who take too literally the direction to become [illegible] in order to be wise. He '*reasoned* concerning the faith [illegible]' and esteemed everything interesting and useful in [illegible] A bald and meagre repetition of truth, he knew, [illegible] nothing, and he therefore looked with an inquiring [illegible] mind on universal nature and providence. To [illegible] the truth in every way, he received it in every way. [illegible] there was no knowledge, or grace, or power, that [illegible] be rendered subservient to his great aim, and as 'all [illegible] made for Christ,' he deemed it his duty and privi[illegible] all to the illustration and enforcement of his [illegible] supremely on reaching the inner man, he dis[illegible] of access to the understanding, conscience, and [illegible] attainment he believed might be an instru[illegible] know more was the way to preach better. Seek[illegible] all, and remove the prejudices of all, he con[illegible] to emulate such an one as Paul, who could [illegible] religion in the Areopagus, and discourse on [illegible] synagogue, could silence Jews with the law, and [illegible] heathen with one of their own prophets or poets. [illegible] nature had to him a meaning, every truth of [illegible] upon his path. In events and facts, that to [illegible] such, he could discern expressive symbols, and [illegible] universal laws. Things trifling in them[illegible] to be momentous in their relations, becaus[illegible] and man, and much that others might reject [illegible] he employed as the feather that wings th[illegible]

[illegible] and deeply Mr. Foster thought upon chris[illegible] profess to 'know all mysteries.' No one [illegible] the pursuit of religious truth without meeting w[illegible] further advancement. Indeed, the mo[illegible] knows of this, as of other things, the deeper is his imp[illegible] an infinitude lies beyond him. Hence the true div[illegible] as well as the true philosopher, has ever been a humble n[illegible] It is the superficial thinker who supposes he can reveal [illegible] secrets that have been hid from the beginning of the w[illegible] The history of our own times abounds with evidences of [illegible] The novelties of theological speculation produced with a pom[illegible] profession of their ability to 'remove mountains' of diffic[illegible] (and if in this case 'faith' were all that were necessary, [illegible] profession would be well sustained,) evince only the ignor[illegible] possessed by their originators of the real nature of those dif[illegible]

and the real solution required by them. Something may been done to improve the mode of setting forth certain ıs, but beyond that the impediments to their visible recon- ıion are much the same as they were in the days of Augus- and Pelagius, of Paul and James. Mr. Foster had too a perception of their nature and force to have much faith ıe efficacy of any system to remove them. He had his logical preferences, doubtless, but the things which he pre- d were commended to his mind, rather by the fact that did not misrepresent the clear, than by the fact that they dated the obscure. The great moral problems which ent philosophers had essayed to solve in vain, and which sacred writers did not essay to solve at all, he did not sup- to be solved by the theories of modern theologians, ries characterised for the most part by their selection of ı, and not by their explanation of the whole, of the divine sel. Hence, there are no curious and presumptuous npts in his lectures to make all things plain, no splitting of ı, no pretensions to the honour of a revealer of secrets, no exclamations of—'I have found it, I have found it!' He these things to less men, and busied himself rather with plain and palpable verities of truth.* Indeed, one of the most ing features in these lectures, is the constant and earnest t to affect the souls of his hearers. He seems to have been r without the consciousness that he was addressing beings momentous nature, who had a personal and immortal in- st in what he was delivering, who could not afford merely culate, but whose vital good was inseparable from 'doing truth.' He had too much respect for God, and men, to avour to produce impression by artifice and fraud, and he too much faith to require them. Without the tricks of a ious eloquence which he despised, or the affectation of deep ibility, which he despised still more, he pursued the highest of human teaching. He distinguished between spiritual nism, and spiritual life, and therefore was content with nce on the power of the facts which he knew to be living ties; and, above all, on the grace of that blessed Spirit, who works in connection with his own truth. And therefore, ver little there may be of the common-places of pulpit de- ation, however sedulous the exclusion of the whole system chnicality and cant, the heart is almost compelled to owledge that 'these things are so,' and to bow with reve-

* short extract from his notice of Dr. Ryland will be interesting in this —'But we have understood, and deem it a remarkable and honourable hat, as he advanced into old age, he became less tenacious of any extra arity of system, displayed a more free and varied action of mind, and ore practical and impressive.'

rence to facts, however ready to reject mere forms. The things of God, of his law, of the world to come, are not distant objects, but present powers; the truth is not an opinion, but a message; the judgment is an inward process, not an outward scene; and eternity is not so much the successor, as the contemporary, of time. We hardly know where we could find combined so great an amount of personal spiritual application of the truth, with such an intellectual mode of treating it.

Our readers are perhaps aware of the circumstances in which these lectures were delivered. We have a purpose in referring to them. 'In the year 1822,' says the editor, 'Mr. Foster, in compliance with the earnest request of some intimate friends, commenced the delivery of the lectures, from which the following are selected, once every fortnight (the months of July and August excepted), and continued them, though latterly at longer intervals, till the close of 1825. His auditory consisted of persons belonging to various religious communities in Bristol, most of whom had long known and appreciated his writings. With such a class of hearers, Mr. Foster felt himself warranted to take a wider range of subjects, and to adopt a more varied and elaborate style of illustration, than in addressing a promiscuous congregation.' This account has realized, in some degree, an idea which we have long entertained. There is too much preaching, and not enough teaching, in christian congregations. The elements of religion are treated faithfully and forcibly, but sufficient means are not adopted to advance and perfect hearers in the knowledge of the gospel. And there are serious objections to any general introduction of very much profounder views, and a much more intellectual style, into the common ministrations of the sanctuary. The greater part of most congregations consists, necessarily, of persons with defective notions, or no notions at all, upon the most important subjects; and, it is no part of wisdom, or charity, to leave them in their ignorance, or error, for the sake of enlarging and maturing the faith of more established and better instructed men. What is wanted, it strikes us, and greatly wanted too, is something which shall provide for the edification of the wise, without any neglect of the foolish, which shall enable the preacher to furnish strong meat for those who are strong, while the babes in Christ have the requisite supply of a milder nutriment. Special services constitute one method by which this want may be supplied; and we do not know that a church, or several churches, could do much better than secure the labours of an able minister, for the express purpose of training and perfecting their intellect in the mystery of the gospel. The character of the times demands a high order of religious knowledge, and without a plurality of

pastors, there can scarcely be the leisure and calmness on the part of the ministry which are necessary to its provision. If the thinking portion of our congregations could be led by profound minds into the study of the deeper and more difficult departments of Christian truth, by means of discourses prepared elaborately, and in a quiet undisturbed by the incessant call of pastoral duties, and public engagements, there can be no doubt that the highest interests of the cause of religion would be powerfully promoted.

The volume before us contains twenty-seven lectures, of which the subjects are the following:—The New Year. The Supreme Attachment due to Spiritual Objects. The Self-discipline suitable to certain Mental States. The Right Mode of giving and receiving Reproof. On combining Watchfulness and Prayer. Characteristics of vain Thoughts. Corrections of vain Thoughts. Spiritual Freedom produced by Knowledge of the Truth. On Formality and Remissness in Prayer. The Season of Spring, and its Moral Analogies. The Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. On Sober-mindedness. False Grounds of Superiority in Holiness. Fallacies operating against Earnestness in Religion. Earnestness in Religion Enforced. The Uses and Perversions of Conscience. The Autumn, and its Moral Analogies. Elijah's Sacrifice, and the Priests of Baal. The Winter, and its Moral Analogies. The End of the Year. On Negro Slavery. The Comprehensiveness of the Divine Law. The Necessity and Right Method of Self-examination. Christ, though Invisible, the Object of Devout Affection. Noah and the Deluge. Our Ignorance of our Future Mode of Existence. The Christian Doctrine of the Perfectibility of Man. Our readers cannot but observe the thoroughly practical character of these subjects. They are things that come home to 'men's business and bosoms.' The doctrines enforced are immensely important, drawn from texts plain and familiar. There is no instance of what is so common in these days of sound and show, instead of sense and substance—no ingenious reasoning employed to prove what it matters just nothing whether it can be proved or not—no laboured effort to extract a meaning out of a passage which might be found without any effort in a dozen other passages, as if the importance of a truth depended on the difficulty of getting at it—no attempts to discover great mysteries in a figure or a word, as if the work of the minister were to emulate the tricks of the conjuror or harlequin. Mr. Foster could not desecrate 'that awful place, the pulpit,' by having recourse to such methods of exciting ignorant wonder, or gratifying an unhealthy taste. His aim was solemn, his means were awful. He used his powers, not in finding or making odd

subjects, but illustrating important though familiar ones. He sought to 'glorify' the truth, as the Spirit is said to glorify Christ, by showing *what it is.*

Another feature in the subjects selected is, that many of them have not only to do with truth, but with truth as represented and symbolized by particular seasons. Spring, Autumn, Winter, The New Year, The End of the Year, are appealed to for the purpose of illustrating the sentiments of Christianity, the facts of personal history, and the processes of moral consciousness. This is very important. We have long thought that a great defect commonly attaches to the ministrations of the pulpit in connection with this. Truth is not treated as it is in God's works, nor indeed as it is in God's word. For one of the most striking characteristics of the biblical style, is its honour and its use of the familiar objects and occurrences of nature. The whole world is made a temple of God, full not only of the signs of his presence, but the symbols of his truth. The God of the heavens and the earth, is the same as the God of the church. His physical operations and his spiritual influences have one end, and belong to one system. Christ is the head of 'all things.' 'The world is ours.' In neglecting the glories and beauties of the outward creation, and the common proceedings of social life, a great advantage is lost, and a great despite done to the Father of all. The strongest and tenderest sympathies of men are not sanctified, as they might be, to the highest purposes, while the perfect methods of the all-wise teacher are accounted nought. But this neglect is but one indication of a general evil. That evil consists in the habit of separating Christianity from all other things, as if it belonged to a different providence, were regulated by different laws, had no connections and no analogies with the ten thousand forms and powers of the divine proceeding. Religion is dissociated from humanity. Men have, when they enter the church, to denude themselves of common affections and common feelings, as if they were the 'shoes' forbidden to be worn on 'holy ground.' The preacher is a 'priest' of the 'order of Melchizedeck, without father and without mother.' He has little in common with his hearers, does not enter into their inner life, does not win their confidence and sympathy, for he speaks like an oracle instead of feeling like a man. The result of all this is unspeakably disastrous. But when truth shall be preached, not with scholastic stiffness, but Christian grace; when men shall drink thoroughly into the free and universal spirit of Jesus, there will be a very different scene, and a very different success. Mr. Foster, with all his intellect, went far towards the realization of what we think should be, and indeed it is the feeblest,

not the most powerful minds, that are least able and least disposed to do so.

In conclusion, we counsel our readers to obtain these Lectures. If Mr. Foster has done greater things, in many respects he has not done better. They are not finished compositions, but they are eminently suggestive of original and wholesome thoughts. They are what might be expected as the discourses, not designed for publication, of a man who never preached without study, and never studied without fruit. They breathe the spirit of earnest religion, and the spirit of human pathos. And few who have admired the author as an essayist and a reviewer, will be disappointed by the specimens they furnish of him as 'a faithful minister of Jesus Christ.'

Art. VI. *The Patriot.* July 22nd, 1844.

BETWEEN the independent republic of Hayti, and the coast of Florida, lie a singular group of islands and coral reefs, called the Bahamas. They amount in all to several hundreds, and stretch away from Hayti in a crescent form, over a distance of six hundred miles. A few only of these islands are inhabited. The people are poor, gaining their livelihood by making salt, and aiding distressed vessels; but they are distinguished by all those noble and generous feelings common to the negro race.

At the close of the American war, those proprietors of land in the American colonies who had taken the side of the English government, were compelled to leave the States, and received grants of land in the West India Islands. Many of them settled in the Bahamas; and, among the slaves they brought with them, were several pious men, who, though illiterate, kept up in their new settlements the forms of religious worship, and waited prayerfully and patiently for some one to teach them the 'way of God more perfectly.' Their little light was kept burning with extreme difficulty, as all around, both the black and the white population, were sunk in gross ignorance and superstition. Early in 1833, Mr. Burton, an agent at that time of the Baptist Missionary Society, embarked at Port Royal, in Jamaica, for the Bahamas, and landed after a few days sail at Nassau. He was most cordially received by the clergymen, and the Wesleyan Missionaries; the latter of whom had been proposing among themselves to solicit such a visit. The governor

avowed 'his thankfulness that ministers of the gospel should go thither and undertake so important and arduous a work:' the only missionaries there being occupied in instructing the white inhabitants, and the 'respectable coloured people.' As the fruit of the labours which Mr. Burton began, there are now in about twelve principal islands, thirty churches with upwards of 2000 members: while there are 1500 children in the schools. In fact, in most of the islands the great body of the people are under the instruction of the agents of the Wesleyan, or Baptist Missionary Societies. Such was the origin, and such is the present state of a mission, which has been recently thesce ne of a gross outrage on the civil rights and religious liberties of the people. No circumstances can justify the conduct of which we complain, but an observer would suppose, that at least the sufferers must be a contemptible minority; or that they had thrust themselves into fields already pre-occupied by other religious labourers; or that they have the protection and remedies of British law. But no! It is the great body of the people who have been insulted. British magistrates, paid to judge righteously, are the wrong-doers; and it is a Christian minister who signalizes one of his earliest visits to Exuma by persecuting the members of the Baptist church—the only church on the island—for refusing to abandon those teachers who had been among their first and staunchest friends.

Some twelve months ago, the coral reefs in those western seas were formed into an archdeaconry, and the appointment was given to the Rev. Dr. Trew. This gentleman was favourably known in this country as the secretary of the African Civilization Society, and was esteemed as a pious and devoted man. He is now in the Bahamas, and may be supposed to have undergone no other change than is involved in the translation from a mastership in arts, and a rectory in a temperate climate, to a doctorate and archdeaconry in the tropics. One of his first acts was to form a Church Aid Society; a kind of agency that would be deserving of all praise, if its operations could be confined to destitute districts, and it took not more pleasure in making churchmen of Christians, than in making Christians of the heathen; an agency which is in its results and spirit one of the greatest plagues with which christianity has to contend. For what are the facts? Ten thousand out of the twenty thousand inhabitants of the Bahamas are identified with the Wesleyans and Baptists. An archdeacon is sent out; an evangelical man, doubtless, but one who thinks it quite consistent to refuse to recognize as ministers of religion two of the ablest and most pious of the missionaries of the societies, to whose field he is appointed. He forms a society, avowedly to bring under the

teaching of the church the whole of the population; all Dissenters and even Wesleyans being, in church statistics, as heathen men and publicans. Thus in a small colony, where, with the whites, an archdeacon is as large at least as an Anglican archbishop; and where, with the blacks, a faithful missionary is somewhat larger, parties are formed; christian effort is worse than wasted; and titled clergymen are found preaching to units, in the very street where plain undoctored men are preaching to hundreds. Animosities are created: the passions of bad men are aroused and enlisted generally on the side of power: even governors are not free from excitement; one in a recent case in those very islands being credibly reported to have exclaimed, 'What geese you must be not to go to the established church.' Special magistrates take their cue from their chief; the sanctity of the ermine is in danger of pollution. Christianity is wounded; and every cause but that of the common foe is impaired. With all these grave mischiefs we hold, that Dr. Trew, or rather let us say his system, is chargeable. We need hardly add, that we deem him, as a christian and a gentleman, incapable of sanctioning the transactions which we are about to describe.

One of the first acts of this society was to send a clergyman to Exuma, an island distant from Nassau, the seat of government, about one hundred and eighty miles. The population at the last census amounted to 1200; among whom were seven or eight white families. There are two magistrates—one a stipendiary, and the other a justice of the peace. On the arrival of the clergyman he found nearly every black person on the island professedly in communion with the baptist missionaries. The only chapel is one erected by the people at Stevenstone, the principal settlement, on land given to them by the late Lord Rolle. The clergyman respectfully applied to the deacons for the use of this building for a service on one Sunday morning; and as their own minister was not to be with them, they complied with the request. Finding it more convenient to take possession of these premises than to build others, the clergyman insisted on occupying them again. The stipendiary magistrate supported his demand. The poor people demurred, maintained that the clergyman was not their minister, and that the chapel was their own. In the mean time the teacher arrived from Nassau, went as usual to the desk on Sunday morning, the fifth of May. As he was about to commence the service, the clergyman walked in, and having asked whether the minister meant to use the bible, and received an answer in the affirmative, he summoned the constable who had accompanied him to the door of the chapel, and gave the minister into custody. He was kept in

custody for about two hours, and would have been taken to prison but for the kindness of the women of the congregation, who hung round him, and insisted that he had done no wrong. All public service was at an end for that day, and the whole settlement was filled 'with amazement and terror.'

The following morning nineteen constables, armed with clubs and sticks, came to Stevenstone to apprehend the minister and three others, members of the church, and good men. The warrant was supposed to be informal, and one of the constables rode off for a better. While he was gone, the parties accused sailed for Nassau to take counsel of the brethren there. Instead of issuing another summons the stipendiary magistrate came himself to the settlement, accompanied by the provost-marshal of the colony. From their boat were taken two fowling pieces and six rounds of ball cartridge—doubtless, with the intention of 'giving them a peppering,' as one of the gentlemen facetiously observed. On reaching Stevenstone they began to bind men and women. Several they carried to a neighbouring settlement. As the result of the whole:—Three poor women have been fined twenty-six dollars, and another poor widow sent to prison. Nine persons have been confined in jail. One man has been whipped, and is imprisoned for sixty days, and to be kept to hard labour. Five men have fled from the island to escape imprisonment, and many more to the bushes and keys. One of the men who had been sentenced to sixty days' imprisonment, was released on the fourteenth day, the magistrates confessing that there was no evidence against him. The individual who was whipped, was afterwards told by the stipendiary magistrate, that 'had he known he was not a member of the meeting, he would not have put a stripe upon him.' The justice of the peace is not behind his brother stipendiary. He wishes he was 'driver' to these people for twelve months, and swears that he will commit every agent of the missionary society that may be sent to Exuma.

Such are the facts of one of the foulest outrages which have occurred since the days of negro emancipation.

But surely, our readers will say, there must have been some cause or ground for these proceedings! There was absolutely none. The clergyman entered the chapel, and seized the minister without warrant or plea. On the following Monday, indeed, a warrant was issued for the apprehension of certain individuals who, on the previous day, 'had met together to riot and disturb the peace of the queen!' But on the Sunday there was no warrant at all. It was the clergyman's own act—an act which, in this country, would have been regarded as an assault of the grossest description, and which no warrant would have justified, but

which colonial magistrates honoured as an act of homage to the sovereignty of the queen. The truth is, the clergyman was at that time a guest of the special magistrate, who had his own reasons for disliking the influence and ministers of the dissenting church.

And is there no remedy for such evils? Let us hear. The governor—the late governor we ought to say—replied to the appeals of the missionaries, 'that he could not receive *ex parte* statements!' The chief justice 'could not interfere,' but referred them to a solicitor. The remedy is at last found to be an indictment of the constable for assault. This remedy is taken. In the meantime, a dozen innocent and pious persons are imprisoned. Poor missionaries are put to the expense of bringing some thirty witnesses a distance of 180 miles, and of supporting them and their families; and the whole case is then left to a colonial grand jury, who have to investigate a charge in which the magistracy are virtually the criminals, and the poor blacks and their dissenting teachers the prosecutors. This is the only remedy which local justice supplies. The facts have indeed been laid before the colonial office, and we understand that Lord Stanley has promptly and cordially promised to cause inquiry to be made into them. But there is every reason to fear, that his lordship's disposition to befriend and protect the labouring and coloured population of the colonies, will be counteracted by the advantages which time and space confer on the feeblest malicious subordinate, over even the most energetic and benevolent superior. Nothing less than the dismissal of the magistrates, who have so signally proved their unfitness for their office, will meet the emergency of the case. And we are not without hopes, that this remedy, the new governor, (of whom we hear a very favourable account) will not fail to apply.

We are unwilling to found wide and sweeping propositions on single facts: nor do we pretend to assert that the case before us proves to demonstration the mischief of an ecclesiastical establishment. But this case may at least serve as an occasion for asserting what we believe to be the faith of all our dissenting missionary institutions—that ecclesiastical establishments in our colonies cause more heartburnings and bitterness, and are a greater hindrance to the temporal improvement of the people, the stability of the government, and the triumph of religious truth, than all other secondary causes besides. Wherever they are—in India, with their Puseyite evangelism—in Canada, with their clergy reserves—in the West Indies, with their enormous ecclesiastical taxes—wherever these establishments are, they are the curse of Christianity, the enemy of the civil liberties of the people, and the plague of the ruling power.

Art. VIII. *Memoirs of David Nasmith: his Labours and Travels in Britain, France, and America.* By John Campbell, D.D. London: Snow. 1844.

It will be readily believed, even by those who did not know the founder of city and town missions, that the author of 'The Martyr of Erromanga' is of all men the most unlikely to expend his power or time in writing the biography of an ordinary or uninteresting character, however good. We have, therefore, in the author himself, a pledge that his hero is not common-place.

It is not easy, however, to believe that there was anything *very* extraordinary about a character who created no public sensation, by either speaking or writing; and who had no commanding nor prominent position in the societies which chiefly absorb public attention. There is, indeed, reluctance, if not aversion, also, as well as 'slowness of heart,' to believe that a poor man can have been a great man, if poverty has been his only calamity, and poetry no part of his history. A poor man, sacrificing himself to the muses, may be a great man with the public, whether living or dead; and a Southey may win fame, by writing his life; but a poor philanthropist, sacrificing himself for the poor, has little chance of immortality, even if he finds a biographer who deems him worthy of it; except, indeed, he had had hosts of strange calamities; for privations alone, however great, are not enough to engage religious sympathy on a grand scale, although endured 'for Christ's sake and the gospel.'

This wayward and conventional feeling is strongest amongst those who knew—*of* the man for years—without ever trying or wishing to become acquainted with him personally. Such people are almost astounded, and somewhat offended, too, that a man whom they never invited to visit them nor went to see whilst he was alive, should find when dead, a biographer, whom they for other reasons, 'delight to honour,' or are proud to call their friend. For a life—and a large one too—by such a writer, seems to ask them the awkward question, 'where were your eyes and your hearts whilst David Nasmith was alive?' Human nature does not like questions of this kind, however delicately put, or dexterously implied. It will revenge itself, for a time at least, by making even a favourite author run the gauntlet through all kinds of surmises, guesses, and wonderings, as to his motives and reasons for taking up a subject which the public had dropt! It will ask, what could be his reason? was it private friendship? It could not be for money or fame, certainly! Was it from eccentricity? Could it be in order to show how much may be

made of a little? One thing is certain, the public did not call for a life of that good man, Nasmith. They would have preferred a life of Whitefield from Dr. Campbell.

We thus look, fully and fearlessly, in the face of the difficulties that this volume will have to encounter, until the periodical press do it justice, and real philanthropists talk it into notice. We do not hide from ourselves or our readers the fact, mortifying as it is to us, that public sympathy, even in London, has yet to be enlisted for this memoir, and especially on behalf of the kind of philanthropy it advocates and eulogizes. It shall not be our fault, however, if the character and career of the founder of city and town missions for Christendom—(and thus for the world eventually—for his heart was as large as the world)—are not studied, appreciated, admired, and loved. Nasmith was, in reference to home missionary enterprize, what Williams was to foreign; a character, rich in all the essential elements of true philanthropy, practical wisdom, and moral greatness—so far as these qualities can be exemplified, apart from literature, wealth, and high patronage. He as well deserved Dr. Campbell's pen, as the martyr of Erromanga. Indeed, he was as truly a martyr as Williams, although in another way, and by a slower process.

David Nasmith was a native of Glasgow, when Glasgow, rather than Edinburgh, was 'the northern Athens.' In youth, his mind came by turns under the direct influence of Chalmers, Wardlaw, and Ewing. They were his Demosthenes, Plato, and Socrates; and if he caught none of their eloquence or taste, he drank deep into their practical wisdom, and devotional spirit, and acquired much of their holy character.

We recollect well, wondering, when the intellectual and theological glory of Glasgow was in its zenith, what effect it would produce upon the young minds that saw it, and felt it? We witnessed its effulgence then, for a short time, in company with an old Indian judge, (a friend of Dr. Carey) to whom it was all new, and thus strange. He had never heard such preachers; and, therefore, he accounted for such *Sabbaths* as he saw in Glasgow, by the sermons preached there. Such Sabbaths were not new to us; and, therefore, we tried to anticipate, not only the general influence of the sermons and the preachers, but also the impulse they must give to young minds; and thus the extent to which they would multiply their own image. We will not say, what we expected; except that it was neither an Irving nor a Nasmith. Dr. Chalmers, was then sifting 'the civic economy' of great towns;—and the fame of his philosophy won attention to his philanthropy, while his imagination lent a charm to his practical judgment. But from anything we saw amongst his youthful admirers or imitators, (and we saw many of them) there seemed

no more symptom of a Nasmith than of a Candlish. We as little dreamt of ever seeing a *working* enthusiast of his statistics, as of seeing himself the leader of the Free Church, or a lecturer on Establishments at the Hanover Rooms. Young Nasmith, however, was then poring and pondering over his statistics as fondly as Irving over his originality and quaintness; or students, over his scientific theology. Whilst the ardent and imaginative, in general, were amusing themselves amongst the stars, he was weeping over a fallen world, and devising plans for its restoration. Neither rural nor romantic nature could draw him away from the sick-beds or the death-beds of the poor and the perishing, in the morning or at night. He saw nothing in creation so great as immortality; and nothing great in literature, but what bore directly upon the soul. Accordingly, his early diary and papers are as destitute of all poetry and sentimentality, as of classical allusions; except, indeed, sympathy with the wants and woes of humanity, be poetical feeling; for if it be so, then his papers breathe poetry of the highest order. His first love letters are the worst specimens of his taste. No wonder that they won not the lady; for they are even more laconic and business-like than Whitefield's; and were preceded by slips of paper, containing abrupt questions, to which he required an immediate 'yes,' or 'no,' as he put each into her hand. The last question was, 'Have you any objection to become my partner for life?' And this one, he gave her only twenty-four hours to weigh! 'The lady had more wisdom than her suitor,' says Dr. Campbell. This is true; but still it is impossible to read the *naive* episode, without admiring Nasmith, whilst laughing at him; for, like Whitefield, his great solicitude was to obtain a 'true yokefellow,' who might work with him in doing good.

Like most young christians of ardent temperament, Nasmith soon set his heart upon being a missionary to the heathen. His success in winning souls at home naturally led to this. But his new purpose did not divert him from his old work, in either schools or prisons. He tested his zeal more than ever, by doing whatever his 'hand found to do,' with all his might. And it was well he did so; for Mr. Ewing, his pastor, and the managers of the Glasgow Theological Academy, declined his application. This was a sore trial to him. A similar disappointment has alienated the hearts of not a few, from both their pastors, and the cause of God. They would do nothing, because they might not do what they wished chiefly. Not so did David Nasmith act or feel for God. He loved the friends who refused him, as much as ever; and his old work, more than ever. The only imprudent thing he did in the whole matter, was, that he threw up his situation in business, before he applied to be a missionary. He

soon, however, found another, and then created for himself new spheres of usefulness.

Dr. Campbell has told all this in his best manner; and that is saying much for the chapters. We differ from him, however, when he says:—

'Had David been sent as a missionary to Africa, he would probably have combined the principal excellencies of Vanderkemp and of Moffat, and given to the church of Christ a pattern of apostolic zeal, which has not been surpassed since apostolic days.'

We doubt this, very much. Nasmith's zeal and enterprise would, indeed, have been apostolic anywhere; but not so successful in *Africa* as Vanderkemp's and Moffat's; nor very successful in any heathen country, China, perhaps, excepted. For, both his forte and tact lay in setting *others* to work, and in cutting out work for all varieties of talent and influence. Here his power culminated. Half of it would not have come into play at all, either as wisdom or energy, if he had had savages or slaves to act upon. For although he would have done as much for them as any missionary they have had, they would have cramped him where his chief strength lay; which was in finding out and directing the strength of others, and in setting the young to improve each other, and thus to become useful. Looking therefore, at all his habits and spirit, up to the time when he wished to go amongst the heathen, we can hardly conceive how he could have been more out of his element, than in Africa, where he could have organized neither Hottentots nor Caffres. Even in India, the apathetic and irresolute Hindoos were not materials for his hands. But it is useless to reason the point. The church at home needed just such a workman and work-master as David Nasmith, to rebuke her sluggards by his activity, to shame her selfishness by his self-sacrificing benevolence, and to lead out her 'young men and maidens,' to pity the perishing around them. She knew neither her strength nor weakness for God's work, in the lanes, alleys, courts, and corners of our great towns and cities, until he expostulated with her on both, and brought them to the test. For the 'Christian Instruction Society,' whilst it had turned to good account her 'willing people,' especially in London, had made but little impression upon the unwilling.

It was to bring on the day of God's power that Providence kept David Nasmith at home, and trained him for work, which Dr. Campbell well calls, 'neither less arduous nor less honourable than missionary labour.' As might be expected from the author of 'Jethro,' this point is powerfully developed by him, and deserves profound attention. So also does the process by

which the young philanthropist was trained; but which we can only glance at. He became the superintendent of the 'Religious and Charitable Institution House,' of Glasgow, where he was, virtually, the secretary of *twenty-three* philanthropic committees, and thus the daily associate of great and good men, of all denominations and parties. This was at once a dreadful and delightful post of observation.

It brought under his notice, at the same time, all the extremes of actual good and evil,—of power and weakness,—of light and darkness. He had for ever before him, what Dr. Campbell happily calls the 'library of real life;' and he read every volume of it carefully and prayerfully, as well as listened attentively to the profound and practical commentators in each committee. But here, he so studied human nature and society for years, and so laboured for their improvement, that his health broke down under 'the tear and wear' of his manifold duties. Indeed, they were too many, and too diversified, for any man to discharge, even to his own satisfaction. But when he did resign his arduous office, a host of the best men in Glasgow vied with each other in testifying to his high character, and extraordinary efficiency. Never, perhaps, did any man leave his native place, with such or so many testimonials; although any one of them would have been a passport throughout the protestant world.

Before he left Glasgow, both his city mission and young men's societies were flourishing, and their reports circulating throughout Europe and America, and even in parts of Asia. This success and notoriety soon brought an application to him from Ireland, and he accepted it. Dublin, he knew and felt, needed a city mission, far more than Glasgow; and therefore, he nobly threw his family upon his own little property, for their principal support, as well as gave himself up entirely to the service of Ireland in all ways. How much good he did there we have not room to tell. Suffice it to say, that he won the esteem of Ireland's best evangelists, and sacrificed *half* his property in working with them.

Having thus established twenty city missions in Ireland, he resolved to visit America and Canada on the same errand, and at his own risk chiefly; and there he formed sixteen city missions, and the 'American Young Men's Society,' besides originating other benevolent associations. In the same spirit he went, on his return from the New World, to France, and formed a city mission in Paris itself.

We cannot omit to notice here, however it may tell, that David Nasmith, in all these travels, says almost as little as *Paul* did, about the cities he visited, or the scenery he passed through. The Champs Elysées at Paris, obtains a few words from him,

just as Paul names the Areopagus twice; and these few words shew much good taste; but that in Paris which 'stirred his spirit,' was its moral aspect, and its prospects for eternity. Now, although we could have borne, and even welcomed, some graphic sketches of the varied scenes he passed through, because at each he was sure to speak as a christian, to whomsoever he met there, and thus to leave some witness for God, we are not sorry that he gave himself wholly up to witnessing for God.

We have more than plenty of tourists and travellers who have neither an eye nor a heart for moral scenery; and whom the romantic or the picturesque can at any time divert from the spiritual and immortal. They carve their names on pyramids and columns, and breathe their sentimentalities on Alps and Andes, and make their guides, or the natives, stare at their rapturous enthusiasm; but they attempt nothing for the benefit of the poor or the perishing, and leave no testimony for truth or eternity behind them. This is so much the fashion now, that it is as refreshing as rare, to find a traveller who, like Paul, expends all his powers and sympathies upon the objects which absorb the attention of Heaven, and bear upon the glory of God. We would rather have shed the tears that Dr. Heugh wept over Geneva, even if they had blinded us to the glories of Mount Blanc and the Lake Leman, than have written Byron's living pictures of that wonderful scene. We express this feeling strongly, because we despair of seeing great things done or attempted for the neglected classes of society, until intelligent and influential Christians at large, recognise, like Dr. Campbell, moral grandeur in all minds that can forget themselves in winning souls. We should not like, indeed, that such minds estimated themselves so highly as he rates them; nor that they could like him, calculate the results of local devotedness, as these blend with all the enterprizes of the church catholic, and thus influence the world at large, and affect all time. We have no objection to a good deal of both insight and foresight into the onworkings of all well doing for the good of others and the glory of God; but we are old fashioned enough to prefer doing good, just because God bids us, and points us to 'the recompense of reward.' It is all very well that those who have to lead on the church to 'do valiantly,' should be far-sighted, and able to calculate consequences, and alive to the sublimity of the process by which effects become causes, and thus form an ever-strengthening stream of moral power; but somehow we never could greatly admire the zeal, however active, that looked at, as well as saw, how each of its doings must tell upon both time and eternity. David Nasmith's zeal, like that of angels, was 'swift to do the will' of God, just because it was his will.

We do not think it necessary, even if we had room, to sketch Mr. Nasmith's career in London, as the founder of the City Mission Society, and of the British and Foreign Mission. His metropolitan history, as to its surface, is not unknown. Our object, therefore, has been to draw attention to his early history, and the elements of his character, and thus to his life. In like manner, we deem it quite unnecessary to adjudicate between him and the society from which he separated. Dr. Campbell has done ample justice to the real merits of that question; and the public, if at all divided on it, feel alike, that but for David Nasmith, London would not have had a catholic mission; nor could the managers who succeeded him have sustained it, but for his plans and spirit. Like the temple which, although built by Solomon, was planned by his father, and displayed David's taste and munificence in all that constituted it a temple, that society is at once the image and monument of its founder, in London; whilst his own societies are so, to the country at large; and all have worked so well, and done so much good, that we envy not the taste which could contrast them, nor the heart that can remember the very few and slight faults of their author.

And now, most cordially do we thank Dr. Campbell for this interesting and instructive volume. It will be seen that we have digested it, although we have not dissected it; that we have written under its direct influence, although we have not quoted from it; and that we feel deeply solicitous for its circulation. If we have erred as to the kind of our article, it has been from any cause but heedlessness or heartlessness towards either the subject or the book. We felt that Nasmith was not sufficiently known to general readers, and that Dr. Campbell needed no introduction to them. And as we knew the former intimately, we thought it our duty to join with his biographer, in claiming for him the admiration and gratitude of the christian church. We give it, therefore, as our deliberate conviction, that our times have produced no individual, in or out of the ministry, who did or sacrificed so much for the cause of God, in the circles where that cause is most neglected and most urgently needed, as David Nasmith. We venture also to predict, that as the church goes on to care for the poor themselves, as she does for their children, that the founder of City and Town Missions, will rank with the founder of Sunday schools in public estimation; and his life take its place for ever, with the lives of Howard, Brainerd, Wilberforce, Wesley, and Whitefield. In the meantime, it is just the book to bring on rapidly that 'Day of Power,' which shall make all the people of God *willing* to work together for the good of their neighbours.

Art. IX. *The English Reformation.* By Francis Charles Massingberd, M.A., Rector of South Ormesby, Lincolnshire. London: Burns.

THIS volume is not one which we can recommend as conveying a correct or sufficient view of the Reformation of the sixteenth century; yet there are a few points in it, on account of which, persons who are familiar only with the nonconformist view of that great series of events, may do well to peruse it. The author is a gentleman of extensive information, and, we should infer from his book, of a sober and candid mind. Though some parts of the work bear marks of haste and carelessness, there are other passages, principally of a descriptive or narrative character, well and feelingly written. Several matters of some importance to a full and proper view of various questions, but too frequently overlooked or omitted by nonconformist writers, are here noticed in their place. And, to mention one more point of interest to those who are not wedded to a low sectarianism, the bibliography of the Reformation, as far as it was ecclesiastically established by the secular power, is here given by one who has evidently studied the subject *con amore.*

On the other hand, the church principles of the author have sometimes betrayed him into a partiality inconsistent with his natural temper. In this way he has been led to omit circumstances which would have qualified some of the commendations he has bestowed, and modified some of the judgments to which he would conduct his readers. Still it was our impression in reading the work, that he had overlooked the circumstances we have just referred to, or did not see their bearing in the light in which we see it; and not that he had, *more Newmanniano,* suppressed what he was conscious would have given a different character to that which he was describing.

In illustrating the points just noticed, we shall touch some of the most interesting topics connected with the history of the Reformation; but our limits will not allow of our discussing them at any length.

The following extract narrates one of those interesting facts which occasionally lend an interest to the history of troubled times; it is also a good specimen of the author's manner in introducing picturesque details and glimpses of character.

'There was a gentleman of Shropshire, Edward Burton, of Longnor, who was strongly attached to the reformed doctrine. He had often been compelled to hide himself for fear of being called to account for his religion, the exercise of which he had privately continued at his own house throughout these dangerous times. He was an aged man, but his feelings were alive to the miseries of his country, and the afflictions of the church. The reports of the queen's illness had reached his resi-

during King Philip's stay in England, acted as confessor to Queen Mary. This man having, while in England, participated in the guilt of persecution, was promoted in 1559 to the dignity of Primate of Spain, and shortly afterwards summoned to attend the death-bed of Charles the Fifth. 'When he came, he found the emperor near his end: holding in his hand a crucifix, and kneeling on his knees by his bedside, he said: 'Let your majesty be of good comfort; sin has no more power—the death of Jesus Christ has blotted out all that was against you—all is pardoned.' It is true that this language addressed to such a man as Charles, without any mention of repentance, and implying the evangelical character of whatever assent might be expressed by the patient, is not to be regarded as alone establishing Carranza's conviction of salvation by faith. But we may probably infer from the view the bystanders took of his conduct on the occasion, as expressing contempt for the sacrament of confession, in giving absolution without it, and from his long imprisonment by the Inquisition, that we have in these words the intimation of evangelical truth possibly imbibed in England, when he officiated as preacher at the burning of the martyrs.

In the seventh chapter, pp. 154, 158, there is a very graphic description of the sort of contest which sometimes took place between the secular clergy and the different mendicant orders around the dying bed of the wealthy; and in the tenth chapter there is another, detailing the circumstances of Erasmus's visit to Canterbury, and inspection of the relics of *Saint* Thomas à Becket. Both are derived from the distinguished writer just mentioned, and give curious and faithful pictures of the state of things in the fifteenth, and early part of the sixteenth centuries.

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dence, near Shrewsbury, when one morning the church bells of St. Chad's were heard to ring merrily, and he thought it possible these sounds might announce the accession of Elizabeth to the throne. His son undertook to go to learn the news; and, as the road by which he would return passed in front of the house on the opposite side of the river, to reach the bridge below, it was agreed that, if the surmise should prove true, he should wave his handkerchief as he passed, to signify it to his father. The old man watched for his return, and saw the signal: it told of restored peace and liberty, not to himself only, but to his country and his religion, and he went into his house, breathed his *nunc dimittis*, and laid him down and died. They buried him in his garden, because it was not yet lawful to bury a heretic in the churchyard; and his epitaph, preserved by his descendants, relates the incident, and why he was like his Saviour in his place of sepulture.

'It was with such men as this, and not with those who acted a more prominent part upon the public stage, not in the retainers of political faction, or those who sought only for spoil, that the Reformation gained its moral strength. The persecution drove earnest men to think and meditate why they ranged themselves on either side, and enquiry could not be repressed. A stubborn opponent of the reformed doctrines, Julius Palmer, was a spectator of the death of Latimer and Ridley. Their fortitude and faithfulness had such an effect upon him that he could not rest till he had searched the scriptures to ascertain the grounds of the faith which they professed. The result was conviction to himself, and a determination to offer himself to the same trial. He persevered and suffered at the stake. Constantine Ponce de la Tuente was among the Spanish ecclesiastics who attended Philip to this country. He had been one of the preachers of Charles the Fifth, and his learning and eloquence made his character as famous as his private worth made him beloved. He returned to Spain, and began to expound scripture, and write catechisms for his countrymen; but when the people crowded to his preaching, he was almost immediately accused and imprisoned. His death in a dark cell of the inquisition, left only his effigy to be burnt at the stake. Charles the Fifth heard of his arrest a short time before his death 'If Ponce is a heretic,' he said, 'it is time to look to it; for he is no common man.'"—pp. 405—407.

Besides various early English authorities of which Mr. Massingberd states that, though generally neglected by historians, he has availed himself, such as some portions of Wycliffe's writings which exist only in manuscript, with other manuscripts of the same or an earlier age, and among them a very early one relating to the arrival of the Minorites in England, he also mentions that he has obtained some valuable information from the Spanish writers of Queen Mary's time. From these it is evident that the Spanish party was at the bottom of the persecutions of that unhappy period. Florente's 'History of the Spanish Inquisition,' has also contributed some interesting facts, as may be seen from the account given in pages 407 and 408 of Carranza, who,

during King Philip's stay in England, acted as confessor to Queen Mary. This man having, while in England, participated in the guilt of persecution, was promoted in 1559 to the dignity of Primate of Spain, and shortly afterwards summoned to attend the death-bed of Charles the Fifth. 'When he came, he found the emperor near his end: holding in his hand a crucifix, and falling on his knees by his bedside, he said: 'Let your majesty be of good comfort; sin has no more power—the death of Jesus Christ has blotted out all that was against you—all is pardoned.' It is true that this language addressed to such a man as Charles, without any mention of repentance, and implying the evangelical character of whatever assent might be expressed by the patient, is not to be regarded as alone establishing Carranza's conviction of salvation by faith. But we may probably infer from the view the bystanders took of his conduct on the occasion, as expressing contempt for the sacrament of confession, in giving absolution without it, and from his long imprisonment by the Inquisition, that we have in these words the intimation of evangelical truth possibly imbibed in England, when he officiated as preacher at the burning of the martrys.

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and he proceeds accordingly to quote Wykeham's own statement of his motives in devoting his wealth to the foundation of his two colleges, as if that statement proved his anxiety for the revival of religious truth. It proves, unhappily, nothing of the kind. It certainly expresses his determination not to found an establishment subservient to the rule of any of the 'religious orders' then existing; and his convictions, that 'he could not any where find, that the ordinances of their founders, according to their true design and intention, were at present observed by any of them.' But in these expressions we see nothing more than any *secular* churchman of the age, however zealous for the papal errors, would have said. No fact in the history of the church of England is more clearly established than this—that in exact proportion, as the regular clergy increased in numbers and importance, the authority of the secular clergy declined. That Wykeham therefore determined, instead of increasing this nuisance, and so swelling the great cry for reformation, to establish two colleges of students, for the 'honour of God and increase of his worship, for the support and exaltation of the christian faith, and for the improvement of liberal arts and sciences,' need not surprise us. His object, however, and that of Chicheley and Waynflete, was not to revive religious truth, by exploding any of the errors of the papal creed, to all the corruption of which they were themselves addicted, but merely, as we have hinted, to to counteract the influence of the regular orders, and check the public scandals which their unrestrained profligacy had brought upon the church in general. If the institutions which they founded, became in the course of events instrumental to the progress of the Reformation, such was not the fruit they calculated upon. The consent of Pope Innocent VIII., to the suppression of Selborne priory in Hampshire; and the alienation of its lands, to the newly founded Magdalen College, is a proof that, so far as the known character and intentions of the founder, and the actual statutes of the college were concerned, there was nothing to which the pope himself was unwilling to give his sanction.

This point appears so very clear, that we should certainly not dwell upon it, but for the effectual refutation of the author's statement which, since writing the above, we accidentally lighted upon, in turning over the leaves of his third chapter. We had forgotten the passage, but it takes up the very points we were about to compress into a note. Speaking of the cathedral churches and seats of learning, which were established and endowed in the two centuries preceding the Reformation, the author adds:—

'But . . . . we must not forget the strange rites by which these

buildings were profaned, or the strange doctrines which were taught, or the mistaken and corrupt piety which, in many instances, led to their foundation. No kind of institution was more common in Wickliff's age, and some time afterwards, than that of *chantries*, or colleges of priests, retained to say masses and prayers for the souls of the founders and their families. This founding of chantries seems to have increased as the zeal for founding monasteries and friaries declined. The prelates of the reign of Edward the Third, greatly encouraged it; it continued in the following century; and archbishop Chicheley's college at Oxford, which remains to this day, was originally a household of priests appointed to say masses for the souls of those who had fallen in Henry the Fifth's wars in France, of which he had been a chief adviser. There is something hard-hearted in the character of these charities. These foundations were not only injurious in promoting the practice of a superstitious worship, but they often supplanted some better foundation which existed before. Hospitals were turned into these colleges of massing priests: and the feuds which had maintained the living poor, were turned to pay for masses for the benefit of rich men that were dead.—p. 62.

That Wykeham and Waynflete were, like Chicheley, chargeable with promoting the practice of a superstitious worship, is evident from the magnificent chantry of the former (founded by himself) in Winchester cathedral; and to say nothing of Waynflete's chantry in the same cathedral, the explicit provisions of the latter as expressed in the statutes of Magdalen College, for quarterly masses 'for the souls of the most illustrious Princes Henry III., Edward III., Henry VI., Edward IV., the Lord Ralph Cromwell, John Fastolf, Richard and Margery, our parents, and the other benefactors of the college; and for the souls of all the faithful departed;' at which quarterly 'services for the dead, commendations and mass, the president, fellows, and scholars, and the chaplain and clerks of the chapel, all and singular aforementioned, if present in the university, should, and also are bounden to attend, in virtue of their oath in the absence of grievous sickness.' The section just quoted also proceeds to require that prayers for the soul of the deceased founder, and of all the faithful deceased should be 'for ever said in the hall after dinner, and also, after supper, when grace is done:' and further, 'that on every Saturday throughout the year, and on all the eves of the feasts of the blessed Virgin Mary, after compline, all and each of the said fellows and scholars, and ministers of our chapels, do devoutly perform among themselves in the common hall, by rote, an antiphone in honour of the said glorious virgin;' and, 'in like manner, that the said president and each of the fellows of the said college do hear, every day if they conveniently can, one mass, unless they be priests-fellows who say it in their own proper person; and that while they are hearing mass, or at some

other hour of the day, if they be prevented at mass-time, they do say in honour and remembrance of the most blessed Virgin, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, with all possible devoutness, on their bended knees, *fifty times over, the angelical salutation,* [Ave Maria,] together with the Lord's prayer *after every two rehearsals* of the salutation aforesaid; touching all which particulars we strictly burthen the consciences of all and each of them before the Most High.'*

We have drawn attention to these particulars, not with the view of exaggerating the superstition of the prelates in question, but of showing that it is not consistent with historical truth to represent them as men, who, though clinging through the love of order and obedience to the religious system which they found, were yet in heart deeply imbued with a spirit of christianity, and laid a sure foundation for the revival of religious truth in the colleges which they endowed. Still we dispute not their distinguished merit in various civil aspects, and have no sympathy with the feeling, wherever it exists, which finds gratification in detracting from the character of any who, in the judgment of their own age and generation, were creditably and usefully occupied in the public service, because they either had not the light which we have, or did not readily receive that which had begun to shine around them.

We have perused with much interest the brief accouut which Mr. Massingberd has given of the Bibliography of the Reformation, and especially of the preparation of the Book of Common Prayer in the reign of Edward. Of course we do not agree in all his opinions on the subject, and there are a few points which, probably, on account of the brevity he was obliged to use, are not quite accurately given. He says, for instance, p. 357, that the address in '*our present*' communion service, to be used when the people are negligent to come, was composed by Peter Martyr. The facts are, that that address, as it originally stood, was composed by that reformer, but that it was altered in 1662. The commencement which now reads, 'Dearly beloved brethren, on —— I intend, by God's grace, to celebrate the Lord's supper,' was first written, 'We be come together at this time, dearly beloved brethren, to feed at the Lord's Supper;' and besides that, the address, as it now stands, omits a large part of the original form, there are several other variations. We state these facts, not because we conceive they were designedly overlooked by Mr. Massingberd, who probably thought the thing of no consequence, as the address was altered principally to adapt it to the

* 'Statutes of Magdalen College, Oxford, now first translated and published by G. R. M. Ward, Esq., M.A., barrister at law, late fellow of Trinity College, and deputy high steward of the University, Oxford. 1840.'

use of announcing the communion on some future day, but it will be obvious that even in the opening sentence there is a change of style, and many will recognise Peter Martyr's hand in the original form, who would hardly do so in that which has been substituted for it.

Having thus briefly noticed some of the principal sources of interest in Mr. Massingberd's volume, it is perhaps necessary to add a few words. It is obvious that an anglican clergyman cannot, consistently, speak of the Reformation in such a way as to satisfy the views of a nonconformist parent. The volume indeed bears indubitable traces of the most modern aspect of high church principles. It is, in many respects, a very different book from Mr. Blunt's 'Sketch of the Reformation in England,' published in 1832, as a part of Mr. Murray's 'Family Library.' It is less secular, and more sacerdotal. A mild Puseyism (our author cannot complain of this term, as he uses Calvinism), pervades it throughout. We are therefore prepared for such expressions, as 'remorseless puritans,' (p. 26). 'Calvinism has always been united with a zeal for persecution,' (p. 367); 'Coverdale was a devout man, and a friend of peace, but desired rather too much to have it in his own way,' (p. 366, &c.); neither are we surprised, when our author, after telling us in page 345, that Ridley called the communion a sacrifice not only in terms, but according to the mystery it represented, asks: 'Is there not too much dispute about it now, seeing how little difference there is in fact between a commemorative sacrifice, and a commemoration of a sacrifice?' And when he says, on page 347, 'This was indeed a prayer for the dead, but such as to shut out all notion of purgatory; and as it is according to very ancient precedent, many pious persons wished it had been retained,' we question if our author would regard it as an injustice to include him in the number of those who would have retained it.

These passages, however, which are but hints of the points of view from which Mr. Massingberd regards the whole subject, are quite sufficient to convince any person who stands on the ground of the New Testament, that he has not realized the true spirit of the Reformation from popery. Otherwise it is an attractive work, and immeasurably superior to most of the volumes in the 'Englishman's Library,' against which we would strenuously caution all parents who are zealous for 'the faith once delivered to the saints,' as a series of libels upon truth, conscience, and charity, utterly unworthy of admission into a christian family.

Art. X. *Egypt and the Books of Moses; or the Books of Moses Illustrated by the Monuments of Egypt.* By Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg, Professor of Theology at Berlin. From the German, by R. D. C. Robbins. Andover and New York. 1843. 12mo. pp. xli., 300.

This is one of the many translations of useful theological works from the German, for which we are indebted to the industry and enterprise of our American brethren. The name of the author, Hengstenberg, is well known to most of our readers; and any work that comes before us under the high sanction of his name, is entitled to consideration and respect. Indeed, the original work, 'Die Bücher Mosis und Aegypten,' must have come under the knowledge of many theological readers before it appeared in an English dress; and we rejoice that we are at length enabled to bring the translation of it under more extensive notice. Considering the all-pervading spirit of inquiry among German scholars, the reader will be surprised to learn, that the present, is with them, almost the only work which applies the recent discoveries in Egyptian antiquities, to the illustration of Scripture. In our own country enough has been done in this line, and perhaps a little more than enough; for it is the fault of our literature that no sooner is a new idea of any kind started by any writer, than straightway a pack of authors start after it in full cry, till it is hunted to the very death, and torn utterly to ribbands among them. Hence illustrations of scripture from Egyptian antiquities have by this time become anything but attractive. We have had our fill of them, and desire no more; and it needed all the influence of Hengstenberg's name, and all our curiosity to ascertain the view which a first-rate German theologian was likely to take of the subject, to induce us to bestow our attention on 'Egypt and the Books of Moses.'

There is much in these pages which, however new in Germany, will not appear very fresh to the English reader: but it would be difficult for a man of Hengstenberg's great intellectual resources and immense erudition, to write earnestly on any subject without producing something valuable and interesting. This is certainly the case in the present work, which, besides, derives considerable novelty from the peculiar form in which it is cast. It is in fact essentially controversial, and it continues to be such in the translation, although the translator has endeavoured to reduce somewhat of its controversial aspect at the expence, we fear, of occasionally rendering the object indistinct.

That object is to disprove, by evidence deduced from monuments, the assertions of Von Bohlen, and other neological writers, who allege, that the mistakes and inaccuracies of the author of the Pentateuch, in relation to Egypt, prove

that he lived out of Egypt, and long after the time of Moses. This was almost too easy a task for such a man as Hengstenberg; and he has accomplished it with ability and success. It is however a curious and illustrative fact, that this writer, who is in Germany the Coryphæus of evangelical orthodoxy, and is here expressly battling against lax notions and crude knowledge—which is but another form of ignorance,—this very man does, now and then, come out with a positive opinion calculated to stagger our plain English sense, and to shake our confidence in even first-class German orthodoxy.

The character of the work will be best exemplified by a few extracts:—

The Marriage of Joseph.—According to Gen. xli. 45, Pharaoh gives to Joseph, Asenath, the daughter of Potiphera the priest of On, in marriage. The name Potiphera, Petiphra, he who belongs to the sun, is very common on the Egyptian monuments. This name is especially appropriate for the priest of On, or Heliopolis. Since Pharaoh evidently intended by this act to establish the power bestowed on Joseph upon a firm basis, it is implied in this account: first, that the Egyptian high-priest occupied a very important position, and secondly, that among them the high-priest of On was the most distinguished. Both these points are confirmed by history. The following words of Heeren will show how conspicuous the station of the high-priest in general was:—'The priesthood belonging to each temple were again organized among themselves with the greatest exactness. They had a high-priest, whose office was also hereditary. It is scarcely necessary to mention, that the stations of the high-priests in the principal cities in Egypt, were first and highest. They were in a manner hereditary princes, who stood by the side of the kings, and enjoyed almost the same prerogatives. Their Egyptian title, Piromis, was, according to the explanation of Herodotus, equivalent to the noble and good (καλὸς κἀγαθός); which however does not refer perhaps to moral character, but to nobility of descent. Their statues were placed in the temples. When they are introduced into history, they appear as the first persons of the state.' The passage of Bähr on Herodotus, ii. 3, (where the priests of Heliopolis are described as the most learned among all the Egyptians), shows, that among the Egyptian colleges of priests, the one at On, or Heliopolis, took the precedence; consequently, the high-priest of On was the most distinguished. The great antiquity of religious worship at On is also attested by the monuments. Wilkinson says:—'During the reign of Osirtasen (whom he makes contemporary with Moses), the temple of Heliopolis was either founded or received additions, and one of the obelisks bearing his name attests the skill to which they had attained in the difficult art of sculpturing granite.'

'Von Bohlen has attempted to make out a contradiction in this account, which accords in so remarkable a manner with the state of affairs in Egypt:—'An alliance of intolerant priests,' says he, 'with a foreign shepherd, is entirely opposed to the character of the Egyptians.

But the connection took place in obedience to the command of the king, and the high-priest of On, less dared to disobey the king, since, according to the result of modern investigations, the Pharaohs themselves at all times were invested with the highest sacerdotal dignity, and consequently possessed, not an external authority merely, over the priesthood. The transaction assumes an entirely different aspect when we consider that Joseph did not by any means marry the daughter of the high-priest, while a foreign shepherd, but after he had been fully naturalized by the king, had assumed the Egyptian dress, taken an Egyptian name, etc. Chap. xliii, 32, shows, that Joseph had formally withdrawn from the community of his own people, and connected himself with the Egyptians. In the circumstance that this is represented as necessary, as well as in the fact that Pharaoh believed it important to give a firm basis to the position of Joseph by a union with the daughter of the high-priest of On, we plainly recognise the traces of that Egyptian intolerance, which V. Bohlen fails to perceive here, and which in later times certainly appears to have very much increased.'—pp. 32—34.

'*Prohibition of Marriages between near Relatives*, Lev. xviii.—The law concerning unlawful intercourse, in Lev. xviii., in which marriages between near relatives occupies the first place, is in verse 3, accompanied by the words, 'After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do.' Truly, among no people of antiquity was the moral feeling, with reference to marriage among relatives, so blunted as among the Egyptians. The marriage with the sister, so strongly forbidden by Moses, was considered among them as unconditionally allowable. Diodorus says: 'It is, contrary to the common custom, lawful among the Egyptians to marry a sister, since such a union, in the case of Isis, was so fortunate in its consequences.' Pausanias says of Philadelphus, who married his sister by birth: 'He in this did that which was by no means lawful among the Macedonians, but entirely in accordance with the law of the Egyptians, over whom he ruled.' Philo relates of the Egyptian lawgiver, that he gave permission to all to marry their sisters, those who are sisters by birth, not less than step-sisters, those of like age and older, not less than the younger. 'By the sculpture in Upper and Lower Egypt,' remarks Wilkinson, 'it is fully authenticated, that this law was in force in the earliest times.'—p. 218.

'*The Festival of the Golden Calf*, Exod. xxxii., and Lev. xvii. 7.—A succession of allusions to Egypt are found in the 23rd chapter of Exodus. That the representation of Jehovah under the image of the golden calf, is only explainable on the supposition of Egyptian influence, and that it stands in connection with the worship of Apis, has been fully discussed in the 'Contributions.' In the same work it was also shown that striking analogy is found in the descriptions of the feasts of the gods among the Egyptians, for the manner in which the festival of the golden calf was celebrated by the Israelites, as exhibited in the following passages: ver. 6. 'And the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to *play*.' Ver. 17, 'And when Joshua heard the noise of the people as they shouted, he said unto Moses, 'There is a noise of men in the camp.' Ver. 18, where Moses says, 'The noise of song I hear.' And in verse

19, 'And he saw the calf and the dancing.' The most ancient popular rites of the Egyptians were, according to Creuzer, of the nature of the orgies, and the fundamental character of their religion was Bacchanalian. Sensual songs were sung, with the accompaniment of noisy instruments. Of the yearly journey to Bubastis, Herodotus says: 'Throughout the whole journey, some of the women strike the cymbal, whilst men play the flute, and the rest of the women and men sing and clap with their hands; and when they, in their journey, come near a town, they bring the boat near the shore, and conduct themselves as follows; some of the women do as I have already described, some jeer at the women of the town, with loud voices, and some dance,' while others commit other unseemly acts. Especially is it said concerning the feast of Apis, 'But when Cambyses came to Memphis, Apis (whom the Greeks call Epaphos) was shown to the Egyptians, and as he appeared, the Egyptians forthwith put on their most costly garments and exulted.'

'Just as here, in a manner throughout inimitable by one of later times, the circumstances, tendencies, and feelings of the people who had grown up under Egyptian influences, are exhibited with incontrovertible truth. So are they, also, in the passage, Lev. xvii. 7, already explained at large in a former work. It is there said, in reference to the rebellious Israelites, 'They shall no longer offer these sacrifices to he-goats (שְׂעִירִם), after which they have lusted.' The opposition which exists between a he-goat and a god, was removed in the Egyptian religion, and in it only. 'The he-goat, and also Pan, were in the language of Egypt, named Mendes,' says Herodotus, and almost all the Greeks follow him. This identity of names between the god and the he-goat is explained by the pantheistic element in the Egyptian conception of the world. The he-goat was not barely a symbol of Mendes, for whom the Greeks, looking away from the other great differences, because of the form of the he-goat and his wantonness, substituted Pan, but the physical presentation, the incarnation of this god, and was therefore considered holy and as worthy of divine honour. The service of the he-goat, as a deity, was very anciently performed in Egypt, and he was the participant of very high honour among them, so that we must necessarily expect the idolatrous inclination of the Israelites awakened after a short slumber, to be also directed specially to this deity.'—pp. 215—217.

As there are several claimants for the honour, such as it is, of having first in this country applied the Egyptian monuments to the illustration of Scripture, we may take this opportunity of stating our own impression on the subject.

The first claimant is the Rev. T. Hartwell Horne, who in the late editions of his 'Introduction' states that in the sixth edition, published in 1828, 'Egyptian antiquities were for the *first* time (at least in this country) applied to the collateral confirmation, and illustrative of the Holy Scriptures.' Now as this occurs in noticing the work of another writer, published twelve years after, on this subject, it has the effect of being a caution to the

reader, lest he should suppose that the work here under notice was the first of the kind which had been produced. This does not seem altogether fair. It has not been without trouble that we have been able to find in what part of Mr. Horne's huge work this infinitesmal dose of illustrations of scripture from Egyptian antiquities is to be found.. We had at length the good fortune to light upon it, and find that it consists of exactly *two pages*, in which M. Champollion's readings of the names of the Egyptian kings are the principal matters noticed. This, we must submit, is not a sufficient basis for so large a claim as Mr. Horne makes. If this useful writer had availed himself of the sources of illustration which were, even in 1826, open to him, in the plates and text of the 'Description de L'Egypte,' and in the works of various travellers, his third volume would have taken a very different aspect to that which it now bears. But it is clear that having, from the use made of these and other materials by subsequent authors, become aware of the value and extent of this source of illustration, he became desirous of establishing his claim as a discoverer upon the strength of the two pages to which we have referred.

This claim was preferred in Mr. Horne's notice of Dr. W. C. Taylor's '*Illustrations of the Bible from the Monuments of Egypt*,' which was published in 1838, after having been produced in substance in a series of papers in our weekly contemporary, the Athenæum. Now it is not a little curious, that a writer in that journal (probably the same writer), in reviewing the present work of Hengstenberg, advances for the former papers in its pages, subsequently embodied in the book, the very same claim which Mr. Horne, in noticing that book, advances for himself—that is, of having opened the subject to the English reader, if not to the European public at large.

Our own recollection is tolerably distinct in the *history* of most of the lines of theological investigation which have been opened and pursued in our own day; and we can in this case deliver our judgment without any of that hesitation which so greatly misbecomes a reviewer.

Mr. Horne's claim must be admitted to the extent of the two pages from Champollion, &c., but no further.

The claim made by or for Dr. W. C. Taylor, must be negatived. We have a clear recollection that when the papers in question appeared in the Athenæum, the Pictorial Bible had been nearly two years in course of publication, and was drawing near to its close. That work is full of illustrations of scripture, from Egyptian antiquities, with wood-engravings after Rosellini and the Description de L'Egypte. To verify this impression we have turned to the carlier papers in the Athenæum, and in one of

them we find an express reference to an opinion of the editor of the Pictorial Bible respecting the Egyptian wine-press. This settles the chronology of the question, which is the only matter in dispute. We may add, however, that this curious and it turns out, valuable reference, in the papers originally printed in the Athenæum, is omitted in the book made up out of these papers. It is quite enough, however, that the claim of priority lately adduced in our contemporary for its first set of papers, should be negatived by the papers themselves. Indeed, that claim is a late and very recent after-thought, as the long continued advertisements of Dr. C. W. Taylor's *Illustrations*, have constantly quoted by way of recommendation, the very words of the paragraph of the 'Introduction' in which the claim of the Rev. T. H. Horne to be the father of this branch of biblical illustration is advanced.

The host who followed in this department of biblical literature, after Egyptian antiquities had been 'made easy' by the publications of Sir J. G. Wilkinson, will not contend for precedence, and if they do, may be left to settle it among themselves.

Art. XI. *Proceedings of the first Anti-State Church Conference, held in London, April 30th, May 1st, and 2nd,* 1844. London; Aldine Chambers. 12mo. pp. 164.

In our journal for June last, we furnished our readers with some account of the Anti-state Church Conference, which had recently been held; and now return to the subject in order to lay before them such considerations as occur to us respecting the present position and responsibilities of the dissenting body. These are materially affected by the measures adopted by the Conference, and cannot be lightly treated by any reflecting and conscientious mind. It had long been felt by a large class of dissenters, that some organization was needful to give due utterance to our distinctive principles, with a view to their being more accurately understood and more extensively diffused. Some rallying point was called for, around which the piety and intelligence of British dissenters might gather, and from which there might go forth clear and effective expositions of the views on which our ecclesiastical polity is based. Such an organization resulted from the meetings which were held in London during the spring; and to this fact—the most important in the history of nonconformity which has occurred for years—we are desirous of calling the special attention of our readers. The delegates then present—upwards of seven hundred in number—

earnestly resolved on the formation of a society, popular in its constitution, well defined in its object, and simple in the means to be employed. This resolution has been carried into effect, and the *British Anti-state Church Association* is, in consequence, before the public as a veritable existence, the impersonation of the spirit long floating amongst us, and seeking in vain for some practical form in which to array itself.

The existence of such an association, framed by the assembled representatives of large classes of our brethren, convened from all parts of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, is a fact entitled to serious consideration, and should of itself be received as proof of the earnestness with which the question of religious establishments is regarded. Prior to this organization it might have been contended with some show of propriety, that the solicitude of dissenters respected their own privileges simply,—that they were more concerned for their social and political equality with others, than for the vindication of religious truth,—that their zeal was selfish, and had respect to their sectional position, rather than to the clear enunciation of the divine will respecting the constitution and government of the church,—that, in a word, they were more intent on relieving themselves from the disabilities imposed by the intolerance of a former age, than on asserting the spirituality of the church and the paramount authority of the Lord Jesus. The efforts which had been made from time to time were of this character, and it was not unnatural that they should be so. Until very recently, the power of the hierarchy had borne down everything. It overshadowed the liberty and intelligence of the land, and had gone far to extinguish the spirit of vital christianity. It was in possession of the high places, and had been administered in a manner which implied its forbearance in the non-infliction of penal statutes. Its members were accustomed to laud its leniency, and to dwell in terms of self-complacent esteem on the moderation observed towards all dissidents. Those who mixed exclusively with churchmen, or were accustomed only to their phraseology, must have marvelled at the wrong-headedness of the men who separated from the hierarchy, and have magnified the almost superhuman gentleness with which its powers were exercised. Such was really the case, and large numbers of dissenters themselves sympathized partially with these feelings. They acquiesced in the existing condition of things, spoke of the liberality of ecclesiastical dignitaries, and adverted to toleration as the cure of all evils, and a full discharge of the obligations resting upon rulers. It had happened with them as with the subjects of political servitude, their spirits were humbled by a long course of oppression,

until at length they received with thankfulness, and lauded, as proofs of unwonted generosity, what, as a settlement of their rightful claims, ought to have been rejected with scorn. This feeling was handed down from generation to generation, and became stronger with each, till the manliness of our christian character was almost lost, and a servility of temper, adapted to engender contempt rather than to conciliate esteem, was induced. Those of us who can look back fifteen or twenty years, must remember some disgusting instances of this. The platforms of public meetings have frequently exhibited the disgraceful spectacle of dissenters pandering to the pride of priestism, magnifying the excellencies of men who condescended to associate with them in supplying the perishing with the bread of life,—dilating in inflated terms on virtues which had no existence, to their own disgrace, and the disgust of all intelligent hearers.

Happily for the welfare of mankind a new order of feelings gradually arose. The spread of education and the political changes which occurred, hastened on the process. Men began to feel dissatisfied with their condition. They first whispered their grievances, and then uttered them aloud, until the reluctant ear of parliament was compelled to listen, and some trifling concessions were made. It was accordant with the practical character of the English mind that the earliest movements of dissenters should be directed against the grievances they suffered, rather than the system from which those grievances arose. It was a healthful symptom, an indication of returning life, a promise of better things yet to come, that the pressure of ecclesiastical legislation was felt, and a determination extensively formed to combine and labour for its overthrow. The Test and Corporation Acts were first assailed, and the triumphant manner in which these outworks of intolerance were carried, emboldened the assailants to call for further relief. The history of their efforts is now before the nation, and will go down to posterity—an instructive lesson, at once to encourage and warn our descendants. We look to this period with mingled feelings. It can neither be approved nor condemned in the gross. It was an intervening dispensation between the old and the new economy,—the supremacy of ecclesiastical domination, and the free assertion of the church's liberty. Viewed in relation to that which preceded it, it was full of hope, but if tried by a more perfect standard,—the requirements of truth and the claims of the church,—it must be regarded as defective in its principle, and far too limited in its range. This was visible in the anxiety of many dissenters to conceal from opponents the real grounds of our procedure. Such a disclosure, it was argued, would be premature, and injurious—would alienate parliamentary friends, and

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array more firmly against us the adherents of the established church. The documents issued spoke, in consequence, an undecided and somewhat inconsistent language. They did not give free utterance to the truth. They squared themselves to the suggestions of a timid and worldly expediency, by suppressing, as long as possible, that which constituted the very life of our system. Dr. Cox in his interesting and able narrative of the circumstances which led to the Conference, has adverted to this feature of the period in question in the following terms:—

'It was felt, however, that many nonconformist grievances still remained unredressed, and repeated appeals were made to the government for the abolition of those grievances. Parliament at length lent an ear to these entreaties, and vouchsafed some, though an imperfect relief. Hints were indeed given to men in power, that the dissenters regarded the alliance of the church with the state as the primary source of the disadvantages they suffered, and that they never could consider themselves or the community fairly treated till that source of mischief was annihilated. Many who were accustomed to take comprehensive views declared, or rather whispered forth, their convictions that they ought to enjoy—that reason and scripture alike enforced their right to enjoy, in common with their fellow-subjects, a perfect religious equality. But this doctrine neither suited the temper of lay or clerical statesmen, nor of the times; and the fever of a temporary excitement, to procure the removal of grievances, subsided into the quiet of inaction though not of content; and, for the sake of peace, multitudes appeared willing to put principle in abeyance.

'Subsequently to this period ecclesiastical domination stalked across the land, dealing forth its anathemas, exactions, and incarcerations. No David came forth with the simplicity of virtue and the omnipotence of truth, to give battle to the boasting foe. At best it may be said, that here and there complaints were uttered, and preparations for holy warfare were professedly made; but there was more of timid shrinking than of manly enterprise. Gratitude for little things seemed to be the absorbing feeling, instead of determination to attempt great ones; and many unhappily, instead of resisting their foes, resisted their friends, lest, as they imagined, the hostility of the hostile might be exasperated. Whereas, by standing chiefly on the defensive they notoriously emboldened those whom nothing could have conciliated; and in reality tempted the effort of sectarian legislation to give a deadly—thanks be to God, a fruitless—thrust at the freedom of religion, through the side of education.'—pp. 3—4.

The return of the Tories to power did much to disengage dissenters from their false position. Whig alliances had previously encumbered their proceedings, and would probably have continued to do so for some time to come, if Lord Melbourne's cabinet had remained in office. To the Whigs, as a party, the dissenters of England owe much. Whatever we have wrung

from the intolerance and bigotry arrayed against us, has been by their help; and churchmen and aristocrats as they are, they have yet uttered in our advocacy some noble sentiments, which have been as gall and wormwood to our foes. Freely as we censure their modern policy, and fatally as we believe them to have erred during their latter period of office, we are constrained by the facts of the case to do them this honour. They have fought our battle on many occasions, and though we have rendered them zealous support in return, we still owe a debt of gratitude, which must not be lightly treated. Hence, it happened, that dissenters were regarded as, politically, a section of the whig party. Our leading men, with very few exceptions, were of their number, and their influence was, not unnaturally, exerted to prevent dissenting movements from embarrassing their political friends. Their position, it must be acknowledged, was a delicate one; and if they deferred too much,—as we believe they did—to the wishes of the cabinet, they only added another, to the many instances on record, of honourable men being powerfully swayed by sinister, but unrecognised influences. Hence, it followed that our movements were continually embarrassed. Our obligations, as dissenters, were in perpetual conflict with our supposed duty as politicians. We were required to be silent on this point, and to be inactive on that, lest by speaking out, or giving practical form to our views, we should endanger the power, or increase the perplexities of our whig allies. This state of things is now happily terminated. The advent of toryism has left us politically free, and we have to deal, consequently, with other suggestions, and to oppose ourselves to new forms of plausible pretext for delay.

This is not, however, the only advantage which has resulted from the temporary return of the Tories to power. Not only are our limbs unbound, our energies let free, but we have been taught the necessity of looking to the source of our grievances, of enquiring into the cause of the evils which exist, and of vindicating the name of christianity from the foul libels uttered against it. The hopelessness of practical relief from a party in whose eyes intolerance and bigotry are sacred, has drawn many of our more timid friends, from the course they were solicitous to pursue; whilst the active measures which this party has adopted to strengthen its position, have convinced multitudes that there is no safety for religious freedom, no effectual protection for the ark of God, but in an entire disruption of the unhallowed alliance which exists between the secular power and the so-called church of God. This conviction has for some time past been working powerfully in the hearts of many dissenters. It has had much to contend with in the selfishness and indolence of

our nature, in the ramifications of the state church principle throughout our social relationships, in the greater respectability of its adherents, and the alleged violence and ultraism of those who impugned it. Still the conviction has worked deeper and deeper into the hearts of our people. Like leaven, it has leavened the lump, and at length is seen to have done so by the outward and visible signs it puts forth.

Of the extent and force of this conviction, the *British Anti-State Church Association* is an indisputable proof. It constitutes an evidence of the change which has passed on the dissenting community, and in the clearness of its principle, and the simplicity of the object which it proposes, it affords good evidence of the uprightness and intelligence with which its end will be sought. The circumstances out of which the society has originated, are strongly illustrative of this. It has not been forced into existence by any peculiar exigency of events, neither is it designed to obviate any temporary evil, or to secure any passing good. The Factories' Education Bill was appropriately met by an organization, suited to its temporary character, which arose on the spur of the occasion, appealed to the justice and religion of the nation, and having discharged its duty, instantly resigned its trust. But in the present case there was no such impulse. The question of ecclesiastical establishments was no otherwise different than it had been for years; save in the accumulation of evidence against them. They had stood for centuries, and for aught that a casual observer could notice, were as likely to remain unchallenged as at any former period, as free from all danger of practical combination against them as during any prior era. And yet, at this very time, there was working through the length and breadth of the land a conviction that these establishments are unscriptural and pernicious, that they are opposed to the very book on whose authority they pretend to stand, and inimical to the religion for whose extension they are avowedly framed; nay more, that it was the duty of sincere, earnest Chistians to attempt their overthrow by denouncing them as contrary to the mind of God, and obstructive to the progress of His truth. And this conviction passed from mind to mind, until at length it was diffused so widely, and had produced such earnestness of feeling, as to send up to this metropolis, notwithstanding all the inconveniences and cost of such a visit, upwards of seven hundred representatives, who were perfectly one on the great point in question, whatever varieties of opinion distinguished them on other subjects.

As there was nothing in the occurrences of the day specially necessitating such an organization, neither did it spring into existence at the summons of our recognized leaders. These

e for the most part silent as the grave. In public they her blessed nor cursed; unwilling to do the former, and deeming it advisable to attempt the latter. While the lt of the appeal was uncertain, they contented themselves, ar, at least, as their public action was concerned, with a sus-ous neutrality, and probably calculated on the failure of the ect. Judging from the past, and not taking into account change which had occurred in the views and policy of the great s of dissenters, they concluded that their standing aloof from movement would be fatal to its success. But no supineness ndifference on their part could arrest the summons which gone forth. It travelled throughout the land, asking no ur and fearing no frown, cheering the hearts of thou-ls, and calling forth a response louder and more cordial than ever been previously witnessed in the religious history of this ntry. At length the conference was held, and its meetings, con-ed through three successive days, were pre-eminently distin-hed by unanimity of feeling, a total abstinence from all which been charged on its conveners, and a zealous, yet enlightened ecration to the one great object contemplated. *The British i-State Church Association* was the appropriate issue of these tings, and as it is now thoroughly organized, and is about to mence its active operations, it is important that its con-ition and objects should be clearly understood. The follow-is the principle on which the society is based, and it is diffi-to understand how those who admit it, can feel justified in sing the association their active concurrence: 'That in mat-of religion man is responsible to God alone; that all legis-n by secular governments in affairs of religion is an encroach-t upon the rights of man, and an invasion of the prerogatives od; and that the application by law of the resources of the to the maintenance of any form or forms of religious wor-and instruction, is contrary to reason, hostile to human ty, and directly opposed to the word of God.'

y the distinct avowal of this principle the Society precludes st misapprehension of its object, and proclaims to all classes, chmen and dissenters, the precise end which it contemplates, the line of policy it is intended to pursue. Its object is ed to be 'The liberation of religion from all governmental gislative interference;' whilst the means which it proposes nploy in the accomplishment of this end are such only as lawful and peaceful.'

he modes of action to be pursued are also distinctly indi-d, and an attentive consideration of them will serve to com-d the honesty and the prudence by which the Society's pro-ings are distinguished. They embrace all which the case re-

quires, at the same time that they are free from the charge of an officious intermeddling with what lies beyond the legitimate scope of its operations. They are thus set forth in the scheme of organization which has been published by the Committee, and we transfer them to our pages that our readers may be fully informed on the subject.

'That the following be among the modes of action contemplated by this Society:—

1. The collection and digest, from authentic and public documents, of all such information as may throw light upon the nature and tendency of state churches.

2. The securing original essays on the question of state churches, for popular use, and fitted to supply to the public, and especially to dissenters, needful and useful information on the subject.

3. The employment of lecturers, gratuitous or otherwise, under the sanction and direction of the Executive Committee; to explain and enforce the fundamental principle of this Society; to expose the evils which have resulted, and are inseparable, from any form of alliance between church and state; and to rouse the public, and especially professed nonconformists, to an earnest consideration of their duty in this matter.

4. The promotion of the return to parliament, wherever practicable, of men of known integrity and ability, conversant with the principles of this Society, and disposed to avail themselves of all suitable occasions for exciting discussion thereupon, and ready to promote its object; and the furnishing of such members, when returned, with all the special information the Society can command.

5. The support of such members, whenever the Council shall deem it advisable to agitate the question of state churches in the legislature, by means of petitions to the Houses of Parliament, and memorials to the throne, and in other appropriate and constitutional ways.

6. The removal of the question of national religious establishments as much as possible from under the influence of party feeling; the placing it upon the ground of what is due to pure and undefiled religion, and to the best interests, temporal and spiritual, of the people; and the enlistment of the sincerely religious of all classes of the community by energetic appeals to the conscience.

7. The adoption of preparatory measures for obtaining the repeal of all the existing laws directly or indirectly involving the union of the church with the state; and the enactment of laws adapted to carry out, to their legitimate extent, the principles of religious liberty.

8. The employment of whatsoever lawful and peaceful means may be adapted to promote the one great object of "The British Anti-State Church Association.'

The Executive of the Society was of course a material point; and much thought was expended on it in order to secure to the utmost possible extent, popular controul in connexion with efficient direction. It was felt that such an organization would

be powerless unless it embodied the sentiments, and was fairly responsible to the judgment of the great body of dissenters,—that it had nothing to lean upon but popular support, and must therefore fairly represent the views, and be under the controul of the people. How this was to be obtained in connexion with a Central Committee was the problem to be solved. The past history of dissenting movements did not dispose the Conference to place unlimited confidence in London management; at the same time that there was a generous abstinence from any reflections on the past which could be painful to individuals. Taking, however, the whole case into account, it was resolved to constitute two bodies; a *Council* of five hundred, consisting of three hundred for England, one hundred for Scotland, fifty for Ireland, and fifty for Wales; and an *Executive Committee* of fifty. The former is the supreme and paramount body, whose province, as well as that of the Committee acting under it, are thus defined:—

'That the Council meet once in twelve months, at least, the time and place of their next meeting being fixed by themselves at each successive meeting, and that the following be their powers and duties:—

1. They shall elect to all offices, except in their own body, which may be vacated by death or otherwise, during the interval between one conference and another.

2. They shall determine all plans of importance connected with the operations of the Society; and, whatever they determine, the Executive Committee shall carry into effect, according to their instructions.

3. They shall superintend the affairs of this Society, making arrangements for the holding of conferences, whenever and wherever it may, in their judgment, be expedient; but, under any circumstances, they shall call a general conference at least once in three years.'

'That the constitution, duties, and responsibilities of the Executive Committee be the following:—

1. They shall meet once a month, at least, being summoned by circular from the Secretaries, at some fixed place of business to be selected by themselves.

2. It shall be their first duty to carry out the plans of the Council.

3. They shall take measures for the collection and digest of statistical and other information relative to state churches, and shall procure, by public competition or otherwise, the writing of such tracts, or larger treatises, on the question of national religious establishments, as they may deem requisite to further the objects of this Society.

4. They shall regulate the movements of public lecturers engaged in the name of this Society, and shall give advice to individuals wishing to form similar associations.

5. They shall carry into execution, as opportunities present themselves, the several modes of action prescribed by the Council; shall act as a Central Committee of advice whenever occasions may require;

and shall have power to call together the Council whenever, in their judgment, it may appear desirable.

6. They shall hold themselves responsible to the Council, by whose decisions they shall be bound.'

By means of these two bodies, the double object of popular controul and of effective management are secured; a basis for general confidence is laid, whilst an Executive is secured, from which a prompt and vigorous prosecution of the objects of the Society may be looked for. The meetings of the *Council* will be held in various parts of the kingdom as may be deemed best, from time to time, whilst those of the *Executive Committee* are necessarily restricted to London.

Such, then, are the principles, objects, modes of operation, and form of the *British Anti-state Church Association*, and it remains to see whether any valid objections lie against it, which can justify conscientious dissenters in refusing their co-operation. And here it is obvious to remark, that the mere fact of its existence is a material point. It is not now a question in debate whether such a society shall be formed. This has been determined by a more numerous assembly of dissenting representatives than had ever previously been convened. It has been shaped and brought into existence, is a living, active thing, and as such, challenges the support of all consistent voluntaries. It was one thing to demur to the organization before it was formed, and an entirely different matter to raise the standard of opposition now that it is complete, and in actual operation. The most cordial friends of religious freedom might have differed respecting the advisableness of such a movement; but since it has taken effect, and has recognized only such principles and modes of operation as all must approve, active hostility cannot but be regarded as suspicious, betokening something unsound at the core, the presence of sinister influences, unrecognized it may be, yet effectually misleading the judgment, and thus destroying all grounds for public confidence. How, we might say to such parties, will you justify to others a course which, to say the least, is equivocal and suspicious? You profess attachment to nonconformity, you admit the enormous evils which are perpetrated by a state church, the wrong which it does to souls, the insult it offers to Christianity, the contemptuous rejection it involves of the supremacy of its divine founder. And yet, while you admit all this, and somewhat ostentatiously parade your regard for dissenterism, and self-devotion to the advancement of its literature, you not only view with indifference, but actually proclaim your hostility—and that, too, in no measured terms—to a society which has sprung out of these convictions, is designed exclusively for the destruc-

tion of the evil over which you professedly mourn, and which is sustained, not only by large numbers of your brethren, but by many of those who have long been regarded as pre-eminently distinguished amongst us by their knowledge of our principles and able service in their defence. If you demur simply to the competency of the parties engaged in this movement, if you mistrust their judgment or their integrity, if you deem them rash, censorious or uninformed, bitter in spirit or feeble in intellect, then honestly state your views, and we shall understand you. Your position, at any rate, will be an intelligible one; and we can judge, and the public will judge also, between you and them, the accuser and the accused. But if, instead of doing this, you assail the society itself, if you raise against it the standard of war, misrepresenting its character, attributing false motives to its conductors, and endeavouring by every means in your power, save an open and honourable opposition, to cripple its movements and effect its ruin, then we are compelled to suspect some other object than is avowed; and, whatever personal respect we may entertain, to refuse you our confidence as intelligent and consistent dissenters. It may be all well that you should stand quiet for a time. Temporary *neutrality* may have something to plead in its defence. Cautious and prudent men as you are, jealous of your reputation, and suspicious of any movement which, by the barest possibility, can affect the respectability of dissent, it may be wise, or at least politic, to wait a time, in order to satisfy yourselves more thoroughly. Weeks or months may be conceded you for this, and the most zealous of your brethren, while they regretted your indecision, and marvelled at it, would yet refrain from entertaining hard thoughts respecting you. They would see in your silence only constitutional timidity, the perverting influences of your social position, or, as they might deem it, a partial apprehension of duty. But the case is far otherwise where hostility is avowed. Your position then becomes a false one, and you must not wonder if you fail to command the confidence, or to commend yourselves to the esteem of your brethren.*

* We take this opportunity of referring to a prospectus bearing the name of Dr. Vaughan, which has been extensively circulated, proposing the establishment of a Quarterly Review, to be entitled, 'The British Quartely Review.' We have no intention of saying one word respecting the relation which this project bears to our own journal. Whatever that relation be, our own course will be onward. We have taken our ground, and on it we shall abide. Whatever be the issue, the readers of the 'Eclectic' will never have occasion to say that it withdrew, under fear of rivalship, from the position which it had deliberately taken up. Our only object in noticing the project of our old friend Dr. Vaughan, is to call upon him to state frankly and distinctly the ground which he proposes to take, the reasons on which his under-

But we proceed to notice more in detail, the objections which are preferred against the *British Anti-state Church Association.* We shall not detain our readers with any extended comment on that class of objections which is founded on the locality where the recent conference was projected, or on the character and standing of the man by whom the plan was first broached. Supposing them to be all which their bitterest assailants allege, the plan challenges examination for itself, and should be adopted or rejected, according as it is found wise or imprudent; adapted to the requirements of duty, or calculated to retard the cause of religious freedom. But the men in question are far otherwise than their calumniators suppose. With strong conviction and earnest feeling they unite a largeness of view and a zeal for truth, with which, in these days of expediency, it is refreshing to meet, and we do them all honour for

taking is really based, and the end which he designs it to subserve. This is not done in the circular he has put forth, nor has he, in reply to our private communication, made any further disclosure of his views to the public. The statement of his circular is cautiously worded; those who know the views of the writer, catch from it a glimpse of the truth; whilst others, who are not so informed, must utterly fail to apprehend his meaning. That we may not be charged with misrepresenting our friend, we give the paragraph in question:—

'At present, however, there is a large space of cultivated mind within the enclosure of English Nonconformity which has no adequate expression in the pages of our periodical literature. The departments of the press which are most generally regarded as setting forth the feeling of our Churches, do so only in part; and not unfrequently, the feeling so exhibited, is that of parties who are not entitled to take precedence of their brethren, either as exceeding them in numbers, or as being more subject to the guidance of moderation or reflection. Of course, every division of the press, expressing any real section of opinion, should be sustained in giving to that opinion the freest possible utterance. But the liberty we concede, it is natural we should claim. We covet no quarrel with our brethren. We do not wish to afford our enemies that occasion to 'laugh among themselves.' We are not content, however, to be among the unrepresented in this respect, and we would be represented adequately.'

Let any intelligent man, uninformed respecting the views and position of the writer of this paragraph, say whether it conveys to him the notion that the journal to which it refers is based upon a strong reprobation of the recent conference, is designed to counteract the onward tendency out of which the conference grew, and to be a medium of communication with the public mind, for those who are thoroughly hostile to its spirit and constitution. We are not now referring, be it remembered, to the propriety of a journal being started to represent and advocate what are termed more moderate sentiments than our own. All that we are concerned about is, to have the matter understood; to let it be known what Dr. Vaughan contemplates; to have him speak out in free and honest terms, so that none may be misled into the supposition, that literature rather than *moderate* dissenterism is his object. He owes it to himself, and he owes it to our journal—which, we are bold to say, has done some good service to the common cause—to remove the veil under which he has, as yet, thought proper to conceal his intentions.

having staked their reputation on a measure against which almost the whole force of official influence was directed. We know of no reason why London should claim the sole right of originating any general movement. Its past history does not warrant it. Its present spirit does not authenticate the claim, and woe would be to voluntaryism if the country at large acquiesced in it. We have had opportunities for twenty years past to mark what London is, and what it will do; and have no hesitation in saying, that the healthful and stimulating influence of country zeal is absolutely needful, in order to preserve in the conduct of our affairs, that firmness and onward tendency which is in obvious keeping with the views of the great mass of our people. From the first, therefore, we treated the objections which were preferred on this ground, with the neglect they merited. There was something in them so mean and paltry, so infinitely beneath the dignity of the occasion, so indicative of a low and grovelling jealousy, that we were greatly astonished at estimable men permitting them for one moment to have weight with their minds.

But this feeling has been greatly strengthened, now that the scheme has been taken out of the hands of our brethren in the midland counties, and been adopted as their own by tens of thousands in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. It is no longer a local movement. History, indeed, will record to the honour of our brethren, that it originated with them; that it was first broached in the journal which they started, and assumed its earliest practical form in their neighbourhood, and under their auspices; but that same history will testify that with a rectitude of mind passing all praise, every selfish consideration was merged in the great enterprize, the direction and controul of which was instantly ceded to the general organization devised.

Some who sympathize in general with the object of the Association are apprehensive that it may serve to disunite the liberal party, and thus afford occasions of triumph to our opponents. Looking at the separate action which has been pursued by the Anti-Corn Law League, and the Complete Suffrage Society, and of which an earlier example was set by the Anti-Slavery Society, they are fearful, lest another ground of division amongst the friends of political amelioration should be given, the effects of which would be injurious to good government, and consequently obstructive to the progress of religious freedom. In reply to this objection we take leave to observe that it involves some misapprehension of the primary object of the Association. That object is the diffusion of truth, the circulation by various legitimate means of what is believed to be the mind of God respect-

ing the constitution of his church, and the mode of extending her faith through the world. A public sentiment yet remains to be formed, in the first place—and this will require a protracted course of labour—amongst our own people, and afterwards amongst the community at large. To this the society is primarily to address itself; and it will only be when such sentiment has been created in a degree which fairly challenges parliamentary representation, that ulterior labours, obviously requisite to the emancipation of the church, will be attempted. That political action must ultimately result from the prevalence of our views is unquestionable, whether such prevalence proceeds from the efforts of a society, or from those of separate individuals. In the one case as really as in the other, there is danger of division in the liberal party. It arises from the views entertained, rather than from the means by which they have been induced, and would probably operate most perniciously on that plan which wrought the change most slowly. The real question, therefore, we apprehend is, whether our views are sufficiently important to be diffused, at the risk of such an evil. We of course reply in the affirmative, at the same time that we readily avow our conviction of the great caution that must be exercised in the progress of the society, not to afford to our hereditary opponents, the opportunity of triumphing over more liberal candidates. It is quite obvious, that the liberal party of this country is at present so situated as to be incapable of making head against its antagonists, if there be division in its own camp. The case therefore must be very clear, and the probability of success all but certain, to justify the society in hazarding the possibility of defeat: nor have we any apprehension of such a contingency arising, for years to come.

Another class of objectors, less friendly to the society, allege that it is founded on a misapprehension of the special duty of dissenters. This duty they suppose to consist exclusively in preaching the gospel, understanding by that phrase, the exhibition of those evangelical doctrines which are revealed as the medium of human pardon and hope. Now we are perfectly one with these objectors in the view they entertain of the importance of these doctrines. They cannot be estimated too highly, or be too prominently exhibited in the ministration of religious truth. Without them the revelation of God would, in our judgment, lose its value and relevancy to our case,—be a cruel mockery of human hope, instead of 'glad tidings of great joy' to the perishing. But the incompatibility of such views with an active vindication of the spirituality of the church and the exclusive supremacy of its founder, we are at a loss to imagine. We can readily conjecture how those who entertain low views on

these points should reconcile themselves to the existing order of things, however detrimental to the interests of piety,—but how those who recognise the special character of the christian system should do so we are at a loss to divine, since such order secularizes that which should be spiritual, neutralises the gracious provision of the Deity, and reduces to the mere measurement and policy of earth the largest and noblest arrangement of the divine mind. It is idle to allege that controversy is not the business of the church. This is the mere drivelling of a feeble and unreflecting piety, against which the history of the past, and the repeated exhortations of the divine word are equally directed. From the hour of its creation, from the first moment of its being called into existence, the church has been a witness for the truth. It has been assailed by various forms of error, some having respect to the articles of its belief, and others to its constitution and mode of conduct. Against these it has maintained a continuous struggle, and woe would be to the world if its voice were hushed, and its salient energy refused any further and appropriate action. Truth, of whatever kind, is homogeneous; and christian truth claims no exception from this law. It may be more important and more venerable, may be entitled to more continuous attention, may claim a deeper lodgment in the heart, but it looks with no unfriendly aspect, nor wages war on any other truth. As it is with christian truth, as a whole, in reference to other truths, so is it with one department of this in relation to another; and he grossly misapprehends the character of christianity, who imagines that one branch of it, however preeminent, is to be honoured by the neglect or disparagement of any other. In this point of view the remarks of Dr. Wardlaw in his admirable paper are well worthy of attention, and we transfer them to our pages that they may be deeply engraven on the minds of our readers.

'Our first business, if it be in our power, is to ascertain the rectitude of principles. If *right*, they will be *good;* if just in themselves, salutary in their effects. The first of all our inquiries, then, ought to be, 'What is truth?' what is right—right in principle? This is not only the most reasonable process; it is, at the same time, incomparably the least troublesome. The settlement of this question is the equal settlement of many more. It at once supersedes all questions of casuistry and expediency. The moment you have determined what is right, inquiry ends, and action begins. To ask another question after that, is an insult to truth, and to the God of truth. Thus we are saved from all the endlessly perplexing questions suggested by that god-dishonouring, conscience-entangling, yet not seldom specious and plausible deceiver, expediency. Rectitude becomes our policy. If we wish to be 'men-pleasers,' we shall ask, what is *expedient?* if we seek to please God, our one question will be, what is *right?*

'Suppose, then, in any case, we come to be satisfied that an erroneous principle has been extensively adopted, and has been made the basis of a practical system, of great complexity, of long standing, gathering around it the veneration of age, incorporated with the habits of thought of all classes of a community, from the highest to the lowest, intertwined with a vast variety of individual and relative interests, and entering as an element into all the political workings of the government of a country; it becomes, in many minds, a very serious question, whether it should be meddled with. They ask, with grave anxiety, what will be the consequences? They tremble for a revolution. They say, 'Better let it alone. It might not be right to introduce it now, had we our constitution to frame; but, there it is; there it has long been; it cannot be dislodged without possible effects such as we dread to contemplate: had we not as well let things remain as they are?' Where would have been the reformation, had Luther reasoned thus? Suppose a man has taken poison into his corporeal system. It has remained long there, because by himself and others it happens to have been little thought of. But it is working deleteriously. It is undermining his constitution. And now it has got so thoroughly and intimately incorporated with every fibre of his frame to which the circulating blood has carried it, that to drive it out requires a process of no ordinary severity, and skill of no ordinary amount, to conduct it with safety to life. Is our cool verdict to be, Let him alone; let him die? Should we not rather have recourse to every combination of counsel and skill to which we could find access to save him—to expel the poison and re-establish his health and active vigour? You will see the application. But there is one important point in which the parallel fails. In applying the remedial means, the life of the man is not absolutely secure. It is a possible case, that he may die under the hands of his physicians. But in the case illustrated, there is no such danger. The church of God, for whose life, and health, and vigour, and active usefulness, we are specially solicitous, *can never die!* It is 'instinct with life'—with life spiritual and divine. Whatever becomes of the state, when that part of the church which has accepted its alliance shall be severed from it, (and here, too, we see reason to apprehend nothing but good), we have no fear for the church. All that is spiritual in it—all, that is, which really constitutes the church, will remain, and remain in a state of living and life-giving energy, such as it never knew before, delivered from the debilitating, paralysing, influence of the world, and breathing the atmosphere of a new and joyous freedom. The stronger the hold that error has got—the more completely it has been inwrought into the entire system of our ecclesiastico-political institutions—the longer the hold has been kept, and the more tenaciously rooted it has become— the more zealously guarded it has come to be by various selfish interests, as well as by the apprehensions of a mistaken benevolence, and a zeal 'not according to knowledge;' while we do not deny that the more prudent and careful must be the treatment by which we seek to effect its expulsion—yet equally true do we hold it, and equally manifest, that proportionally the more imperative and absolute has become the necessity for such expulsion. It *must* be dislodged. The right principle must be introduced. Truth must resume its own place,

and, no longer amalgamating with a worldly system, act in entire separation, with all its pristine energy, as an antagonist force to all the world's unholy and deadly influences.'—pp. 23-5.

Another class of objectors allege against the Society, that it is political, and as such, is undeserving of the support of religious men. This objection is borrowed from the advocates of a state church, and comes with a bad grace from the lips of dissenters. It betokens gross ignorance or wilful misapprehension, the utter absence of reflection, or an incapacity for appreciating the actual position of things, and the measures consequently needful to rectify that which is vicious. Either the constitution of the Society has not been examined, and if so, the objectors ought at any rate to be silent; or the truth is rejected through the prevalence of a dishonest motive. That the Society is to some extent political—if by this phrase be meant that political action must sooner or later result from its operations—we readily admit. The civil power has intruded itself into the church, has undertaken its management, incorporated its clergy, prescribed its forms of worship, and set limits to its faith. This is the evil of which we complain, and against which all our efforts are directed; but its ultimate correction can only be accomplished through the same legislature by which the evil itself has been wrought. Mr. Mursell has put this point forcibly, and we cannot do better than quote his words. He says:

'After all, the church of England is a political structure, an ecclesiastical corporation, based upon acts of parliament, and it will be through the medium of the legislature that it will be overthrown. The benumbing, deluding, destructive influence it exerts on society, in its arrogant pretensions, as the representative of the Christian religion, may be more or less counteracted by the exertions and influence of voluntary Christian societies. But for these, the establishment would long before this have been developed in all its terrible proportions; and, indeed, the whole nation would at this hour have been prostrate at the feet of a ruthless and besotted superstition, as in the case of the kingdoms of western Europe, and in the powers cursed by the domination of the Greek church.

'But, after all we may effect by the diffusion of tracts, the institution of lectures, the establishment of schools, or any other suitable means, it must be obvious to all, that the scene of ultimate operations must be that in which the suffrages of the people are recorded. We may prepare the public mind by wise and persevering efforts; but to this point that mind must ultimately turn. Dissenters must avail themselves of their rights as citizens to advance their great Master's cause. They must endeavour to send to the parliament of the nation men of strong heads and sound hearts, men who fear God and venerate his Son, and who will be prepared to carry the great and sacred principles which they have learned from His word, into the presence of nobles, and before the

thrones of princes. It should be a main object of the society to promote rational and consistent views on this point, and to avail itself, whenever the proper time shall arrive, of this final mode of effecting the liberation of Christianity from the debasing trammels of the state.'—pp. 128-9.

But while from the very nature of the evil to be corrected our movements must necessarily, in certain stages, partake of a political complexion, they are primarily religious, and that too—such is our conviction—in the highest and best sense of the word. No organization of the present day, whether it respect the heathen abroad or at home, the circulation of the divine word, or the preaching of the gospel, is more so. We say this deliberately, and on a full consideration of all the facts of the case. The established church is, in our judgment, the most formidable obstacle to the diffusion of true religion amongst us. It operates more widely, more stealthfully, more fatally, than any other; deteriorating the character of religion, substituting formalism for godliness, and wrapping the souls of hundreds of thousands of our countrymen in a false security fatal to their everlasting peace. We may be right or wrong in this conviction: it may be the offspring of enlightened enquiry or of rooted prejudice, but such being our conviction we are compelled by every religious motive to labour for the overthrow of the hierarchy, and in so doing can commend ourselves and our measures to the special benediction of heaven. It is as an irreligious institute, a corporation antagonistic to christianity, a member of the system, over which the 'man of sin' presides, that we contend against the hierarchy, and labour for its overthrow. Whatever be the excellencies of many of its members—and we regard them with unmingled complacency—the ecclesiastical establishment is no church of Christ, but a mere creature of the state, based on worldly principles, originating in secular motives, and primarily designed to aid the political interests of its framers. If any of our readers are disposed to take a more favourable view of the practical working of the hierarchy, we earnestly recommend to them an attentive perusal of Mr. Miall's paper, with an extract from which we shall close this branch of our subject.

'If such,' he remarks, 'or anything approaching to such, has been the effect of the union between church and state, upon the religious portion of society, how incalculably more deleterious has been its operation upon the ignorant, the unthinking, the careless, and the profane! The exhibition of christianity for ages through a worldly medium—the intertwining with its institutions and its offices, ends which are utterly opposed to its spirit—the prostitution of its sacred name to the unrighteous purposes of men in power—the unblushing display, in connexion with its godlike professions, of the ambition, the craft, the rapacity, the

intolerance, and the perfidy of mere men of the world, cloaked in the garb of authorized ecclesiastics—what mind can conceive, what heart can appreciate, the awful result? Is it wonderful that, in the upper circles of society, the fear and the love of God, and the goodwill to man, which are inseparable from any system of living christian faith, should be generally treated as a figment of wild enthusiasm? or that an unbridled licentiousness, a perpetual round of dissipation, a code of morals which sets at nought divine precepts, and a course of legislation which tramples upon the first dictates of humanity, should be held to be perfectly compatible with an honourable standing in the church? Or, glancing from the heights to the depths of society, is it wonderful that the great bulk of our labouring classes, not in crowded towns merely, but in rural hamlets, should cherish a growing enmity of heart against christianity, as a system of state-craft, designed chiefly to oppress them? Mark, how, in the vicinity of every ecclesiastical fortress, under the shadow of our cathedrals, and within the range of our universities, where the state clergy swarm and hive—spiritual ignorance and human depravity show themselves in their most offensive forms! Hence, the fearful prevalence of infidelity amongst the poor! Hence, the habitual contempt, by three-fourths of them, for every form of christian ordinances. The evil has now reached a frightful altitude. The millions in this land seem to be beyond the reach of all spiritual means. But for the influence of that refracted christianity which finds its way among them, theirs would be a darkness that might be felt; and in that darkness, as in a congenial home, every guilty passion would nestle and breed, until the empire had become a perfect hell. Thank God, there is something in the land more truly conservative than state churchism—that there is at work, powerful to counteract and to restrain impiety, if not yet strong enough to subdue it, an energy purer, holier, more elevating, more potent to transform, than any which a national religious establishment can generate—that there is yet amongst us a faith, apart from all system, and a sense of responsibility, careless of the sanction of rulers, which dare, in multitudes of individual instances, to grapple with the tremendous evil. Not, however, until the tie between the church and the state has been severed, can the body of believers in this country be expected to make adequate and systematic efforts to recover the waste ground. Whilst it lasts, the bulk of our population will probably remain either the slaves of the grossest superstition, or the victims of a malignant infidelity.'—pp. 70-1.

Another objection is founded on the divisions of our opponents. The members of the establishment, it is alleged, are in controversy amongst themselves, and it will be politic for a time to leave them alone. The presence of a common foe may serve to unite the contending sections of the hierarchy, who will otherwise exhaust each other, evince the delusiveness of the unity which it claims, and alienate public confidence from the system itself. The present time, it is therefore contended, is unwisely selected for such a movement as that which the Society contemplates. The members of the establishment are

doing our work, and if suffered to go on will accomplish it much more effectually than we ourselves could. We are therefore counselled to stand quietly by, to suspend operations for a season, to wait till the chapter of events shall have unrolled some other and more opportune occasion than occurs at present. The parties urging this objection are, in many cases we are assured, thoroughly earnest. There is no material difference between us and them in the view taken of the state church. They believe it to be all which we believe, the fruitful source of formalism and infidelity: yet they demur, on the ground stated, to the propriety of our measures, and are disposed to stand aloof from our councils. We have put their objection in the strongest light, from the respect in which we hold them, and our solicitude to bring the matter between us to a satisfactory issue. In the first place, then, we reply, that this objection overlooks what is due to truth. It assumes that, so far as our agency is concerned, we may suppress or exhibit it, be silent respecting its claims, or loud in its profession, according as other men are disposed or are acting in relation to it. And all this in the case of practical truth, truth having respect to present conduct, and adapted to, nay, actually moulding anew, the whole tenor and complexion of our christian service. The objection does not respect what is theoretical or abstract, but that which is living and practical, of daily obligation, and of vast moment to the happiness of mankind. Now, this does not appear to us consistent with christian rectitude, and we earnestly commend to the consideration of those who give such counsel the following admirable remarks of Dr. Wardlaw, the conclusiveness of which precludes the necessity for our saying anything more on this point.

'With regard to the *principle* for which we contend, and our conviction of whose importance has now brought us together from all parts of the country, we have by some been counselled to put it, in the meanwhile, *in abeyance*. We like not the counsel. *Abeyance!* It is not the word for present and pressing duty. The principle is not one of indifference, or of minor importance: it is primary—it is vital. When we are advised to set it aside for the time, we are constrained to say, We cannot, we dare not, we will not. As well tell us to put the gospel in abeyance. Believing, as we do, the progress of the gospel and the salvation of the world to be bound up with the prosperity of the church, with its healthy and vigorous activity; and believing, as we do, the prosperity, the health, the activity of the church to be dependent upon, and proportionate to, its spirituality and separation from the world, these being indispensable to the church's working effectually upon the world for its regeneration—we should feel ourselves unworthy recreants to the cause of God, and truth, and human salvation, were we, for one moment, to lend an ear to such advice.'—pp. 25-6.

The objection we are considering is opposed, further, to the rule on which men act in all analogous cases. When a camp is divided is the time ordinarily chosen for its assault, and its lines are carried with a facility proportioned to the extent of such division. Now, therefore, that the compact force of the hierarchy is broken, when various parties are wrangling within its pale, each contending for its own Shibboleth, and all disproving the unity of the body, and the boasted oneness of its faith, is the very time, the season, as it seems to us, of all others, to unfold the whole truth, with a view of disabusing the public mind of our country, and of conveying to the reflecting members of the established church, the sounder and more scriptural views prevalent amongst ourselves.

But we remark, again—and to this consideration much weight is due—the diversities of opinion within that church have no respect to the question of a religious establishment: they involve no impeachment of its character, no impugnment of its claims, no denial of its authority, as a religious institute. The Puseyists and the Evangelicals, are perfectly one on these points. Whatever may be their differences they are here agreed: and the lawfulness, and the necessity of such establishments are therefore uniformly assumed throughout their writings. The latter are as decided on these points as the former, and yield not a tittle to them in the ardour and bitterness of their zeal. The truth, therefore, so far as the present question is concerned, has no advocate amongst either. Some glimpses of it may be occasionally detected, some partial approximation to first principles be traced in the publications of the Oxford School; but these are so bald and meagre, so overlaid with error, so commingled with the elements of secularity and priestism as to lose their distinctive character, and to accomplish only the purposes of error. Within the pale of the church, we are bold to affirm, no such differences of opinion exist as the objection before us supposes. The truth of God in reference to other matters, is indeed felt to be in danger; the gospel of Jesus Christ is being made to give place to a system of formalism, fatal to piety and promotive only of phrasaical ostentation, and the advocates of evangelical doctrine are doing their utmost to arrest this evil, and to perpetuate amongst their people the truth as it is in Christ. It is impossible, however, to peruse their controversial writings, without feeling that they are in a false position, that they are disqualified by their churchmanship from doing full justice to their views as Christians, that they are perpetually exposed to a course of argumentation which they cannot refute, and are crippled in their exhibition of the truth by the fallacy of their first principles, or the erroneous character of the

standards to which they defer. It is our solemn conviction that the cause of evangelical piety is greatly damaged by this state of things, and must continue to be so until its advocates learn to disencumber themselves of their worldly armour, and to contend only with the sword of the Spirit. Now, therefore, of all times, would appear to us, the most befitting to hold up the truth before the nation, to exhibit 'the more perfect way' which we have learned from the word of God, to unfold in all its simplicity and completeness the law of Christ in relation to his church, and the means by which its limits are to be extended. By doing so with meekness and fidelity, avoiding all uncharitableness and intemperance, we may hope gradually but surely to gain the ear of the more considerate of our opponents, to awaken them to a clearer apprehension of their position and obligation, and to lead them on—some of them at least—to a practical recognition of those laws which the hierarchy outrages, but without the maintenance of which nothing can stay the torrent of secularity and formalism by which it is threatened. If the present course of things continue,—and there is no reason to suppose it will not,—the friends of evangelical truth within the establishment will growingly feel the difficulties of their position, and be compelled to look around them for some method of extricating themselves from the embarassment and snares by which they are encompassed. Towards this consummation—so devoutly to be desired—their progress will be hastened by a faithful discharge, in a spirit of christian charity, of our peculiar vocation. Upon the dissenters of this country God has devolved the duty of scattering the seeds of neglected truth. The result of their labour may not be seen for a time. Bitterness and strife may attend their course, and many timid friends, pointing to these, may advise the abandonment of their labours. But, in the meantime, the seed will germinate, and at length a glorious harvest will be gathered. The seeds of future changes may lie unnoticed for generations. There is much to be done before they are seen on the surface of society, and we must be content—if such be our vocation—to work in this preparatory stage, satisfied that others should enter on our labours.

Such, then, are the principal objections which are urged against the *British Anti-State Church Association*. Others are to be met with, but they are of minor importance, and our space is already too occupied to allow of our noticing them. We have endeavoured to state fairly those we have noticed, and must leave our replies to the candid consideration of our friends. It remains to be seen how far the Society will be sustained by the suffrages of the dissenting body. Its prospects are highly encouraging. Pro-

mises of pecuniary aid are flowing in from every quarter, whilst an earnest call for prompt and efficient action is received from all parts of the empire. To such as may have been indifferent or mistrustful, we counsel a cautious examination of the Society's constitution and resources, before any hostile position be taken up. In the admirable temper which distinguished the Conference, an earnest is afforded of the spirit in which its operations will be carried on, whilst the pains taken by the *Executive Committee* to lay a deep and broad platform for future action, give proof of the absence of rashness from its council,—the solicitude of its members to combine wisdom with zeal, the forethought which anticipates and provides for contingencies, as well as the decision which admits of no compromise. It is within our knowledge that many have been won over already, and we doubt not that the plans about to be pursued will increase their number, and strengthen the confidence of all.

To such of our readers as rank amongst the friends and supporters of the Society, we take leave, in closing our remarks, to tender a moment's counsel. Much will depend on the confidence you exercise in the wisdom and integrity of the executive body. Placed at a distance from them, without the opportunity of attending their council board, it may possibly have happened that you suspect them of remissness, or begin to wonder at their plans not having been as yet fully matured. This is not unnatural. Were we in your case we might possibly entertain similar thoughts—at any rate we should be anxiously looking for some public demonstration on the part of the Society. Nothing would have been easier to the committee than to meet this expectation, and it would have gratified them to do so. But they feel that they are in trust for future years, and that they would be culpable, in no ordinary degree, if they purchased temporary popularity at the cost of permanent usefulness. Hence they have been concerned in the first place to complete the Society's organization, to diffuse widely, information respecting its character and objects, and to ascertain, to some extent at least, the funds which will be placed at their disposal. This has now been done, and measures are consequently in progress for the publication of tracts, and the delivery of lectures, which will soon be notified to the public. In the mean time we must give a word of caution. Many of the Society's friends, in various parts of the country, are projecting auxiliary associations as the best means of aiding both its funds and its labours. This is perfectly natural, and is received as good evidence of the zeal which stands ready for action. Such associations are the machinery through which our religious

societies ordinarily work, and it was therefore to be expected that they would instantly occur to the friends of this movement as an unexceptionable method of aiding its design. But the law interposes its veto, and there is no appeal. The truth of the matter is, that the Society *can have no auxiliaries, can enter into no correspondence with other societies, nor receive from them any pecuniary contributions whatsoever*. Were it to do so, it would be brought within the meshes of the law, and the Attorney-General would soon be instructed to call its conductors to account. The utmost caution is therefore needful; and we are glad to find, that the matter has had the deliberate attention of the committee, which has issued, under legal advice, the following suggestions, as adapted to meet the exigencies of the case, and to avoid all the evils incident to a different course. We leave the document with our readers, and shall probably return, ere long, to the subject.

'The Executive Committee having received many letters requesting information as to the best method of promoting the objects of the Association in the metropolitan districts and in the provinces, and having ascertained that local associations cannot legally hold communication with the British Anti-State Church Association, or even contribute to its funds, submit the following suggestions to their friends, as adapted to secure the greatest amount of union and practical advantage, without involving the legal liabilities which would otherwise be incurred.

1. In order to bring the claims of the Association fairly before the public, a registrar to be appointed in each town, village, or other locality; and where the extent of the population to be appealed to shall require it, a town or locality to be divided into well-defined districts, and a registrar to be appointed to each of such districts.

2. These registrars, in every instance, to be enrolled members, and duly appointed by the Executive Committee as such officers of the association.

3. Except when themselves members of the council, to be recommended in writing to the Executive Committee by a member of the council; or, in the absence of any such person, by not less than five enrolled members of the Association.

4. It is suggested that no individual should be recommended as eligible to become a registrar who is not prepared to exert himself personally in promoting the objects of the Association.

5. Each registrar, on his appointment, to be furnished with a registrar's book, in which he will keep a register of the names of all persons who have become members of the Association, with an account of their pecuniary subscriptions; and the Executive Committee, on receiving from individual registrars a list of the names of members on their books, with evidence of their pecuniary qualification, will supply them with an equal number of member's cards, containing respectively the names of the members so reported.

6. The pecuniary subscriptions obtained by the registrars to be, at

tated periods arranged by the Executive Committee, transmitted to the reasurer of the Association.

7. The registrars of each locality to advise from time to time with the Executive Committee as to making arrangements for the delivery of ectures and the holding of public meetings, and for the promotion of he objects of the Association by other means; and the Executive Committee to hold themselves prepared to afford assistance, to the utmost extent of their means, opportunities, and ability, in giving efficiency to ll such movements as may be adopted with their concurrence.'

Brief Notices.

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1 *Historico-Geographical Account of Palestine in the time of Christ.* By Dr. John Frederick Röhr, translated with Notes and Corrections from the German, by the Rev. David Esdaile. Biblical Cabinet, No. xliii. pp. x. 340. Edinburgh: Clarke. 1843.

'HE original of this work has been for a good while the established chool-book in Germany, on the subject of which it treats. It was, owever, but ill suited for translation in the Biblical Cabinet. We do ot look for school-books among the very useful volumes included n that series: and Röhr's work is not adapted for use as one in his country. The only ground on which it could be introduced, must e really if not ostensibly, that, although no more than a school-book n the country of the author, it was calculated to be useful to already ducated biblical students, here; and it is chiefly on this ground hat it must be judged. In this view, or in any view, we cannot report ery favourably of it. The work was originally composed before the lemand for exact knowledge was so strong as it has now become; and he materials are derived from sources much less clear and accurate than hose which have of late years been opened. The work is in fact superseded; and it was scarcely worth while to translate it. A book of the ind is doubtless wanted: and we hear with much satisfaction, that Professor Robinson of New York, (the most competent of living men for the task,) is engaged in preparing a small volume on the geography of Palestine—which we doubt not will render such productions as the present mere lumber on the shelves of the publishers. This is not, however, altogether an useless book. There is much of a certain sort of information in it. But all the improvements of the author in successive editions, and all the corrective notes of the translator, have not been effectual in remedying the radical and pervading defect of inexactness.

We speak with the less reserve of this volume, as it presents one of the most curious examples of book-making that we have lately met with, and such as, we are bound to say, does not often occur in the Biblical Cabinet. The work which gives it a title, occupies little more than one

half of it. The rest is made up, 1. Of a few notes by the editor: 2. A long Chronological Table from Horne's introduction, occupying thirty pages: and, 3. The reprint of an article inserted by Dr. Robinson in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, (which is however not named here) supplementary to, and corrective of certain statements in his Biblical Researches in Palestine. This has little connection with the present work, in comparison with much which might have been derived from the Biblical Researches themselves; but the article being unprotected by copyright in this country, and being convenient to fill up the space, was bodily introduced.

Upon the whole, we conjecture, that the publisher of the Biblical Cabinet, for whom we have much respect, was keeping holiday when this volume was 'got up.'

The Inferno of Dante Alighieri translated in the Terza Rima of the original, with Notes and Appendix. By John Dayman, M A., Rector of Skelton, Cumberland, and late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. London: Painter, 342, Strand.

However satisfied we may have hitherto felt with the translation of Mr. Carey, it was with no slight interest, that we saw advertised the present attempt by Mr. Dayman, to realize in English the versification of Dante; as that great father of Italian poetry would have doubtless desired it to be done. Lord Byron demonstrated, we think, the possibility of such a realization. The difficulties to be overcome are numerous; and yet proportionably striking are the results. Take for example, a description of day-break, and the scene afterwards;

> 'It was the blessed hour of morning prime;
> The sun went up through heaven, and on his wings
> Hung every star that sang the love sublime,
> Which gave to motion all these beauteous things:'

The admirers of La Divina Commedia, will well remember the passage in the original, '*Temp' era dal principio del mattino;*' and were the whole of the Inferno thus rendered, the translator would have to be congratulated on his labours. These, nevertheless, demand so much respectful attention, that we shall defer a general review of them until the goal is reached, and Mr. Dayman emerges from the Paradise, in the radiance of '*L'amor che muove 'l sole e l'altre stelle!*' Meanwhile he must avoid such miserable rhymes as 'marking' and 'hearken,' or 'token' and 'provoking,' or 'scourge' and 'verge'; although, in the pronunciation of some persons, this last is not so bad as the others. Several similar flaws and common-places might be easily noticed; but the whole of Dante must be before us; since, until that is the case, it would be justice, neither to the poet, the translator, nor ourselves, to enter very deeply into what could scarcely be discussed, but in an extended article.

Poems, original and translated. By Charles Rann Kennedy, Esq. London. Moxon. 1843.

Is not this the same gentleman, to whose translations of Demosthenes we not long ago devoted an article? We venture to admire his scholarship, much more than his poetry. His translation of the Semele from

Schiller, is a spirited piece; but really having said this, we can discover no other spot in the 247 pages, on which to plant an eulogium! His 'Morning' reminds us of those silly efforts, formerly in fashion, when the author of the 'Triumphs of Temper,' endeavoured to substitute rhyme for reason, after the mode of

Hayley-gaily-gambo-railey,
Higgledy-piggledy-
Galloping-dreary-dun!

These trifles may be all very well to amuse an idle moment (if it be ever right to have such;) but to print them seems a cruel waste of time, paper, ink, types, and money. Sound is only a vehicle of conveyance to the mind; and, if it be once divorced from sense, the smile produced, is upon the outward features, and not upon the inner man. The corners of our lips curl, whether we will, or no; and where the author is undoubtedly a person of talent, as is the case with Mr. Kennedy, we can only entreat him to remember his own well-merited reputation, as well as the taste of the public.

The Aristocracy of Britain. London: Dyer. 1844.

THIS is a cheap and most important compilation of the remarks made by foreign writers upon the grand cardinal evil of our constitution. The laws of entail and primogeniture are the undoubted columns upon which the fabric of oligarchy rests; and, what we fear is, that some day or other, popular opinion, like the son of Manoah, blinded and insane through the cruelty of its oppressors, will take hold of these 'two middle pillars,' and bow them into one pile of ruin, not less disastrous to the House of Lords, than to our beloved country and its inhabitants at large. We want reformation rather than revolution; but to avoid the last, we must secure the first. Unless, however, our rulers shall be wise in time, they will be *made wise* too late. To exorcise the evil genius of any aristocracy, would be to recast the whole horoscope of that political sphere, in which it moves and has its being. Our aristocracy fills up a tremendous space in Christendom. It is a Colossus on the largest scale. One foot is on Europe, another on Asia; whilst beneath its stride, flow five-sixths of the commerce and social destinies of the world. Whenever this huge power shall be overthrown, verily the nations will shake and resound with its fall! But it is at home, that its cold, blighting, withering shadow is felt;—by our own hearths and altars,—in our own fields and houses,—throughout our own markets and harbours,—throughout the teeming millions of our population. Over all these, high and lifted up, is extended the iron sceptre of feudalism! Worldliness, selfishness, tyranny, pride, the coronet, and the mitre, all know well enough that their legislative charm,—that the talisman which enables them to hold together, so as to reign over property and conscience, within these islands, would gradually vanish away before a law of equal succession. In this publication, the arguments and sentiments of Messieurs Passy, Beaumont, Sismondi, Buret, Guizot, Benjamin Constant, Dupin, Say, Blanqui, and Mignet, are translated and gathered into a convenient *fasciculus*, for general edification. Some statistical and explanatory

notes are added; and if our wishes were realized, a copy should be sent to every news-room, and every reader in the three kingdoms. It is neatly printed, and is to be procured for half-a-crown. May success attend its circulation. It is appropriately dedicated to Mr. Sharman Crawford.

English Prose; being Extracts from the Works of English Prose Writers, with Notes of their Lives. 12mo. pp. 504. London: James Moore.

'It seems well that the best models of thought and expression should be among those which are before us at the time when we are most prone to imitate. English children do learn something of the great writers of Greece and Rome, and of the great poets of England, but they often, and perhaps mostly finish what is called their education, scarcely knowing even the names of many of the great writers of English prose. The design of this book is to give that knowledge, and some slight acquaintance with the works of those writers.'

Such is the statement of the editor in his brief preface to this volume, and we are bound to say that he has, to a very considerable extent, succeeded in his undertaking. The contents of his volume are arranged under ten divisions, of which the following are the titles. Narratives, letters, history, morals and religion, philosophy and policy, speeches, drama and dialogue, voyages and travels, natural history, and miscellanies. The range of authorship selected from, is much more extensive than is common with works of this class; the extracts given are of a higher order, and the compilation, as a whole, is incomparably superior to any other with which we are acquainted. The volume is printed in a neat and handsome style, and will be found both an agreeable and instructive companion.

The Works of the Rev. Hugh Binning, M.A., one of the Regents in the University of Glasgow, and afterwards Minister of Govan. Collected and edited by the Rev. M. Leishman, D.D., Minister of the Parish of Govan. p. 659. A. Fullarton & Co.

Some men pass through life, others live. Hugh Binning did the latter. Estimated according to his attainments and deeds, he was not young when at the age of thirty-five he exchanged the infirmities and labour of earth for the rest and joy of Heaven. He was reckoned a prodigy of learning, his knowledge seeming rather intuitive than acquired; he was, as his epitaph described him, 'philologus, philosophus, theologus præstans;' and was so renowned for his eloquence as to obtain the title of 'the Scots Cicero.' He was born in 1618, became regent and professor of philosophy in 1646, settled as minister of the parish of Govan, adjoining the city of Glasgow, in 1649, and died in 1653.

The writings of Mr. Binning have been very popular in Scotland. Nor is it wonderful. The late Dr. M'Crie only expressed a reasonable partiality, and bestowed a just commendation, when he said, 'I am fond of Binning; he is thoroughly evangelical, is always in earnest, and full of his subject, abounds in new and striking thoughts, and has many

atural and unaffected beauties in his style and manner of writing. Had e paid a little more attention to order and method, and lived to correct is sermons for the press, he would, in my opinion, have carried every oint of a good and great preacher. As it is, very few writers please ne more.' The present edition of his works is well got up, and, we annot doubt, will promote acquaintance with one who will be valued in roportion as he is known.

Rachel of Padanaram, a Type of the Church. A sacred History, from the Mosaic Record. By William Archer. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1843.

THIS is a singular volume. The author tells us in his preface that he wrote the chapters casually under the alternate influence of the Arcadia, Atalantis, Faëry Queen or the Dialogues of the Banquet, and Phædo.' His pages contain beautiful description, pathos, and sound learning, but in the playfulness and luxuriance of fancy, the subject is often overwrought. He has interwoven his Platonic thoughts and style with the simple narrative of the Book of Genesis. Few will read the poem without being interested, though many may disapprove the typical and allegorical style which prevails throughout it. The romantic prose is frequently interrupted by passages of original poetry.

The Teacher's Companion: designed to exhibit the Principles of Sunday School Instruction and Discipline. By R. N. Collins, Superintendent of the St. Bride's Sunday Schools, London. With an Essay by the Rev. Daniel Moore, A.M. London: Houlston & Stoneman.

MR. COLLINS'S excellent and useful volume has already reached a second edition. It deserves to be widely circulated, and should be carefully read by every Sunday school teacher. The education of the people is one of the most important wants of the present age; and of that education no part is so valuable as that which is furnished to the minds of the young by the laborious Sunday school teacher.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper explained in simple Language, with Meditations and Prayers. By G. B. London: Nisbet.

WITHOUT being chargeable, perhaps, with adopting the Puseyite heresy, the writer of the above pamphlet entertains very high notions of the importance and efficacy of the sacrament of which he treats. He makes use of strong and almost unqualified language in asserting its necessity for salvation. 'Our eternal salvation,' he says, 'depends in a great measure upon a proper receiving of the Lord's supper.' Explanations, Meditations, and Prayers, occupy fifty-two pages foolscap 8vo. We find little in the pamphlet to justify publication; and without doubting the benevolent design of the author, we greatly fear his remarks on this christian institution may tend to the increase, rather than the diminution of prevalent error.

Essays on Partial Derangement of the Mind in supposed Connection with Religion. By the late John Cheyne, M.D. Dublin: Curry. London: Longman. 1843.

Dr. Cheyne was a physician of great eminence in Dublin. He died in the year 1836. In his character was excellence in professional attainments, combined with the humility and meekness of a devout Christian. In the essays before us he has sought to vindicate the gospel of Jesus Christ from surmises often hastily entertained against it by minds wise in their own estimation, but ignorant of the wisdom and power of God in the salvation of men. He has shown by clear and convincing arguments, as well as by the testimony of extended observation, that mental derangement in connexion with religion does not arise from the nature and truths of religion itself, but from imperfect and partial views of the divine character and word. Such cases even as these we take to be far fewer than they are generally supposed. Abundant illustrations are furnished of the principles which the author lays down; and the essays form, a valuable and interesting book, on an intricate subject.

Pastoral Recollections, addressed to his Parishioners at the close of his Ministrations in the Establishment; to which is added, a Discourse preached before the first General Assembly of the Protesting Church of Scotland. By the Rev. John Wallace. London: Nisbet & Co.

The above simple volume is an affecting memorial of the recent disruption of the establishment in Scotland. The author of it was a parish minister in the town of Hawick, and is now amongst the ranks of the seceders. The main body of the book consists of a recapitulation of the labours of ten years; the subjects of past sermons; the enumeration of important events in the congregation of which he was the minister; and a sketch of the circumstances which have led to the resignation of his position in the establishment. It is declared by the writer, 'In the proper sense of the term we are not dissenters. We still adhere to the Church of Scotland. We claim to be the Church of Scotland under protest. . . . . We do not even relinquish the principle of an establishment,—an establishment supported by the endowments of the state, but having perfect freedom to carry on her government according to the will of Christ.' We understand the author's meaning in the last sentence but demur to the truth of the first. The seceders left an establishment to which they belonged, not because they objected to all establishments, but to one of that kind, which, by the decision of the civil courts, the Scotch establishment was defined to be. As to the kind of establishment to which, if they might, they would not object to belong, and which is thus defined by them, in our opinion it can and will have no existence but in their own imaginations. As voluntaries, we have been convinced that if the freedom of the church of Christ is to be preserved, every establishment will be found impracticable. When the seceders say that they are not dissenters, surely they have lost sight of the meaning of the term they employ. They are seceders, therefore they are dissenters. The former, if anything, is a stronger term than the latter; so is also

their term protesting. In theory, the protesting church is not purely voluntary. In practice, however, it is so. All who belong to it are dissenters and nonconformists. They may have become so for different reasons from those which have actuated former secessions, but they are dissenters. The word tells nothing of their reasons. It affirms their disagreement with the state church.

This little volume is full of earnestness and devotion, combined with that Christian charity, which is the subject of the concluding sermon, and which, we trust, may prove to the free church of Scotland 'the bond of perfectness.'

Helps to English Grammar; or Easy Exercises for Young Children. By G. F. Graham. London: Longman.

It was an ancient remark, that there is no royal road to learning. Of all learning to which youthful kings or idle students might earnestly covet a royal and easier way, grammar, perhaps, has hitherto been the most difficult and abstruse. Till within a very few years it would seem as if this study had been purposely surrounded with obstacles, and the ingenuity of its advocates exerted to give it, if possible, pre-eminence among 'things hard to be understood.' The volume bearing the above unpretending title deserves the commendation of all who believe that the branch of study of which it treats needs not to be protected by unnecessary hindrances, and who may share in the painful associations established in young minds with grammars of almost all sorts. We are glad to see such books as Mr. Graham's issuing from the press. Not only does the weekly periodical avail itself of the pictorial art vividly to pourtray to its readers passing events, but throughout this little book we recognize with pleasure our early friends, the very parts of speech giving us in neat and appropriate engravings their own likenesses.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Correspondence of the Rt. Hon. Edmund Burke: between the year 1744 and the period of his decease, in 1797. Edited by William, Earl Fitzwilliam, and Lieut. Gen. Sir Richard Bourke, K.C.B. 4 vols.

Rambles in Germany and Italy in 1840, 1842, and 1843. By Mrs. Shelley. 2 vols.

The North British Review, No. II.

The Comedies, Histories, Tragedies, and Poems of William Shakspere. Edited by Charles Knight. Second Edition. Vol. XI

The Vale of the Towey, or Sketches in South Wales. By Anne Beale.

Observations in Europe—principally in France and Great Britain. By John P. Durbin, D.D. 2 vols.

Vigilantius, and his Times. By W. S. Gilly, D.D., Canon of Durham and Vicar of Norham.

An Etymological French Dictionary. By James Heard.

Outlines of Congregationalism, with an Historical Sketch of its rise and progress in the town of Andover. By Rev. J. S. Pearsall.

The Domestic Prayer Book, or a course of Morning and Evening Prayer, for One Month, with occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings. By George Smith, Poplar.

The Life and Character of Calvin the Reformer Reviewed and Defended. By Rev. Thomas Smyth, D.D., Philadelphia.

The Old and New Dispensations Contrasted; a Sermon. By Rev. F. J. B. Hooper. With an Appendix.

The Pictorial Sunday Book. Part VIII.

New Series of School-Books. By the Scottish School-Book Association. Nos. 1—14.

Christian Worship; its Object and Essential Requisites. A Discourse preached before the University of Cambridge. By John Davies, D.D., Rector of Gateshead.

Lectures on the Book of Revelation. By Rev. G. Rogers, Camberwell.

Poems. By Elizabeth Barrett Barrett, Author of the Seraphim, &c. 2 vols.

A Letter to the People of the United Kingdom, on the National Reformation in Church and State. By a Christian Reformer.

Immanuel; or the Mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God Unfolded. By James Usher, D.D., Archbishop of Armagh.

Peril in Security. A Memorial of Nathaniel Edward Parker, late House Surgeon to the Macclesfield Dispensary. By Samuel Wilton Rix. Second Edition, enlarged.

Affectionate Counsels to Students of Theology, on leaving College, and also to Young Ministers. By John Angell James.

The Miseries of Prostitution. By James Beard Talbot.

Pictures from Dante, in the version of Wright. Selected by the Translator.

A Jubilee Memorial, being the Substance of two Sermons, preached at Kingsland Chapel, June 16th, 1844. By Thomas Aveling.

The Sequential System of Musical Notation, a proposed New Method of Writing Music. By Arthur Walbridge. Second Edition.

An Essay towards a New Translation of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, on the basis of the Authorized Version, with a Paraphrase and brief Explanatory Notes. By Basil H. Cooper, B.A.

Chapters on Working People; how to Elevate their Morals and Improve their Social Condition. By Benjamin Love.

A Reply to the Life of Jesus by Dr. Strauss. From the French of Professor Quinet, and Rev. Pasteur A Cocquerel.

Notices of Windsor, in the Olden Time. By John Stoughton.

The Works of William Jay. Collected and Revised by himself. Vol IX. Containing Sermons.

Sketches of Christianity in North India. By the Rev. M. Wilkinson, Missionary.

St. Lucia: Historical, Statistical, and Descriptive. By Henry H. Breen, Esq.

'The Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation:' treated Historically, in Connexion with the Prophecy of the 'Man of Sin.' By Edward M. Hearn, M.A., T.C.D.

Memoir of Thomas Harrison Burder, M.D. By John Burder, M.A.

Sacramental Instruction. By Rev. C. Bridges, M.A., Vicar of Old Newton.

The Christian Mirror of Duty to God and Man; or the Example of Christ illustrated from the Scriptures.

Sunday Afternoons at Home. By the Author of 'Christ our Example.'

The Four Prophetic Empires, and the Kingdom of Messiah; being an Exposition of the first two Visions of Daniel. By Rev. T. R. Birks, M.A. Fellow Trin. Col. Cambridge.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR OCTOBER, 1844.

Art. 1. *Ecclesiastica; or the Church, her Schools and her Clergy.* Edited by the Rev. Henry Davies, M.A. London: Hatchard and Son.

IT is no easy matter for a modern Englishman, who lives entirely in the present and future, to present to his imagination a true picture of those ancient communities, in which a priesthood formed the most honourable, and for a long while the most powerful caste. Knowing nothing of such a form of society except in its last stage of decay, a modern protestant is apt perhaps to load it with too undistinguishing reproof under the hateful name of priestcraft: and it is to many no slight effort of candour, and requires no slight sacrifice of prepossessions, to acknowledge much that was good in the old hierarchies, and which, under the guidance of a secret providence, laid the foundation for a better state to come.

It is true, that our historical acquaintance with Egypt and with India, does not reach back at all early enough to give us documentary evidence concerning the primitive condition of society in those countries. Nevertheless, human nature is so faithful to itself, that the institutions themselves, as we know them to have existed, and the analogy of semibarbaric tribes, enable us to pronounce with no small confidence, on several points of importance. We cannot doubt that the priestly caste of Egypt once upon a time comprehended within itself all the cultivators of literature and science; and that 'hierarchical ascendancy' practically meant, the predominance of the men of letters and of thought, over those who wielded the sword, who guided the

loom, or toiled at the plough and spade. While the art of reading and writing was one of much labour, it naturally, as all other arts, became hereditary, in order that expertness might be attained in it from an early age: and of the hereditary priesthood only a small part was occupied in services strictly religious. The eminently flourishing state of Egypt under her native hierarchy, while its sway was most complete, is the best panegyric on its suitability for advancing and developing the national energies: and if it struggled to keep its exclusive dominion, when it had raised other members of the nation into a fitness to participate in rule, this is, unfortunately, too universal a sin in governing powers, to need *peculiar* censure. If it had taken up into itself and gave permanence to superstitious follies, which may be pitied in barbarians, but are disgusting in maturer civilization; this does but give us insight into the wisdom and goodness of the divine arrangement, by which the proud fabric of Egyptian grandeur was at length to be brought to the ground. It does not justify us in doubting, whether that sage hierarchy was in the course of two millenniums made efficient to promote the great ends for which the human race was created.

Such remarks may, with certain modifications, apply equally to the christian priesthood in the dark ages of Europe. Here we have not to argue and prove, but we know, that not in one small country, like Egypt, but over the whole breadth of Europe —excepting the feeble and decaying Greek empire—for centuries together, neither knowledge, nor letters, nor continuous thought was to be found, except in the priestly order. The celebrated code of Aragon, (that oldest and best defined of constitutional monarchies), is said to have been drawn up entirely by the clergy, and owed its superiority to their knowledge of Roman law. It does not then surprise us to find, even in that martial people, that the four ranks of Aragon were recounted in the following order:—Ecclesiastics, Nobles, Cavaliers, and Commons. Society, in short, was in those ages made up of warriors, serfs, and ecclesiastics; except where old cities had retained some portion of former civilization; and the clergy were cabinet ministers, secretaries, lawyers, judges, legislators, and keepers of the public records,—quite as much as teachers of religion or performers of liturgical ceremonies. In such a state of things they deserved to bear rule, because there was no other element of society so able and willing to rule well; and such power as they did obtain, was an almost inevitable result of their superior knowledge. No doubt, subtlety and craft were often used to extend their sway still farther; but as there is much reason to believe that this, in the long run, only injured their authority, which was originally moral; so it is probable that coarse and wilful

delusion was the exception, and not the rule, as long as they possessed such a real superiority as made the better disposed part of society voluntarily defer to them.

The time however came, following quick upon the tranquillization of the fermenting tribes, when the knowledge of letters and of law was to pass over into the laity. No artificial difficulty existed in Europe, to which a clear and easy alphabet had been bequeathed, further than that of learning the Latin language, modified in its idiom by adaptation to the spoken dialects: and if Hildebrand could have foreseen how the lawyer tribe would rise up in rivalry to the churchman, his intense ecclesiastical zeal would probably have sought for methods of retaining the whole legal body within the consecrated pale. Whether a second sight of coming events would have made him flinch from his favourite measure of enforcing celibacy on the clergy, we dare not speculate; but we are disposed to say, that this forced celibacy is that which made it impossible for the christian priestly caste to continue, like that of Egypt, gathering into itself all literary energies. The celibate not only degraded the priestly order, morally, but it kept out among the laity those whom a subtler policy would have adopted as 'clerks;' and as the affairs of state gained a fixed form, and called for diversified and practised talents, the mental cultivation of lawyers and secretaries soon equalled that of the most celebrated ecclesiastics. From this time onward, to struggle for the ascendancy of the clergy (or what they called the rights of the church), was not, even when purest, an impulse of wise philanthropy; and could seldom be much higher than a fond clinging to antique associations, blind both to the present and to the future. In the rise of lawyers, any one might have foreseen the certain and just downfal of the civil predominance of the clergy.

Not much later than this, was secretly planted another seed, from which, in process of time, fresh growths were to spring up, overtopping the ecclesiastical structure. It was not for nothing that Roger Bacon was held to be an enemy of the 'church,' or that physicians and philosophers were watched with extreme jealousy. A ready instinct revealed, that the professors of science,—whether chemistry or astronomy, mechanics, or physiology,—would, whether they intended it or not, undermine the pretensions of those who could not display equally solid proofs of *their* assumed and infallible knowledge. We do not wish to obscure the fact, that those who pursue exclusively the material sciences, have generally, by a natural onesidedness, undervalued all forms of thought dissimilar to their own, and have been unable to adjust the claims of the understanding and the feelings; yet, while we do not give the contemporaries of Roger

Bacon the credit of having seen so deeply into this matter, but attribute their opposition to a vulgar jealousy of all knowledge based on a new foundation, and of which they were not the store-keepers; we are here concerned only to point out the fact, that, in the progress of centuries, a noble fabric of diversified science has been gradually built up, constituting in itself a new world for thought and knowledge to rove in. Modern science, in fact, is the great training-field for the reasoning powers; beginning, as it does, with the most accurate, cautious, and, so to say, timid steps of geometry; rising into mechanics and astronomy, by a progress almost insensible; advancing by another path into chemistry, and thence into physiology; while still more recent boldness has pushed-on mineralogy and comparative anatomy into the sphere of geological research, and, on the side of political economy, has discovered a scientific uniformity even in human action. In this wide and varied field, the human understanding has learned to use its powers in every different balance of probabilities, in which general truth is to be discussed and elicited; and positive knowledge has been set on a basis which cannot be disturbed. In the cultivation of these sciences individual clergyman have taken a part, but of course not in their ecclesiastical character, nor to the aggrandizement of their order. Such knowledge is so far from being peculiarly theirs, that they are, as a body, eminently deficient in it; and in their appreciation of evidence and of positive knowledge, are greatly inferior to the cultivated laity.

A third and yet more important clue of wisdom has been grasped by the human mind, and in no small length unwound, to guide it through the labyrinth of practical life;—we mean that, which, in its vaguest name, is called history, but which, embracing man's past experience in legislation, and in administrative organization, is ever striving to give birth to a science of politics. As the sweep of the subject embraces *religious* legislation, and we may add, the fluctuations of religious opinion, both within and without the associations or systems called churches; the student of history earns a right to hold many strong convictions concerning things ecclesiastical. In the present state of Europe, when the rights of men and of property are so varied and so complicated; in an age of comparative refinement and humanity,—when that, which would have been felt as an inconvenience in ruder times, becomes an intolerable and real oppression;—whole nations unite in demanding, if dumbly, yet not less intelligibly, that the sufferings of a thousand years shall not have been thrown away, but shall produce some fruit in guiding public measures by a just, humane, and salutary channel. At such a time, a wide and deep study of history is essential to the

real rulers of a country; or, if it is reserved for closet-philosophers to draw out in theory the lessons which history may furnish, the practical statesman must, at least, have his mind fully imbued with the net results of such inquiries. To ask whether the modern clergy are eminently well furnished with such knowledge, might seem to be a gratuitous insult, if no claims were put forth by them to be the guides of national measures. It is not doubted that a majority of the state-clergy have read a little of Greek, and less of Roman history; that as Dr. Arnold stated, they have some acquaintance with Hume and with Clarendon; and that among them, as in every large body, there are many highly accomplished individuals. But speaking of them collectively, it is certain that they have far less knowledge of human nature and human affairs on the large scale,—and are immeasurably slower to learn by experience,—than the laity. In short; whereas they once excelled the laity in worldly knowledge, wisdom, and virtue, and therefore justly exercised no small influence over national affairs; they have now no recognizable superiority in virtue, and a clear inferiority in all practical accomplishments, such as enable men to rule beneficially. At the arrogance of the claims which they now so often make, we need not be surprised; but it is only the more necessary for us quietly to examine into their whole position and the quality of their influence. When we go back to the English priesthood before the Reformation, we find in them and their whole system, one important and valuable element which has been since entirely lost. They were then fighting against kings and princes, the battle of the poor and needy. We know it will be replied, that the church of Rome is democratical, only when it suits her interest to be so. Let this be admitted, and let it be made a deduction from her of so much credit for virtue. Yet it remains as a truth, that the (so called) catholic church was antagonistic to the secular tyranny of the state; and in so far was a beneficial political agent.

Corporations of this world, whether called states or churches, seldom act except in concurrence with their own immediate and selfish interest; and we may be thankful, when it *is* their interest to act rightly, if they see it and do it. The priesthood was, in fact, for a length of time the ladder by which men of low birth, but powerful minds, rose into public eminence; and it is not wonderful that many of these retained strong sympathies with the humble classes from which they had sprung. Even when personal pride was the chief goad to action, as in a Becket or a Wolsey, we must not overlook the warmth of popular sympathy in the cause of the one, or the excellent tendency of the measures of the other. As at present eminently in Ireland, and to a great extent in Lower Canada, so formerly

in England the dignified clergy were often the champions of the lower people against the oppressions of the higher orders. If the curate or the parish priest was not personally bold enough, yet the abbot, the bishop, the archbishop, could defy the indignation of a baron, and sometimes of a king; and in very many instances they took this method of setting forth the grandeur and goodness of the church. We dare not assert this to have been always done; but, at least, it was not rare: and on the whole, it must be admitted that the general public influence of the clergy was thrown into the scale of humanity and righteousness. Witness their efforts to soften the ferocity of war by upholding the truce of God; their zeal on behalf of manumitting slaves; their urgent and well-meant exhortations to give alms to the poor, and provide support for the aged. Even the universities of those days were places whither the poor might resort as well as the rich; and the wealthy, under priestly influence, were stimulated to bequeath property for maintaining 'poor' students, which was actually received by men from the lowest ranks of the nation. In short, however scandalous the abuses of monasteries, or the private life of thousands among the clergy, their political position was such as affords matter for pride and exultation to the modern assailant of protestantism.

But the boast of the Romanist is only half just. Great as is the contrast between an Anselm, a Becket, a Stephen Langton, on the one hand,—and a Cranmer, a Sheldon, a Horsely, on the other, it by no means came in suddenly, as a consequence of the religious changes enforced by Henry the Eighth: it grew from the inward decay and loss of vitality in the priestly power, and was already largely apparent before the final rupture of Henry with Rome. Wolsey could not have acted the part of Anselm, because he knew that he would not find support in the nation; and in fact, the whole body of the clergy, when entrapped in a *præmunire*, by Wolsey's incaution and the king's shameful treachery, behaved with all the pusillanimity of guilty men. They had too often already made 'the privileges of their order' an end instead of a means; had too often exhibited the pride, pomp, and sensuality of secular power, side by side with the externals of sanctity; the nation, moreover, was too jealous of foreign interference to make the support of Rome a sure protection; and therefore nothing was left for the ecclesiastical order but to become the degraded courtiers of the state. We must, it is true, be the less severe on such men as Cranmer, when we remember the prostration of the nobility and of the Commons before a despot, who in the garb of peace, and without the aid of armed satellites, sported with the lives of his

noblest subjects. Unfortunately, however, this abject position of the clergy, as humble slaves to the crown and to the aristocracy, was not confined to that moment of crude and surprizing tyranny. From the degradation of Wolsey, down to the present year, the English clergy have been faithful to their position of indifference or hostility to the people's rights. With great consistency have they advocated oppressive rule; worshipping first, the theory of a divinely appointed monarch; afterwards, the more modern idol of an irresponsible aristocracy, controlling or co-operating with the crown. How singular is the contrast of Henry the Second, to James or Charles the First! 'Will no one rid me of this factious priest?' exclaimed the incautious Plantagenet, against his Archbishop of Canterbury. 'No bishop, no king!' was the fixed conviction of Charles and of his pedantic sire. Most clear is it, that since the Reformation, the higher clergy universally, and the large proportion of the lower, even when puritanical times are included, have been appendages to the power of those who had church-preferment to give away; and, consequently, as pieces of 'patronage,' they have been useful chiefly to 'strengthen the hands' of the secular government. We know that this will be, in substance, not merely conceded, but defended, by a great majority of the present race: and some may wonder why we dwell on this. Can no honorable men be tories? Is it really a reproach to the clergy to espouse that side of politics? Do we arrogantly assume, that it is a crime to differ from us in party views? Nothing of the kind. There *are* honourable men in both parties; but it is not therefore difficult to see wherein consists a *dis*honourable attachment to a party. To support the government of the day indiscriminately, provided only that it favours the worldly interests of the clergy; to be languid and yielding to it on all other points; to grasp at power for their order, to use it only for aggrandizing that order, and make themselves in other things the tools of those who will increase its worldly greatness: this is as dishonourable to those who do it, as if they were promoting solely their personal, and not also their corporate interest.

To illustrate this point, we think nothing more forcible is needed, than the conduct of bishops in the House of Lords. The real ground on which they originally occupied, and have since kept, their seats in that assembly, lies on the surface of history. They possessed baronial estates, and therefore met with the other barons to discuss their common interests. The title of 'lord' was not conferred on them by mere courtesy, but denoted the possession of ample lands and feudal power; and in fact, an Archbishop of Canterbury, or a Bishop of Winchester or Durham, was followed by a retinue such as not many peers could

equal. The wealth of some of the sees remains undiminished, or is even increased; and as a bishop, once made, cannot be ejected by the displeasure of the crown, there might seem to be no reason why he should not exhibit in his public conduct a perfect freedom of action. Why do not the bishops realize Dr. Arnold's vision, according to whom they are admitted into the supreme legislature in order to humanize and christianize public measures? Will it be said that the hope of translation to a richer bishopric keeps them all in servility to the crown? Fie upon the imputation! that among so many should be found so few to prefer £2,000 a year and a clear conscience, to the miserable reward of higher preferment for base compliances! Nor in fact would this account for the tameness of those who have attained the highest prizes. *Some* bishops, no doubt, are still preferment-hunters; but the majority are what they are, by reason of old associations, blinding prejudices, and family connexions. Be this as it may, let us consider what public part the bishops have played, at least since the baneful restoration of the Stuarts. Since that epoch, the nation has been afflicted by profligate courts, venal statesmen, corrupt constituencies, flagitious drunkenness, bribery and violence practised at elections, bloody and unjust wars. The poor have been miserably oppressed by causes too numerous to be here even hinted at. A criminal code of savage cruelty was enforced, under which human life was either sacrificed for trivial offences against property, or saved by the perjury of jurors. The prisons of the country were in a most disgraceful state; and were (as, alas! we fear they still are) the worst school of corruption to every young offender. The fairs and wakes were scenes of heathen immorality: drunkenness prevailed fearfully among all classes, from the country-squire and parson, the college-fellow and undergraduate, down to the peasant and artizan, when drink was to be got. An inhuman system of slavery was established in British colonies, and a more inhuman slave-trade was thronged by British ships. An empire in the remote East was conquered by British arms, during which conquest, deeds of cruelty, avarice, and treachery were perpetrated, equalling any thing with which we can reproach the pagan Indians. Meanwhile many of the clergy at home were publicly scandalous for profligacy of various kinds; and the whole body secularized to an extent which makes the modern churchman blush. The Lord's Supper was prostituted three times a year to political purposes, by the working of the infamous Test and Corporation Acts: and no clergyman could refuse to administer it, without rendering himself liable to civil penalties; however notorious the irreligion of the individual who chose to demand it. And what did the bishops in parlia-

ment all this while? We fear to make too broad assertions; for to prove negatives is not easy. We will not say that *no* bishop ever opened his mouth against any of these iniquities; but we do fearlessly say that, as an order, their influence has uniformly been devoted to the defence of all that is worst in the things which have been recounted. Are we, forsooth, to be told that the successive ministries which governed this land, were immaculate? That all their wars were just, their administration pure, their mode of gaining and keeping power morally right? If not, we desire to learn how many bishops have ever been found to oppose the government of the day, or, by what good luck it is, that they have chimed in so comfortably with its desires. We will not complain that they did not *find out* the iniquities perpetrated in the slave-trade: but when those iniquities were brought into open day, is it much to expect that the bench of bishops would have frowned upon them? It is not merely that they have not led the van, in reforming atrocities, impurities, and profligacy; but when reformers arose from the laity, the influence of the bishops never assisted them. On the contrary, their votes have all along supported war and cruelty. From them, Sir Samuel Romilly could no more get aid for his ameliorations of the criminal code, than Wilberforce against the slave-trade. Never did they find out that a drunken election was unchristian: never did they stand up as champions of the poor. Again and again has that happened, by which, of late also, the public morality has been scandalized. A clergyman grossly misconducts himself, and continues to act in his sacred character, or at least to enjoy the emoluments of his office, and keep his church empty. Complaints of this are made in parliament. The bishop explains, that 'it is no fault of his; but the state of the ecclesiastical courts is such that nothing can be done. He has already commenced a suit; but it may take many years to decide it, and will probably inflict ruinous expense on the bishop himself.' Again and again, we say, have such cases occurred; yet no bishop has come forward to reform these courts, which, by their own confession, are such nuisances to moral discipline. We cannot help feeling that a deep stain is hereby left on many bishops whose general character has much in it to admire. If they had no legal knowledge or ability in practical business, they might at least have given their bold and simple protest against the existing iniquity. They might have given the weight of their names to other reformers, and have called upon the government of the day for decisive measures. But no! Whether the purity of the clergy, and the honour of the Lord's Supper were at stake, or the interests of humanity and justice, the bench of bishops was dumb;

and why? because this was more convenient to the cabinet, more pleasing to the court! In one matter only, it may be looked on as certain, that they will beard any ministry and attack their own patrons;—viz. if it be proposed to touch a single prospective penny of ecclesiastical emoluments. We do not wish here to dilate on a subject, to which of necessity we must often refer. It suffices to say, that the real modern fact corresponds with the original cause or reason of their being present in parliament. The bishops, as a body, sit there for no other cause, than *to guard the church-pelf*. Now, when we consider, that the lower House of Convocation, as long as convocations were held, was more narrow-minded than the upper: we cannot resist the inference, that if the bishops are unfit to exercise national power, the clergy are still less fit. Undoubtedly, in the clergy at large would be found occasionally less suppleness to a tory ministry, than the bishops have generally shown; but the only time at which any collision is threatened, is, when such a ministry makes a move in the direction of liberty and justice. Thus, when the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel determined to pass the Catholic Relief Bill, if the clergy could have decided how the bishops should act, a far more violent resistance would have been made. While, therefore, we fully admit the great services of individual clergymen, in the progressive development of humane feeling in the nation; yet, as such men have always been marked exceptions, we are constrained to say, that, taken collectively, the order has made either active or passive resistance to every step forward in morality and public improvement.

We cheerfully and thankfully acknowledge the great spiritual services once rendered to the church and nation by the evangelical clergy, from the time of Romaine and Fletcher, to the death of Thomas Scott, and his equals in age. The old evangelical school had certain great qualities, which their successors have lost. They judged the forms of a church to be a slight matter, in comparison with everlasting substances: and felt a cordiality of union with one whom they discerned to be a pious dissenter, such as they had not, and desired not, with a shadowy churchman. They rather endured, than boasted of their alliance with the state; and reconciled themselves to it, chiefly by making light of *all* church-forms in comparison with personal religion. Nevertheless, whatever part in public measures they took, was, we fear, directed to strengthen despotism; except, that numbers of them felt a warm and true interest in the cause of negro-freedom: a species of reform, which did not touch home-prejudices very closely. This old school, however, had already veered greatly round towards a high-church position,

more than twenty years ago. As early as 1821, if our memory serves us, when Bishop Heber went out to India as Bishop of Calcutta, the committee of the Church Missionary Society resolved, (to the great discontent of many of its lay-members,) that the bishop sent out by government was, *ipso facto*, superintendent of their missionaries; and, it was among the bishop's first acts, to forbid them to associate in prayer with missionaries of other societies, for fear of compromising the dignity of their ordination! The spirit of Whitfield had long been languishing within the church; it became nearly extinct in 1832; at which time the Pusey leaven was already at work in Oxford, little as the public were aware of it. After the Catholic Relief and Reform Acts, the church of England found herself in a most false position; for her only legislative authority, the British parliament, was now filled with avowed enemies. Rightly viewed, this was a real enforcement of separation between church and state. Every sincere churchman ought forthwith to have said:—'However I before endured the union, I can endure it no longer. The church *must* now have its own independent government: and *since* (or *if*) that cannot be had without sacrificing state-support, we consent to sacrifice everything, rather than the spiritual interests of the church herself.' Such has been really the language of the Scotch secessionists; such ought to have been that of all the sincere episcopalians in England. On the contrary, fretting and raging against superior necessity, the evangelicals cast themselves into the arms of the high church, and have ever since worn an entirely new aspect toward dissent. At Oxford, they made themselves the tools of the Pusey party in the celebrated attack on Dr. Hampden; and, simultaneously, this newly risen school began to make converts in all directions. Such is the most recent development of clerical energy. Instead of improving and advancing, as time goes on, and as the nation grows wiser—or, at least, *needs* wiser and more comprehensive treatment,—it retrogrades.

The evangelicals now mix up a cunning draught of baptismal regeneration with what they before esteemed to be the 'pure milk' of the articles; and though a lay-editor protest against the 'heresy,' his clerical coadjutors dare not be so bold; for, they have to subscribe—they have to read the baptismal service! Altogether, they step back several paces towards the position of the high church; and a new high church steps back many more towards popery. With such claims on the national confidence and regard, the clergy think themselves authorized to demand church-extension in England, church-domination in the colonies, and universal control of public seminaries of instruction. Much as we have written, much still remains

concerning their fitness for this task; but we forbear. In conclusion, we will only say that dissenting ministers never put forth against their flocks claims of this arrogant nature. When superior to them in worldly endowments, they naturally take a lead as to all public questions of interest. But when surrounded by friends, over whom they have *no* superiority in knowledge; they drop all official pretensions, while advocating, in common, the rights of Britons or of men. Whatever personal frailties may be imputed—whatever errors of judgment may be conceded—yet, in the general, they neither shrink from contributing their part to the national well-being, nor claim any other right to be heard, than integrity and earnestness give them.

Art. II. *Richard the Third, as Duke of Gloucester, and King of England.* By Caroline Halsted. 2 vols. Longman & Co.

No mistake is more general among superficial students in history, than that of viewing the current of historical narrative as flowing onward, river-like, from small and obscure beginnings, into an increasing stream, widening, and deepening, as it approaches modern times. By such, the figurative expression 'stream of history' is taken in sober earnestness as a literal fact, just as the phrases, 'the dark ages,' 'the dawn of the Reformation,' have been; and thus, although prepared to meet with scanty memorials, and much obscurity in the history of earlier monarchs, they expect to find every event in the lives of later kings, fully detailed, and by unerring authorities; and, consequently, they take for unquestionable truth, whatever is 'so set down in the book,' in a history of later centuries.

This mistake will, however, soon be discovered by the diligent student; and if he turn his attention to English history, he will find that the converse is, in some important instances, actually the case. Thus, authentic memorials of the thirteenth century are far more abundant than those of the fourteenth; of the twelfth, and even the eleventh, than of the fifteenth; and a history, personal and political, derived from documents of undoubted truth of William the Conqueror, might actually be compiled with far greater ease and certainty, than a memoir of that much abused monarch, who gives the title to the volumes before us.

The hard measure which has been dealt out to Richard the Third—the very Nero of our history—the Blue Beard, of our

nursery recollections, seems early to have excited a suspicion that in his case truth had, in some measure, been sacrificed to fiction; and even previously to the publication of Horace Walpole's clever 'Historical Doubts,' writers were not wanting, to point out the extravagant statements, and obvious discrepancies of Sir Thomas More's celebrated Life of Richard—that source from whence, not only the popular history of him, but Shakspeare's information was derived. These writers, however, contented themselves with expressing doubts; 'and much acute reasoning, and profound argument, have been bestowed in criticism upon the contradictory, and incredible statements of the few authorities that were accessible to the earliest historians of Richard's reign.' But, as the writer before us justly remarks, 'disputation is an avenue, through which truth, and especially historical truth, is but seldom arrived at.' Authorities are what we require; for all argument upon a statement is at an end, if we can prove by irrefragable evidence that the statement itself is unfounded. Unfortunately for the subject of this memoir, authentic documents, even including those lately brought to light, are very scanty. Of these, the intelligent and laborious writer has, however, made the best use, and she has succeeded in throwing considerable light upon the more questionable points of Richard's character, and the more obscure events of his reign.

Guided by the popular histories of England, and, perhaps, even more by the splendid drama that completes Shakspeare's noble, series of plays, exhibiting the contests of York and Lancaster, the reader has doubtless been accustomed to view Richard as but a very few years the junior of his brother Edward, and, from the first, his companion in arms. He will therefore be surprized to find, that Richard was actually more than ten years younger; and when his brother ascended the throne, he was only about nine years of age. On the death of his father, the Duke of York, at the battle of Wakefield, he, together with his brother George, afterwards Duke of Clarence, was sent by their mother to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, one of the most chivalrous and literary princes of the age, who kindly afforded them an asylum, and superintended their education, until the accession of Edward the Fourth to the throne permitted their return. In his first parliament, Edward created George, Duke of Clarence, (he subsequently conferred on him the lieutenancy of Ireland); and Richard, Duke of Gloucester. The partiality of the king for this, his youngest brother, is strongly shown by the number of offices—most of them wholly unsuitable to a child, which he heaped upon him. He made him 'admiral of the seas,' constable of Corfe Castle, keeper of the forests

of Essex; and bestowed on him, in addition, the castle and manor of Richmond, and forty-six manors which had fallen to the crown by the attainder of the Earl of Oxford.

The charge of personal deformity, so generally believed, as to have assigned him the title of 'the royal hunchback,' appears to be wholly unfounded.

'After the most attentive examination of contemporary evidence, whether gleaned from native chroniclers or foreign writers, the evidence in reference to the personal appearance of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, will be found to amount to this: that he was 'slight in figure, and short of stature;' that his features were 'compact and handsome, though his face was always thin;' that the expression of his countenance was 'mild' and pleasing; but when excited, it at times assumed a character of fierce impetuosity, peculiarly its own. He does not seem to have been deficient in activity; rather, indeed, does the contrary appear to have been the case, both in his youthful exercises and manly appointments; but he was fragile and slightly built, and his whole frame indicated from childhood a constitutional weakness, and afforded undeniable evidence of great delicacy of health. That the singular and very extraordinary beauty of his elder brothers, their unusual height and finely proportioned limbs, rendered Richard's appearance, in itself, by no means sufficiently remarkable to induce comment or observation, yet homely-looking and insignificant by comparison, when opposed to the princely demeanour and robust aspect of Edward the Fourth, and the noble George of Clarence. There appears little doubt, that illness and bodily suffering enfeebled the childhood of the young prince, because, independent of this fact being positively vouched for by a living historian, of whom it has been justly said, that his 'endeavours to discover manuscript historical authorities cannot be too highly praised,' the metrical narrative written during his boyhood, after detailing the death of two brothers who preceded, and of a younger sister who succeeded him in the order of birth, says,—

'Richard liveth yet,'—

thus implying that his survival was considered as doubtful as those of his infantine relatives who had so prematurely passed to the tomb.'—Vol. i., pp. 96—9.

These remarks are, we think, fully corroborated by Richard's portraits. The features, as the reader will perceive, are sharp and thin, and the expression is that of languor, produced by ill health. Indeed, on looking at these portraits, we can with difficulty believe that they are those of a person scarcely more than thirty years of age.

Richard's youthful days seem to have been passed at Middleham castle, as in the issue roll of the Exchequer there is an entry of money paid to 'Richard, Earl of Warwick, for costs and expenses incurred by him on behalf of the Duke of Gloucester, the king's brother.' The Earl of Warwick, it should be borne

in mind, was nephew to Cecily, Duchess of York, and therefore first cousin to the king, and his brothers. From rank, relationship, and high military skill, Warwick was peculiarly adapted to take charge of the young duke, and initiate him into the science of arms, and it was probably during his sojourn at Middleham Castle, that Richard's military education was completed. The reader will bear in mind how Shakspeare represents Richard as introducing himself, a perfect stranger to 'Lady Anne,' at the funeral of her young husband, the murdered Prince of Wales—he may well be surprized to find, that this Lady Anne was no other than the younger daughter of the earl of Warwick, consequently, Richard's second cousin, and most probably the playmate of his boyhood.

There are few records of Richard's youth. One, however, is important, as showing the attachment of the king to him, and giving also the first evidence of the king's estrangement from the Duke of Clarence. In 1466, Edward caused the remains of his father to be removed from Pontefract, where they had been hastily buried, to Fotheringhay church. On this occasion, Richard, then fourteen years of age, was chosen to superintend the removal of the body, and perform the part of chief mourner, although his brother Clarence, as the elder, should, according to heraldic usage, have occupied that place.

Meanwhile, estrangements arose between the Earl of Warwick, and the king; not originating, we think, in the mere circumstance of Edward's marriage with the fair widow of the Leicestershire knight, but more probably from the lavish favours bestowed by the wayward and reckless king on her grasping kindred. The Lancastrian party, although depressed, were not crushed, and Warwick seems to have hesitated whether he should not throw the weight of his extensive influence again into the scale of the red Rose. But ties of blood bound him to the Yorkists; and he turned his thoughts to the Duke of Clarence, who, as Edward had as yet no male heir, might be considered as next in succession to the crown, and he endeavoured to effect a marriage between him and his eldest daughter Isabel. It was probably a suspicion that Warwick aimed at the ultimate elevation of Clarence to the throne that excited Edward's anger; otherwise, it is difficult to imagine why he should have opposed a marriage so suitable both in age, rank, and relationship. The marriage, in spite of the king's opposition, was, however, celebrated at Calais, of which place Warwick was governor, in July, 1468, and from thenceforth the powerful earl and his son-in-law became irremediably estranged from the king.

A few passing notices now meet us, showing that the Duke of Gloucester was high in the king's favour, and accompanied him

in his progresses; and, when in 1469, the insurrection of Robin of Redesdale again awakened the hopes of the Lancastrians, and Edward endured a temporary captivity at the hands of Warwick and Clarence, that brother, who has been always characterized as the unnatural and treacherous Richard, held firm faith to the king. This captivity of Edward is one of the most obscure points in a very obscure portion of history, and although it is impossible to ascertain the precise circumstances which led to it, or the ultimate intentions of the captors, it proves the lawless and unnatural character of the warfare of the period.

Edward soon escaped; and on his arrival in London, he offered a reward of 'one hundred pounds worth of land of yearly value, or one thousand pounds ready money, to him that taketh, or bringeth the said duke.' So exasperated were the brothers against each other, that there is little need of calling in the apocryphal aid of Richard to account for the eventual execution of Clarence. The duchess, their mother, soon after effected a hollow reconciliation; but ere many months had passed, Clarence again appeared in arms against his brother, and Richard's first military commission was granted 'in consequence of the rebellion of George, Duke of Clarence; and Richard, Earl of Warwick.' The flight of these two, the betrothment of the Earl of Warwick's youngest daughter to the son of Henry the Sixth, and their return to England as partisans of the red Rose, rapidly followed. Edward was compelled to quit England, and Gloucester was the companion of his flight. It is probable that deep mortification at the part taken by Warwick in the re-establishment of Henry on the throne, first led Clarence to seek reconciliation with his brother Edward; and with a perfidy fully equal to whatever has been fabled of Richard, he secretly offered on his brother's return to continue ostensibly a partisan of the red Rose, and betray his father-in-law, and the cause, on the very battle field. The offer was accepted by Edward, who endeavoured, but in vain, to seduce the Earl of Warwick; and the battle of Barnet followed, when the death of that great noble crushed the hopes of the Lancastrian party.

At this battle, one of the most sanguinary in our annals, Richard, although but nineteen years of age, commanded the vanguard—a proof of the high estimation in which his skill and prowess were held by his brother. To the inquiry whether he was the murderer of Prince Edward, after the battle of Tewkesbury, and of King Henry in the Tower, Miss Halsted devotes much attention, and we think satisfactorily proves that Clarence, or even Edward, were more likely to have committed these murders than Richard.

The next incident in Richard's life, his marriage, has almost

the air of romance. After the battle of Tewkesbury, the ill-fated Margaret of Anjou, the Countess of Warwick, and the Lady Anne, her youngest daughter, who had been betrothed to the young prince, were taken prisoners, and the latter appears to have been placed in custody of her sister, the Duchess of Clarence.

'Whatever were the sentiments entertained by Richard towards his youthful companion, and however keenly his former affection for his cousin may have revived when she was no longer withheld from him as the affianced of another, yet was he too much occupied by his military duties, too much pledged in honour to aid the king, when summoned to accompany him against the insurgents in Kent, to have either means or opportunity of making known his intentions. But the result affords fair inference for surmising, that the desolate position of his orphan kinswoman was not unobserved or unheeded by Gloucester, and warrants also the supposition that his early attachment to the Lady Anne was well known to the Duke of Clarence: for, before Richard returned from Kent, and clearly in anticipation of his brother's probable conduct towards his sister-in-law, he adopted the most strenuous but extraordinary means of frustrating all communication between them—that of concealing her under the disguise of a kitchen maid. This point, however, equally with that which invalidates the previous marriage of the Lady Anne with Prince Edward of Lancaster, is better narrated in the words of contemporary writers; because they confine themselves chiefly to such facts as come within their own knowledge and observation, and which are so indispensable towards forming a right judgment of the actual position of Richard of Gloucester and his youthful consort. 'Let us now insert that dispute,' says the Croyland chronicler, 'with difficulty to be appeased, which happened during this Michaelmas term (1471) between the king's two brothers: for after, as is aforesaid, the son of King Henry, to whom the Lady Anne, younger daughter of the Earl of Warwick, was *betrothed*, fell in the battle of Tewkesbury, Richard Duke of Gloucester besought that the said Anne should be given to him *to wife*, which request was repugnant to the views of his brother the Duke of Clarence, who had previously married the earl's eldest daughter. He therefore caused the damsel to be concealed, lest it should become known to his brother where she was; fearing the division of the inheritance, which he wished to enjoy alone in right of his wife rather than undergo portion with any one. But the cunning of the said Duke of Gloucester so far prevailed, that, having discovered the maiden in the attire of a kitchen girl in London, he caused her to be placed in the sanctuary of St. Martin's; which having been done, great discord arose between the brothers.'—ib. pp. 247—9.

This discord prevailed for some time, and each brother, we are told, argued his case before the king in council. Decision was eventually given in favour of Richard's claim; the immense estates were equally divided between the co-heiresses, and Richard and the Lady Anne were married in the spring of 1472.

On his marriage, Richard, who had been appointed high constable of England, and keeper of all the king's forests beyond Trent, took up his residence at Pontefract Castle, and there he seems to have almost constantly resided, except when summoned by the king to accompany him in 1475 to France. In the following year, hostilities again broke out between Clarence and the king. This is another very obscure episode in our history; but anger at the king's resumption of some of his former grants, and continued hostility towards the queen, and her relations, seem to have been the chief causes of that difference which ended in his arrest and committal to the Tower. His proposals for the hand of Mary of Burgundy, which he made a few months after the death of his wife, and in which suit he was powerfully aided by his sister, the mother-in-law of Mary, probably afforded the queen's relations a favourable opportunity for arousing the jealousy of the king against a brother, who had twice revolted against him. His indictment, which the reader will find in the 6th volume of the Parliament Rolls, page 193, is singularly vague, being little more than a string of complaints and charges said to be made by him against the king. That the king wished to destroy his son, and therefore he was compelled to keep him out of the way; that 'oure sovran lord *wrought by nigromancie*, and used craſte to poyson his subjects!' and such like; while the queen was pointed out as peculiarly the object of Clarence's hatred, for the preamble states that his treason was committed against 'the king's mooste royal person, and againste the persons of the *blessed* princesse our alther soverayne and liege lady the queene, of my lorde theyr son and heire,' &c. We have given these extracts to show how little appearance there is of Richard having taken part in this impeachment. Sentence of death was pronounced against Clarence, and the warrant for his execution signed but 'within ten days of his condemnation,' says the Croyland Continuator, our most trustworthy authority, 'Clarence was executed, whatever was the mode of death, secretly within the Tower of London, on the 18th of February, 1478.' What a picture does this give of the times. A prince of the blood sentenced to death by his peers, and yet instead of being solemnly executed in the face of day, killed, no one knows how, but neither lords nor commons instituting any inquiry! Did Clarence join the Lancastrian party, which, although at this time without a leader, was still very powerful? and did the queen's faction not dare to risk the excitement of his *public* execution? Perhaps this was the case. At all events Richard must be exonerated from all participation in his death.

'There is, indeed, no single document existing, that connects Gloucester with the quarrel, whether in taking part with Edward, or in

extenuating the conduct of Clarence, although the bill of attainder is still preserved; and that the Croyland writer appears himself to have been present at the trial. The differences that gradually increased between the two brothers had resolved themselves finally into a state question; consequently the warrant for Clarence's death was delivered to that prince in all due form, by the lord high steward of England

'It was not until very many years after Richard's death, that this serious crime was laid to his charge. Even the Tudor chroniclers, bitterly as they inveigh against him on most points, have not included this deadly act amongst the fearful crimes imputed to him; on the contrary, Hall, Holinshed, and Stow unite in saying he openly denounced the extreme rigour of the sentence; and Fabyan, Polydore Virgil, indeed all the older as well as contemporary historians, are altogether silent as relates to Gloucester's participation in any manner in the dispute. Nearly the whole of these writers agree in ascribing the arraignment and execution of the misjudging prince to the instigation and influence of the queen and her aspiring and mercenary kindred; and of this fact there can exist little doubt, if consideration is duly bestowed not alone on the parties who at this time surrounded and possessed the greatest influence over the king, but on such as were most hostilely opposed to the ill-fated duke, and who were chiefly benefited by his death and attainder. These were almost exclusively the queen and her connections.'—ib. pp. 322—4.

For some years after, Richard continued to reside in the north, and it was from thence he set forth, when the premature and unexpected death of Edward, who expired in April, 1483, summoned him to take a more active part than he had hitherto done in the affairs of the kingdom. At this time, every important office of state was in the hands of the queen's relations; and, more important still, the young king, a sickly boy of twelve years and a-half old, was under the tutelage of Lord Rivers, his mother's brother, and the Lord Richard Grey, her son by her first marriage. That Richard should claim the protectorate of the kingdom, and the chief superintendence of the young king, was doing no more than in every instance of a royal minority had been done. When, therefore, he marched almost in battle array from York, determined to intercept the royal *cortège* on its road to London, and take possession of the young king, we cannot view this step as one denoting hostility toward his nephew, because, in right of relationship, he was his legal guardian. That the queen and her party suspected his intentions, seems evident from their anxiety to surround the young king with a powerful army; and that the chief desire of the Wydvilles was to secure their paramount power, and immense possessions, seems far more likely than that they apprehended danger to the king from the approach of the Duke of Gloucester.

At Northampton, the two guardians of the young king met Richard, they having, meanwhile, sent the king on to Stoney Stratford. Richard received them graciously; 'and because it was late, they went to their several abodes.' In the morning they found themselves prisoners; and Richard, proceeding onward to Stoney Stratford, arrested the immediate attendants of the young king; and taking him under his own charge, pursued his journey to London.

The circumstances under which this change was effected, doubtless, excited the wrath of the queen and her party; and their violent expressions of anger probably gave rise to the first charges of cruelty toward his nephew which have been brought against Richard. The queen immediately betook herself to the sanctuary at Westminster,—a step doubtless taken at the instigation of her party, and with the view to rouse the populace in her favour. This, however, was not effected; for Elizabeth Wydville seems never to have been a favourite with any party, and her grasping and aspiring brothers and sons were detested alike by the old nobility and the common people. The marquess of Dorset, her eldest son, gave up the custody of the Tower, and also fled to the same asylum as his mother. These facts prove that the seizure of the young king by his paternal uncle, was far from being, *at the time*, viewed with that suspicion which the Tudor writers have asserted. 'After the lapse of a few days,' says the Croyland Continuator—

> ''The aforesaid dukes brought the new king to London,' conveying him thither with every testimony of respect; and on the 4th of May, the ill-omened day originally fixed for his coronation, the youthful prince entered the metropolis in state, escorted by Gloucester, Buckingham, and a suitable retinue, all habited in deep mourning, except the monarch himself, who was clothed in his kingly mantle of blue velvet. A short distance from the city, the royal cavalcade was met by the civic authorities, and 500 citizens sumptuously attired; followed by whom, and preceded by the Duke of Gloucester,—who, uncovered, rode before his nephew, and in passing along said with a loud voice to the people, 'Behold your prince and sovereign'—the king was conducted to the bishop's palace at St. Paul's, where he was lodged with every accompaniment of regal state and etiquette. There his uncle, acting as his guardian, forthwith compelled the lords, spiritual and temporal, and the mayor and alderman of the city of London, to take the oath of fealty to their lawful and legitimate sovereign; which, it is recorded, 'as the best presage of future prosperity, they did most willingly.''—ib. pp. 36—7.

From the Bishop of London's palace, the young king was soon after removed to the Tower—a proceeding, according to our popular historians, expressly preparatory to his being murdered. The present writer, however, clearly shews that the

Tower at this period was far from having the bad name which later times assigned it.

'In his day, it was the king's palace, the metropolitan citadel, which guarded alike the treasure of the kingdom, and protected the person of its monarch, whenever the safety of the latter was likely to be endangered. Examination into the history of this ancient national fortress will show that, from the accession of Henry III., who first made it the regal abode, and almost exclusively dwelt there, the Tower of London was the dwelling-place, during some portion of their reign, of every succeeding monarch who intervened between that king and the youthful Edward V.; the unsettled state of the kingdom, at this period of its history, rendering a fortified abode as indispensable for the security of the monarch, as of the great feudal barons their subjects.

'Within the precincts of the Tower, Joan, Queen of Scotland, eldest daughter of King Edward II., was born; and Elizabeth, sister to the young prince, under present consideration, and eventually the queen of Henry VII., died within its walls, in giving birth to the Princess Katherine, of the line of Tudor. The father of Edward V. resided there before he was driven from his throne, and in that stronghold his mother was left for protection when her royal consort was compelled to fly the kingdom.'—ib. pp. 38, 39.

And, we may add, that the Tower was always the place of abode for our kings, previously to their coronation.

When the council of state assembled, their first act was to appoint the Duke of Gloucester, 'Protector of the King and his Realm,' with the same powers which had been conferred on Humphry, Duke of Gloucester, during the minority of Henry the Sixth. The coronation of the young monarch was fixed for the 24th of June; and on the 19th of May, he met his parliament, and delivered a speech, asserting his right of succession, addressing himself 'first to you, right noble lords spiritual and temporal; secondly, to you, worshipful syres, representing the Commons.' An eulogy on 'the right noble and famous prince,' his uncle, was put into his mouth, and a recommendation to the parliament to confirm him in the office to which he had been appointed by the council. Meanwhile, many changes were made among the officers of state. Archbishop Rotheram was superseded as chancellor by the Bishop of Lincoln, 'a wise man and a goode,' even according to Sir Thomas More; the Duke of Buckingham, as lord warden of the marches of Wales, succeeded Lord Rivers, who was still under arrest; and the Earl of Northumberland, another opponent of the Wydville party, received the corresponding office in the north. There is nothing, however, suspicious, or indeed censurable in these appointments; even in the nineteenth century, they are not considered so, for such constantly follow each change of the administration.

Yet they naturally excited the anger of the ousted party; for Richard, a bold, brave, astute young man, was now in effect chief ruler, instead of a sickly boy, who had been brought up to look to his mother's relations as his guides in everything. But was such a monarch fitted for the age?—an age fierce, turbulent, sanguinary beyond any former period, except, perhaps, the early days of the Saxon kingdom? The nation, after more than twenty years' civil war, had now enjoyed a few years of peace; and notwithstanding the extravagance and tyranny of Edward, notwithstanding the rapacity of his queen's relations, the people had calmly submitted to his rule, wearied and wasted as they had been by the wars of the Roses. Now, however, what chance could they have of peace with a boy king, a mere puppet in the hands of the hated Wydvilles? It was prudent in the Tudor writers to pass over the deep dislike of the nation toward the queen's relations, and to exhibit the queen herself as a poor, weak, suffering woman, cruelly bereft of her dearest friends,—but such was not the case. Her brothers and her sons had usurped the chief offices of the state, and it was but in the common course of events that when the opposing party obtained the mastery, they should meet the usual fate of the losing side. Between these Wydvilles and the old nobility too, the bitterest hostility existed; what therefore could prevent their quarrel being now decided by arms, save the rule of a powerful prince, distinguished alike by superior rank and superior talents?

Such thoughts, doubtless, arose in Richard's mind, and in the minds of many. But a crisis was approaching. After the coronation of the monarch, the office of protector ceased; with the young king's assumption of authority, the power of the Wydvilles would be resumed, and the protector himself might be made to feel their vengeance for his late severe measures. These difficulties should be taken into consideration; but there is another point, which the Tudor writers would naturally enough pass over, but which the inquirer after truth must not;—this is the fact, that along the whole line of the Plantagenet dynasty, *strict hereditary right* was never regarded. When the earls of Norfolk and Leicester took up arms against the first Plantagenet, it was to place the son on the throne instead of the father; when John refused to sign the charter, the barons invited the dauphin Louis, although he could only claim in right of his wife. Edward the Second was actually set aside in favour of his son, Richard the Second, by his first cousin; while Edward the late king, although he claimed the crown by hereditary right, still was content to base his accession on the will of the people—on the acclamations of the populace

erkenwell fields. Now, if solemnly crowned and anointed
ırchs had been set aside on plea of incapacity, wherefore
d a boy be chosen king, at a most perilous time, when a
of thirty, skilled alike in rule and war, was ready to assume
ffice? There seems to be some obscurity as to the steps
ıich Richard approached his object; and that he met with
ition, is evident from the strange scene in the council
ber, which ended in the execution of Lord Hastings. We
ıere remark, that the withered arm, and the accusation of
Shore as the cause, is a mere fable.
ɜ next step was to remove the young Duke of York from
ıstody of his mother, to the Tower; and, as Miss Halsted
says, 'without testing the ultimate designs of Richard, or
ng conclusions from subsequent events, it must be ad-
l, that, by virtue of his responsible office, he was in some
ɜ justified in striving to obtain possession of the infant
of York, as heir presumptive of the crown.'

solute, however, as was the Protector in his determination to
aw, if possible, the young prince from Westminster, the strongest
d greatest surety for the lawfulness of his proceedings up to this
ests upon the fact, that he was supported in his design by the
of the church and the chief officers of the crown, 'my Lord Cardi-
ıy Lord Chauncellor, and other many lords temporal.'
· Thomas More's elaborate account of the transaction, together
ıe lengthened orations of the queen and Cardinal Bourchier, have
een considered as the effusions of his own fertile imagination; but
ıple statement of the Croyland Chronicler, the soundest authority
day, embraces, there can be little doubt, the entire facts of the
ding. 'On Monday, the 15th of June, the Cardinal-Archbishop
terbury, with many others, entered the sanctuary at Westminster,
purpose of inducing the queen to consent to her son, Richard,
ɔf York, coming to the Tower, for the consolation of the king, his
r. To this she assented; and he was accordingly conducted
by the archbishop.'
ɔyan's account is even more laconic; but the silence of both these
ɹporaries, as well as that of the writer of the above-named letters,
ates Richard from the alleged violence imputed to him by More;
ɔves, beyond dispute, that the young prince was removed by the
t of his mother, who was his natural guardian, and not by any ex-
ɔf Richard's authority as Protector. It is worthy of remark, that
y Chronicler confirms two assertions of Sir Thomas More, which
ɹatly in the Protector's favour; namely, the one, that Cardinal
ier, the Archbishop of Canterbury, pledged his life for the young
ɜ safety, so implicitly did he rely on the honour and integrity of
ke of Gloucester; and the other, that if their royal parent would
ɹrily quit the sanctuary, her sons should not be separated from
but he adds, 'the queen, for all fair promises to her made, kept
l her daughters within the aforesaid sanctuary.' '—ib. pp. 85—87.

This seems to prove to us, that the queen was chiefly a to exhibit herself to the world as an ill-used woman. had been the tender mother, as has been represented, she not rather have gone forth with her young son, tha tinued in sanctuary with her daughters, against whom was ever meditated? and who, indeed, under the protec sanctuary, were safe enough. It is not, we think, impr that the determination of the queen not to yield, fixed E in the course he pursued. A few days after, Lord Rive queen's brother, was executed; and then followed the ch illegitimacy, by reason of their father's pre-contract, whi brought against the young princes. The story, that this was first publicly made by Dr. Shaw, in his sermon at Cross, is correct. Too much stress has, however, we been laid upon it. That the citizens might be willing hold of any plea to set aside a child whose relations they in favour of a prince whom they certainly approved, is very but that they would have held fast their faith to that chi had been proved that he was legitimate, is very unlikely; that, setting aside one branch of the reigning family in of another, was no new point in English political history. feeler, Dr. Shaw's sermon produced the intended effec the acclamations of the citizens, when Richard's nar introduced, must have proved to him how easy was the ment of his object. Among the higher nobility, howev doctrine of strict hereditary right obtained; and on the fact of King Edward's pre-contract with Lady Elinor and the consequent invalidity of his marriage with El Wydville, was adapted to tell with considerable effect. objections to any departure from strict hereditary suc would be completely obviated by these means, and their r against the upstart Wydvilles would be gratified by the very, that the daughter of the cunning French woman, w 'by nigromancie,' as common fame reported, won the h the young and wayward king, was, after all, overreached ambitious schemes, and compelled to descend from her el to the rank of a mere king's mistress.

'Certain it is, that on the following day, the 25th instant, fo parliament had been legally convened by Edward V., a supp scroll was presented to the three estates assembled at West although not 'in form of parliament,' in consequence of the which had arisen respecting the legality of the young king's tit throne.

'There was shown then, by way of petition, on a roll of par that King Edward's sons were bastards, alleging that he had into a pre-contract with Dame Alionora Butler, before he marrie

Elizabeth; and, moreover, that the blood of his other brother, George Duke of Clarence, was attainted, so that no certain and incorrupt lineal blood of Richard Duke of York could be found, but in the person of Richard Duke of Gloucester. Wherefore it was besought him on behalf of the lords and commons of the realm, that he would take upon him his right.' Such is the clear and explicit account of the contemporary historian; and 'here,' observes Horace Walpole, 'we see the origin of the tale relating to the Duchess of York—*nullus certus et incorruptus sanguis*; from these mistaken or perverted words, flowed the report of Richard's aspersing his mother's honour;' a report the calumnious nature of which is rendered more apparent by the fact, that the Protector owed his elevation to the throne solely to the effect produced by the contents of the above-named petition. 'Whereupon the lords and commons, with one universal negative voice, refused the sons of King Edward,' not for any ill-will or malice, but for their disabilities and incapacities, the opinions of those times holding them not legitimate. For these and other causes the barons and prelates unanimously cast their election upon the Protector.'—ib. pp. 102—104.

Richard assented to this petition; and proceeding on the 26th of June 'with great pomp unto Westminster,' took the required oaths as king. The following remarks are very correct:—

'For upwards of four centuries he has been designated as an usurper; but has consideration ever been duly bestowed on the literal acceptation of the term, or of its application to this monarch? It would appear not: as, if attention is directed to the one leading point, that Richard neither deposed Edward V., nor forcibly seized the crown, but that the regal dignity was tendered to him, voluntarily and peaceably, by that branch of the constitution whose peculiar province it is to mediate between the monarch and the people, and to examine into the just pretensions of the new sovereign, before he is irrevocably anointed ruler of the kingdom; it must be admitted that in this point, at least, Gloucester has been most unjustly accused. To quote the words of a modern eminent writer, who minutely examined every available document connected with this momentous inquiry, 'Instead of a perjured traitor, we recognize the legitimate sovereign of England; instead of a violent usurpation, we discover an accession, irregular according to modern usage, but established without violence on a regal title.' Whatever difference of opinion may prevail respecting the disability alleged against Edward V., there can exist none as to his having been dethroned by the 'lords and commons of the realm,' whose assent had alone rendered valid his former accession to the crown. Consequently, the fruitful source of that odium which has ever been attached to Richard's memory, as king, may be traced to the early suppression, by Henry VII., of that statute which admitted the disqualifications of Edward V., and also to want of sufficient attention having been given to the fact that the young prince was rejected by his subjects, on the ground of disqualification alone, and his uncle elected to the throne in his place, because that throne was about to be vacated.'—ib. pp. 111—113.

Richard's coronation swiftly followed; and as his wife, the Lady Anne, was crowned at the same time, a circumstance which had not occurred for more than a century and a half, the ceremony was marked with double magnificence. Richard, however, seems to have yielded to the taste—we might almost say passion of the age, for splendour; and his short reign was almost a continued pageant. In the number of the nobility who appeared at this coronation, we have proof, we think, of the general unanimity of conflicting parties as to Richard's claim. Yorkists and Lancastrians walked side by side in the procession. Up to this period, we cannot see much that is censurable in the conduct of Richard. He was placed in difficult circumstances, but he acted with prudence and energy; and, summoned to the supreme rule by the voice of the people, he became a more legitimate sovereign than many of his successors. But now the darkest portion of his history begins, and although the story of the smothering of the princes in the Tower, is evidently a fable, still a mystery hangs around their fate, which the writer before us, with all her industry, has not been able to dispel.

'The Croyland writer, after briefly relating his coronation at Westminster, his progress, and his second enthronement at York, thus concludes his concise account:—'Whilst these things were passing in the north, King Edward's two sons remained under certain deputed custody, for whose release from captivity, the people of the southern and western parts began very much to murmur.' Thus it appears, that up to the period of Richard's departure from York, no apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the young princes. These murmurs would, in all probability, have yielded gradually to the popularity which Richard gained during his state progress, by his wise and temperate exercise of the kingly prerogative, if the commiseration for his nephews, thus recorded by the Croyland writer, had not been fomented into open rebellion by the treachery of those disaffected nobles, who, Fabyan states, 'grudged' King Richard the regal authority that they had been the means of conferring upon him. 'And when at last,' continues the Croyland chronicler, 'the people about London, in Kent, Essex, Sussex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Wilts, Berkshire, and other southern counties, made a rising in their behalf, publicly proclaiming that Henry, Duke of Buckingham, who then resided at Brecknock, in Wales, repenting the course of conduct he had adopted, would be their leader; it was spread abroad that King Edward's sons were dead, but by what kind of violent death is unknown.' '—ib. pp. 178—80.

Now in this case, Richard's course was clear; he had only to produce the young princes, and the 'murmurings' would have ceased; more especially as the enquiry after them does not seem to have been prompted by any wish to set aside Richard as king, but merely from a natural sympathy in the fate of two young children. This, however, he did not do, and the conclu-

on, therefore, was natural—that he had caused them to be urdered. That the reports, at the time, were singularly vague, id, consequently, that the minute particulars which have found eir way from More's Life of King Richard, into every popular story of England, are mere fabrications, the following extract oves:—

'Fabyan, says, after describing the accession of the Lord Protector, King Edward V., with his brother the Duke of York, were put under re keeping within the Tower, in such wise that they never came abroad er.' And again, that 'the common fame went that King Richard put to secret death the two sons of his brother.' Rous of Warwick is the xt contemporary authority; but, although coeval with King Richard, must not be forgotten that he, like Fabyan, wrote the events which he cords after that monarch's decease; and the fact of his having dedi-ted his work to King Henry VII. is alone sufficient to demonstrate his ancastrian bias, even if proof did not exist that his character of King ichard, when exercising sovereign power, was altogether opposed to at which he afterwards gave, when writing under the auspices of his val and successor. 'The Duke of Gloucester, for his own promotion, ook upon him to the disinheriting of his lord, King Edward V., and hortly imprisoned King Edward with his brother, whom he had btained from Westminster, under promise of protection; so that it was fterwards known to very few what particular martyrdom they suffered.' This writer, however, places the death of the princes during the protec-orate; 'Then ascended the royal throne of *the slain*, whose protector luring their minority he should have been, the tyrant Richard;' an ssertion so utterly at variance with every contemporary, that it materi-ally weakens the effect of his other assertions.

'Bernard Andrews, the historiographer and poet laureate of Henry VII., states that 'Richard ordered the princes to be put to the sword,' a fact that must have been known to the contemporary annalists, had a positive order to that effect been given; and Polydore Virgil, who compiled his work under the immediate patronage and at the express desire of the same monarch, after intimating the uncertainty of the manner of their death, states that it was generally reported and believed *that the sons of Edward IV, were still alive, having been conveyed secretly away, and obscurely concealed in some distant region.* Thus it appears that neither the contemporary writers of the period, nor those who wrote by royal command in the ensuing reign, give any distinct account of the fate of the young princes:'—ib. pp. 185—187.

Indeed, from the anxiety expressed by Henry VII., when Perkin Warbeck appeared, it seems to us very probable that he was actually inclined to believe that the duke of York, at least, was yet living. But the chief evidence, in our minds, that Richard was guiltless of the murder of his nephews, is, that both, t that time and afterward, he was on most affectionate terms with his mother, the aged Duchess of York. This lady, although dvanced in years, was still capable of taking an interest in

public affairs, and living at so short a distance as Fotheringhay Castle, she must have been acquainted with the reports which prevailed. Could she, then, had these appeared well authenticated, have continued her affectionate intercourse with a son who had murdered her own grandchildren? Still Richard's unwillingness or inability to produce these children certainly told against him, and from the period of the rising of the Duke of Buckingham, to the battle of Bosworth Field, he was involved in difficulties. We may, however, here remark, that from the time the plot was formed to place Henry Tudor on the throne, it was to the interest of that party to take for granted that the children were murdered, since as Tudor, in the first instance, chose to base his claim on hereditary right,—though a very distant claim,—this would have been neutralized had the children been still living, and would effectually have prevented the Yorkist party from joining him.

We can assign little credit to Richard for his religious endowments. Miss Halsted thinks these a proof of his piety; but surely nothing is more common in the history of the middle ages than for great offenders to endow magnificent foundations, partly as a penalty, and partly as a means of obtaining divine favour. Nor can we lay any stress on the complimentary addresses of ambassadors, or preambles to acts of parliament, or indeed on any public formulæ. Henry VIII., himself, in such documents, is styled 'of blessed memory;' and Charles II., a 'religious and gracious king.' The testimony of the laws, passed during Richard's short reign, are more conclusive, and prove him to have been an enlightened sovereign. 'He was a good law maker for the ease and solace of the common people,' is lord Bacon's unwilling eulogy upon him,—an eulogy in which no monarch, either of the house of Tudor or Stuart can participate.

Indeed, we think it not unlikely that much of the hostility with which Henry Tudor pursued the memory of his slain rival, may be traced to the unfavourable comparisons instituted by the people, between them. In Henry's case, it was not merely a change of dynasty; it was in effect a change of the constitution. The old free principles which prevailed to an extent which few readers, unless well versed in our political middle-age history, would suspect, were frowned down; and, for the first time in England, the cant about 'paternal government' was heard. Now what was more advantageous to the cold, wary, and despotic monarch, who had seized the crown of the nobler Plantagenets, than to blacken the character of his slain rival; to show those who might still dwell upon the political benefits of Richard's short and turbulent reign, that these very benefits

were but intended to turn aside the public mind from the contemplation of his crimes, to cheat the people into security that he might eventually more easily bend them to his will? And how admirably adapted for 'all sorts and conditions of men,' were the long catalogue of Richard's murders, as set forth by Tudor authority. There was the murder of Prince Edward for the Lancastrian party; the murder of his father, the meek King Henry, for those devotees who viewed him almost as a saint and a martyr. Then there was the murder of Clarence to excite the wrath of the Yorkists, and lastly, the murder of the two young princes, and of his own wife, to render him an object of horror to the whole female population. Richard's crimes, were indeed, admirably arranged to produce a melodramatic effect—sure proof to us that most of them were pure invention.

In regard to Richard's murder of his wife, we have clearest historical proof that her health was for many months in a declining state. Her sister died, nearly about the same age, of consumption: it is therefore very likely that the same disease was fatal to Queen Anne; but her death-blow was probably accelerated by the decease of her only son. The death of this young prince was bitterly felt by both parents; by the father, as severely crushing his ambitious projects, little thinking that ere eighteen months should pass over, he also should be among the dead. From this crisis Richard's difficulties increased. The severe measures which perhaps were necessary to suppress the various outbreaks of this unsettled period, alienated the popular mind: while the old nobility—those few whom the exterminating wars of the Roses had left—either ranged themselves on the side of the young adventurer, who claimed to restore the Lancastrian party to power, or sat in moody silence awaiting some chance that might raise a scion of the house of York to the throne. Still, Richard bravely battled with his difficulties: he raised an effective army, made wise regulations for preserving the peace of the kingdom, and eventually closed his career by a valiant death on Bosworth Field.

Little did Richard Plantagenet think, and as little perhaps did his immediate followers, that so heavy a weight of obloquy should rest on his memory for more than three centuries. In regard to himself, an inquiry into the exact nature and extent of his crimes is indeed of little consequence, for he has long since been judged at an unerring tribunal; but to us it is important, since from his popular history we learn how little credit is due to *ex parte* statements, especially when set forth by authority. The same spirit, half cunning, half malice, which prompted the 'indentured servauntes,' as they called themselves, of the Tudor dynasty, to falsify Richard's history at the mandate

of their sovereign, has led later writers, in like manner, to falsify succeeding portions of our history, and to exhibit the opponents of civil or religious tyranny in colours scarcely less dark than those in which the Richard of popular story has been painted. Happily in these later instances we have authentic documents at hand to prove how different were those great and worthy men from the character which party spirit has assigned them; but there is still much to be done; and we rejoice in the awakened spirit of historical inquiry. We thank Miss Halsted for her laborious vindication of Richard the Third, (although not prepared to go quite so far as she has done;) and we trust that other writers will in like manner turn their attention, now that each day is bringing forth additional documents, to other obscure portions of our history, well assured that in many unsuspected instances, that which for centuries has been taken for unquestioned truth, will be found to be the merest fiction, if not the grossest falsehood.

Art. III. *Text Book of Ecclesiastical History.* By J. C. J. Gieseler, Doctor of Philosophy and Theology, and Professor of Theology in Göttingen. Translated from the third German edition, by Francis Cunningham. 3 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard. London: Wiley and Putnam.

THE advantages, as well to the general student, as to the student of theology, of an accurate acquaintance with the leading facts of Ecclesiastical History are so obvious, and, professedly at least, so generally acknowledged, that any attempt to demonstrate them may well appear superfluous. It is to be feared, however, that the extent to which these advantages are practically realized, is by no means commensurate with the admission of their existence. Of those who claim to be educated persons, and who on all questions of secular history are able to substantiate the claim, we suspect that there is only a very small minority who are equally acquainted with the details of ecclesiastical history, whilst by a great number the subject has not commanded so much as a passing survey. And, though in all schools of theology, the history of christianity forms one of the departments of regular study, how many leave these schools to enter upon the active duties of the ministry, who, whatever may be their attainments in other departments, need only a fitting occasion to show themselves mere sciolists in this! To whatever cause this neglect of ecclesiastical history may be traceable, it is

a fact which all, we think, must admit, and one which, in our opinion, cannot be sufficiently deplored.

Among the many curious and interesting phenomena exhibited by the progress of our race, so far as that is traceable from the records of history, there are none more instructive, none more deeply fraught with interest than those which the fortunes of christianity unfold. Amidst the innumerable agencies which through successive generations have been acting upon the human mind,—moulding the characters of men,—affecting social organization, the institutions of states, and the destinies of emperors—working subtlely but surely, and upon a scale of gigantic magnitude—baffling alike the schemes of diplomatists, and the might of monarchs,—and unseen in their operations by human eyes, inscribing the traces of their power ineffaceably upon the moral history of our race, the religion of Jesus occupies a peculiar and unapproachable place. Peculiar in its origin, peculiar in its character, peculiar in its influence, it has been no less peculiar in the history of its propagation and maintenance in the world. Commencing in one of the humblest spheres of human life, unaided by the resources of science or literature, repudiated by the wise of this world, frowned on and persecuted by the mighty, it, nevertheless, in an incredibly brief space of time had established itself in all the great cities and towns of the Roman empire; had its followers in almost every village; and, on its sacred day in every week, gathered its votaries from the fields and rural districts, to worship its great author as God. Assailed by the wit of the scoffer, and the graver weapons of the philosopher, it silenced the one by its awful earnestness, and repelled the other in 'the fair conflict of reason with reason.' Persecuted, expatriated, imprisoned, plundered, martyred, its followers spread and multiplied the more they were oppressed; as if each tide of suffering under which they were plunged, had but baptized them anew for the mighty enterprise to which they were pledged. No threatening could damp their zeal; no punishment could retard their progress; no lustration or charm could circumscribe their efforts. Philosophy sought in vain to exclude christianity from her schools and groves. The might of the Cæsars could not keep her from entering their palaces. The very gods themselves, were impotent to protect their temples against her intrusion. Mighty in the inherent strength of truth, and through the protecting aid of Omnipotence, she went on 'conquering and to conquer,' until her supremacy over all other religions was acknowledged in almost every part of the civilized world, and the legions of Rome laid aside the eagle, and went forth to victory under the sign of the cross.

A mighty change speedily followed. Intoxicated by success,

enervated by ease, carnalized by flattery, the church in an evil hour, accepted the homage, the honours and the rewards of the State. From that moment her locks were shorn, and her strength went out of her. She became as a Nazarite, to whom the wicked had given wine and said 'Prophecy not.' Pomp, wealth, and power, the favour of the great, the service of the learned, and the homage of the multitude, had succeeded to penury, humiliation, scorn, hatred, and martyrdom: but the real glory of the church was for the most part lost, or was retained chiefly amongst those who, stigmatized as heretics, had become the objects of her persecution or contempt. Amongst the bishops, shameless rapacity, insatiable pride, unblushing profligacy, and bitter strifes kept the church in continual confusion and immersed it in corruption. By the inferior clergy, the example of their bishops was followed with no mean success. Simony, avarice, licentiousness and luxury were crimes of which few stood clear, with the exception perhaps of those, who seduced by that 'pride which apes humility' preferred gratifying the flesh by asceticism and cynicism. Nor is the clerical fop a phenomenon only of recent times. 'There are men of my own order' says the monkish Jerome 'whose whole care is about their dress, that their clothes be nicely scented, and that their shoes be not so loose as to allow the foot to move up and down in them; whose hair is curled by means of a crisping pin; whose fingers glitter with rings; and who go mincing their steps on tiptoe, lest the mud should splash their soles; so that to see them one would set them down for bridegrooms, rather than clerics.'* In such degeneracy all were not, of course, involved; several brilliant exceptions from time to time appeared; but of the great mass of the clergy, the moral condition was thoroughly corrupt. Having all become the servants of the state, they were used by the emperors as the mere tools of their ambition, or of the ambition of those by whom the emperors themselves were led. 'The precious sons of Zion, comparable to fine gold, had come to be esteemed as earthen pitchers, the work of the hands of the potter.'

The long night of the middle ages followed. Europe was in the hands of barbarians, whose recent conversion to Christianity had not done much either to improve their manners or to sanctify their hearts. The clergy partook of the general barbarism which prevailed. Literature of all sorts was almost universally repudiated, both by cleric and laic. The word of God was hid and forgotten. The worship of God was almost entirely superseded, and that of the saints substituted for it.

* Ep. ad Eustoch. Opp. Tom. I. p. 144.

Saints were canonized by scores; and hundreds, of whom the world had never heard, were suddenly called up from the tomb, and clothed in the vestments of sanctity. Relics were sought for far and near; and when the trade became profitable, a race of 'body-snatchers' arose, from whose clutches no corpse was safe. Glaber, an author of the 11th century, gives a graphic account of one of these 'Mangones,' as he calls them, 'a very cunning fellow,' who after many impositions of the like sort, came to the town were Glaber was, and having dug out of some vile hole the remains of a man, not long before deceased, he assured the inhabitants, that by an angelical vision he had learned that these were the relics of a martyr, named Justus; and so imposed upon their credulity, that the markgrave bought the body from the rogue, and had a new church, in which it was solemnly deposited, consecrated to the martyr's memory. From questioning the fellow, Glaber found out the trick; but the people were not to be persuaded; and accordingly, as he resignedly remarks, 'worshipping an evil-doer, under the name of St. Just, they abode in their error.' * The degradation of morals kept pace with the extinction of knowledge and intelligent religion. The violence, dishonesty and impurity of the clergy, during the middle ages, almost exceed belief. The open sale of benefices, exposed, as Glaber tells us, like secular merchandise in the market-place' † —the unblushing transfer of sees and livings, at the bidding of some profligate female, or to serve the purposes of some restless despot—the removal of a detested rival in the path of ambition, avarice, or lust, by the hand of the hired assassin—and the frantic indulgence of the most unbridled licentiousness, are the charges which, in contemporary documents of the highest authenticity, we find alleged against the administration of affairs in the church, and the private lives of the clergy of all ranks. It was truly a season of darkness and thick night. And yet it was not without its stars—dwelling, it is true, apart, and appearing at long intervals, yet shining with an intense brilliancy amid the surrounding gloom—men who had minds in them that could think, and who emitted rays of truth that continued to pierce the shades long after they themselves had passed from the visible sphere. There were keen and busy intellects, too, at work, forging chains wherewith to bind in spiritual bondage the whole race of man; and bold hearts, and cunning spirits, and strong hands, were toiling in the dark to rear that mighty fortress of spiritual domination which the returning light has shown to be the most perfect master-piece of human craft and policy the world ever saw.

* See the original in Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 124. † Ibid. p. 86.

Pages were then unfolded in the history of human nature, not to be read elsewhere. Phases of human society—phenomena of human individuality were then called forth, not to be slightly scanned or soon forgotten. It is a time whose records are replete with materials for intense and profitable meditation. It was the mighty mother, in whose teeming womb was formed the embryo of almost every great event which subsequent times have brought to maturity, whether in the civil or the ecclesiastical world. One cannot look back on it without seeming to perceive in it a realization of the ancient Greek cosmogony:—

> 'Εκ Χάεος δ' Ἔρεβός τε, μέλαινά τε Νὺξ ἐγένοντο.
> Νυκτὸς δ' αὖτ' Αἰθήρ τε καὶ Ἡμέρα ἐξεγένοντο,
> Οὓς τέκε κυσσαμένη, Ἐρέβει φιλότητι μιγεῖσα.'—*Hesiod. Theog.* 123–5.

The spiritual soil throughout Christendom was, during that long and gloomy winter, undergoing preparation for the springing up and ripening of a far richer and more lasting vegetation than had yet covered its surface. The seeds of things were plentifully scattered over it and deposited in it. The very corruption that polluted the atmosphere was enriching the soil, and fitting it for the heavy crops it was in due time to bear.

The spring-time at length arrived, and it came with the suddenness and advanced with the rapidity of an Arctic climate. From the affixing of the ninety-five propositions by Luther on the church-door at Wittemberg, to the rising of the council of Trent, we count somewhat less than fifty years; but what a revolution had been effected in Europe during that brief space! Saxony, Prussia, Hesse, Wurtemburg, the Palatinate, England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and several cantons of Switzerland, had been severed from the dominion of the Papal see, and in France, Hungary, Italy, and even Spain, there were multitudes labouring to effect the same result for their respective countries. Literature had come out of cells, and was opening her schools, and unfolding her stores and multiplying her treasures. Science had again kindled her torch, and with busy eye was exploring the hidden wonders of the universe; while art, guided by her rules, was exerting her skill for the benefit of man. The free preaching of the gospel had once more been established, and, as in the days of its great Author, 'the common people heard it gladly.' Light, purity, energy, and happiness, succeeded to the dull torpor of ignorance, and the gross, degrading, and heartless indulgences of corruption. Liberty of thought, liberty of worship, liberty of speech, liberty of government, began to be understood as the common rights of men, and as such to be valued and claimed. It was the dawn of a new era in the world's history, not more remarkable for the

greatness and permanency of its benefits to our race, than for the suddenness and rapidity with which it burst upon the world, and advanced towards the perfect day.

How all these changes came to pass—by what combination of circumstances the way was prepared for their occurrence—by what means they were accomplished—by whom they were chiefly helped forward—by what struggles the wise and pure and brave sought to arrest the progress of corruption in the church—by what craft and cruelty and crime the wicked endeavoured to counterwork their efforts and perpetuate the reign of darkness—by what mysterious operations of Divine Providence the light at length was made to triumph, and 'the bright and blissful Reformation struck through the black and settled night of ignorance and antichristian tyranny*'—as well as what have been the fates and fortunes of the church universal since that glorious era, it is the business of church-history to unfold. Is it possible to lay before the aspiring and reflective student a more noble, a more interesting, or a more instructive field of investigation?

The literary men of the Continent have at length fully recognized the bearing of ecclesiastical history upon the right understanding and right explanation of the existing phenomena of modern European society. Guizot, in his masterly work entitled *Cours d' Histoire Moderne;* Michelet, in his charming and profound *Histoire de France,* among the French; and Schlosser, Menzel, Ranke, and a host besides in Germany, may be mentioned as illustrious examples of the truth of this remark. In our own country, unhappily, with the partial exceptions of Mr. Sharon Turner and Mr. Hallam, the lesson is one which writers of civil history seem to have yet to learn.

As respects the *professional* advantages of church history, we forbear to enlarge. For the just development of theological science, for the accurate interpretation of scripture, for the due management of polemical discussion, and for the every day work of the pulpit, the uses of an enlarged acquaintance with the history of the church in by-gone ages are too obvious to require that they should be formally illustrated. If we would judge fully and subtlely of the merits of any given form of doctrine, we must become acquainted with its genesis and development. If we would satisfactorily refute any error, we must trace it to its source; and as all error in theology is but a reproduction of what has been, we can reach its source only under the guidance of church history. If we would estimate, with exactness, the worth of any system of exegesis, we cannot do

* Milton.

better than inform ourselves of the time, circumstances, and aims of the parties by whom that system has been especially favoured or used. And if we would store the mind with those great practical lessons which the experience of christians is best calculated to teach, both of the truth of our religion and of the character and tendency of those effects which it is capable of producing in individuals and in communities, we must betake ourselves to the copious treasure-house which ecclesiastical history unfolds. In short, it is not going beyond the strictest limits of truth to affirm, that to the student of theology and the candidate for the christian pastorate an acquaintance with church history is *indispensable* as a due preparation for the duties on which he proposes to enter.

With these views of the interest and value of ecclesiastical history we have sincere pleasure in introducing to the notice of our readers the work, the title of which stands at the head of this article. Professor Gieseler sustains a distinguished place among modern German theologians for the industry, good faith and success of his researches, especially in the department to which the book now before us belongs. To a student, we know of no work on church history at all to be compared with it in value. It is not a book for those who crave amusement, or must be won to listen to truth by the graces of the medium through which it is conveyed: but to those who aim at the possession of a clear, full and authentic statement of the facts relating to the rise, progress, and fortunes of the christian religion, conveyed in a manner which not only informs, but puts the reader on the search for himself after further information, we know no work more suitable than the text-book of Professor Gieseler. It is pre-eminently a student's book. By its synoptical survey of the materials of church history, it defines the limits of investigation; by the enunciatory form in which its author's statements are presented, it guides enquiry, whilst it does not supersede it on the part of the reader; and by the copious references to, and citations from original authorities, it more than any similar book helps the student to judge for himself on the topics discussed. On this last feature of the work we would lay great stress in announcing its merits. To the majority of students the sources of ecclesiastical history are, for the most part, inaccessible. Existing only in huge and expensive folios, and, in some cases, solely in manuscript, they are beyond the reach of those who have not considerable funds at their disposal, or the privilege of ranging freely over large public libraries. When, therefore, the statements which these documents authorize an historian to make, are accompanied not only with a full reference to the source whence he has drawn them, but by copious extracts from those

authorities themselves, a service of prodigious value is rendered to the diligent and conscientious enquirer. Such a service the work before us renders to a very praiseworthy extent; and on this ground, were it possessed of no other excellence, we should warmly recommend it to all those who, in regard to the history of the church, wish to judge for themselves.

Commencing with the birth and public ministry of our Lord, Professor Gieseler, in the part of his work translated by Mr. Cunningham, brings down the history of the church to the commencement of the 16th century. Another volume has since appeared in Germany, containing the history of the Reformation, but has not yet, as far as we know, been translated into English. The author follows the plan of dividing his work, not by centuries, like Mosheim, but by periods, each of which is determined by the character of the historical phenomena belonging to it. His periods are *four*, and are thus described by himself: 'The *first* to the time of Constantine—history of the church under oppression; the *second* to the beginning of the picture-controversy—history of christianity as the prevailing religion of the state; the *third* to the Reformation—history of the papal power in its predominance; the *fourth*, history of protestantism.' Vol. i. p. 11. Under each of these periods the author gives first, the external history of the church, that is, the detail of its relations to the world around it, and then its internal history, or the detail of the relations of its members to each other, and of the changes which occurred in its government, faith, or practice.

As respects the translation of the work by Mr. Cunningham, we are sorry to be obliged to speak in somewhat qualified terms. Mr. Dowling, in referring to it, says: 'Mr. Cunningham cannot be congratulated on having made a successful version.'* At first we suspected that the same spirit of anti-Americanism which had led Mr. Dowling to utter, in the same paragraph, the offensive and most unjust insinuation contained in the remark, that in America 'rationalism is treated with more gentleness than in this country,' might have prompted this criticism; but a careful comparison of several parts of the translation with the original, compels us to endorse the charge. In such a case, the best way is to enable our readers, as far as possible, to judge for themselves, by placing a literal version in parallels with the translation of Mr. Cunningham. We shall thus, also, secure the advantage of affording our readers some notion of Professor Gieseler's style and method. Our translation, we should premise, is made from the same edition from which Mr. Cunningham

* Introduction to the Critical Study of Ecclesiastical History,' &c., p. 208.

affirms his was made—'the third German edition,' though the accuracy of this assertion we, on several grounds, strongly suspect.

Mr. Cunningham.

'CHANGE IN THE STATE OF RELIGIOUS FEELING UNDER THE EMPERORS.'

'Vid. P. E. Müller de Hierarchia et studio vitæ asceticæ in sacris et mysteriis Græcorum Romanorumque latentibus. Hafn. 1803.—C. Meiners Gesch. des Verfalls der Sitten, der Wissenschaft, u. Sprache der Römer in den ersten Jahnhunderten nach Christi geburt. 1791. 8vo.

'From the time of Augustus, however, we find the grossest superstition gradually insinuating itself into both the practice of the people and the systems of the philosophers. With their freedom, the Romans lost also their national spirit, and their reverence for the gods must needs be somewhat weakened by seeing amongst them mortals of the most despicable character. The unexampled luxury and effeminacy of the time led naturally to indolence, weakness, and cowardice, and a continual craving after excitement. The enervated and cowardly are always prone to superstition, especially with such dangers around them as now menaced every citizen of Rome; whilst the love of excitement led them to enter largely into anything that savoured of mystery. To all this must be added the prevailing neglect of the sciences, (law and juridical eloquence being almost the only studies,) and, more important still, the appalling immorality of the age. Men sought refuge from their fears in the practice of magic rites, and hoped to avoid the punishment of their sins by multiplying their purifications. The religions of the East, with their mysterious

Literal Version.

'REVOLUTION IN RELIGIOUS OPINION UNDER THE EMPERORS.'

'*C, Meiners* Gesch. des Verfalls u. s. w. Wien und Leipzig, 1791. 8vo. p. 268. ff. *P. E. Müller* de hierarchia, &c. (Translated in the *Neue Bibliothek der schöner Wissensch.* Bd. 69 u. 70.) To this head belongs the first section: Origin of—superstition—till Domitian.

'Under the emperors the native deities, who had to share their honours with the basest of men, sunk deeper and deeper in popular respect. No longer upheld by that dependence on traditional manners and regulations which had passed away with freedom, they were indebted for a lukewarm outward worship only to policy and custom. From the forsaken errors, however, the peculiar relations of the time educed not a purer religion, but only a grosser superstition. To this superstition the cowardly weaklings, whom luxury exceeding all bounds had produced, naturally adhered, especially when exposed, as they daily were, to danger from their rulers. In addition to this, a passion for novelty and for excitement allured to the mysterious and the terrible. Add to these the decline of all earnest study of the sciences, (jurisprudence and forensic eloquence were almost the only studies,) and above all, the monstrous moral corruption of the age. Cowardly vice sought partly to make supernatural powers serviceable to itself, partly it was driven by the accusations of conscience to lustrations more and more efficacious. Already had the religions

Mr. Cunningham.

ıonies, and the ascetic life of priests, had always possessed g attractions for the superstiRomans, so that it had been sary to enact laws to oppose . But now these laws proved k barrier to the urgent impulse ; time; whilst the prospect of filled the empire with a swarm ıthsayers, dream-interpreters, ians, and priests of foreign ɔn, whose direct interest, of e, it was to encourage as much ssible the prevailing superstiɔf the time. The efforts of mperors to suppress these n superstitions were of the vail, that they themselves be- in the efficacy of magic rites, sed them in secret, and only le them lest they should be use of to the prejudice of ɔwn persons.

e progress of superstition was little furthered by the ine of the philosophers. Forthey had attacked not only ɔpular religion, but all reliwhatever; now they were ɔorrowing from the popular n materials to build up sysınder which all kinds of suion found shelter,' &c.—p. 23—25.

Literal Version.

of the East made an impression on the superstitious fears of the Romans by their mysterious and imaginative ritual, and the asceticism of their priests; and laws had been enacted for the purpose of restraining and preventing their influence. But now the tendency of the age was such as to break through all such laws, and consequently foreign rites and priests pressed in unrestrained. In their train came a countless host of men pretending to be inaugurated into all the occult sciences of the East—astrologers, (*mathematici*) dream-interpreters, and sorcerers, who spread themselves over the empire, and finding the prevailing superstition favourable to their purposes, sought to strengthen it. The laws of the earlier emperors against these foreign usages operated the less powerfully that the emperors themselves believed in their power, secretly resorted to them, and dreaded only the application of them to their own injury.

Not less favourable to the spread of this superstition, was the circumstance that philosophy also made it subservient to its own uses. In proportion as the scepticism of the earlier philosophy had boldly attacked, not only the popular religion, but also all religious truths whatever, in the same proportion did the dogmatism of the more recent philosophy zealously endeavour, partly from the earlier systems, partly even from the popular religion, to collect materials for an edifice in which every superstition found shelter.'—Bd. I. s. 36—41.

§ 34. HERETICS.

Paul had foreseen (Acts xx. Tim. iii. 1, seq.), the faith of istians came now, more than nto peril, from the influence

§ 35. HERETICS OF THIS AGE.

'Whilst on the one hand the more powerful party of the Jewish-christians did not relax their efforts to impose upon the Gentile con-

Mr. Cunningham.

of the sophistical religious speculations of the time; and the germs of christian gnosticism, allusions to which may be traced in his epistles, became more and more evident. The history of the *Nicolaites* is still very obscure, but the doctrines of the *Docetæ* are plainly the application of a familiar notion to the person of Jesus (Docetæ, Phantasiastæ, Opinarii). Especially interesting, however, were the questions concerning the creation of the world and the origin of evil, with reference to the different characters of the God of the Old Testament and the God of the christians, and the different spirit of the law and the gospel: speculations to which John seems already to have reference in his gospel, seeking to reconcile them, as well as might be, with christianity. From these speculations sprung the first gnostic system, that of *Cerinthus*, in which, however, the gnostic principles are not yet fully and consistently developed, but, in some respects, accommodated to Jewish opinions.'—Vol. I. p. 69, 70.

Literal Version.

verts the observance of the Mosaic law; on the other hand, the at once simple and mysterious system of christianity was more and more approximating to the theosophic spirit of that age, and the christian gnosis, of which the germs are already apparent in the Pauline epistle, became, as Paul had foreseen, more manifest in this age. Whether this tendency had any connection with the efforts of those errorists, who set aside the dread of the speedy re-advent of Christ for the purpose of turning their liberty into licentiousness, and of the allies of these the Nicolaitans, in Asia Minor, is uncertain; but in Docetism the transference of an old speculation to the person of Jesus is very obvious (*Docetæ, Phantasiastæ, Opinarii*). Especially were the questions concerning the formation of the world and the origin of evil, with reference to the different character of the God of the Old Testament and the God of christians, and to the different spirit of the law and the gospel, objects of a speculation to which, apparently, John in his gospel had already endeavoured to give a direction less offensive to christianity. From this had already issued the first christiano-gnostic system, that of *Cerinthus*, in which, however, the gnosis appears as not yet brought to a consequent development, but constrained to accommodate itself to several Jewish notions.'—Bd. I. s. 124—6.

From these extracts, which we have taken almost at random, our readers will see how much Mr. Cunningham has departed from, or come short of, a fair and full translation of his author. We suspect he must have gone to work on the very bad rule of first reading his author and then translating from memory,—a practice which, though sanctioned by great authorities, we deem to be alike unfair to the author translated, and to the readers of

he so-called translation. In one or two cases, also, in the bove extracts, Mr. Cunningham has plainly misunderstood his uthor, as our studiously literal version will show. Most unfor-nately has he done so, when he makes Gieseler say that John s, in his gospel, '*sought, as well as might be, to reconcile the nostic speculations with christianity.*' Such a sentiment we are rsuaded that writer would on no account utter, and certain it such a sentiment he has not uttered in the passage which r. Cunningham professes to translate. What Gieseler states that to these speculations John *appears* (wie es scheint) to fer in his gospel with a view of solving the questions at issue ı christian principles,—an opinion which may be right or ong, but which no intelligent reader, however high his esti-ate of the sacredness of scripture, will feel to be offensive. or is this the only case in which we have observed that Mr. nningham makes his author utter views less in accordance th evangelical truth than those which his own words really press. For instance, in describing the teaching of our Lord, ieseler is represented, by his translator, as affirming that Jesus romised men forgiveness of sins, *on condition of repentance d faith,*' (vol. i. p. 42); whereas, what Gieseler really says, is, at Jesus 'announced the forgiveness of sins in that way of pentance and faith,' which, in the previous paragraph, he had escribed (auf jenem wege der Busse und des Glaubens). We re sorry to make these strictures, but feel compelled in duty o do so. In no department of literature we fear is there ss of conscientiousness manifested than in that of translation. ery often the task is performed perfunctorily, for a paltry re-nuneration; whilst, at other times, the party performing it has hiefly in view his own improvement in the language from hich he translates. We do not mean to insinuate that Mr. unningham belongs to either of those classes; indeed, com-pared with some other translations from the German, which we have recently examined, his performance now before us is de-serving of no small praise; but we must say, that the com-parison of it with the original has only increased our self-gratulation on possessing the power, in some measure, at least, of perusing the works of learned Germans, in their own tongue. As yet, with certain important exceptions, their writers have not received justice at the hands of their translators in this country. We are anxious that such men as they are, should speak their own thoughts in their own form, as far as the idiom of our language will admit; and better far that a translation should wear the hue of foreign idioms, than that the sentiment of the original should be diluted, or misrepresented, or perhaps, alto-gether perverted in the version. We can personally attest the

mortification and pain which it has given to some of the most estimable men on the continent, to witness the miserable travesties of their works—works on which they have spent much time, thought, and labour—which have been laid before the British public under the name of translations; and against the continuance of this injustice we must raise our indignant protest. If we are to have translations, let them be fair and accurate versions of the author's words; without omissions, additions, alterations, or misrepresentations, at the will or through the incapacity of the translator. To all our younger readers, however, we say, learn the German language for yourselves, and so be independent of the ignorance or caprice which often renders a so-called translation a mere parody of the author's sentiments.

Art. IV. *Correspondence of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, between the year* 1744 *and the period of his decease, in* 1797. Edited by Charles William, Earl Fitzwilliam, and Lieut. Gen. Sir Richard Bourke. 4 vols. 8vo. London: Rivingtons.

THE genius of Edmund Burke was never questioned, but it remained for posterity to do justice to his extraordinary talents, his profound sagacity, and his political rectitude. Whatever differences of opinion yet exist respecting the soundness of some of his views, and the wisdom of the measures he advocated, the language of personal reprobation has given place to a juster and more comprehensive estimate of his character. The bewildering influences of party connexion and party zeal have diminished with the lapse of years, and other causes than those of disappointed ambition or personal spleen, have in consequence been admitted to account for those portions of his history which were formerly attributed to these dishonourable sources. His country has done him justice by reversing the judgment of many of his contemporaries, at the same time that it has admitted the defectiveness of his philosophy, and the ruinous consequences of his errors. His faults and his virtues were equally above the level of ordinary minds. They were incapable of measurement by any of the recognized standards of partizanship—they existed on a large and ample scale, and marked the man—whether for evil or for good—as no ordinary being. His very vehemence and impetuosity, which, under the bewildering influences of the French revolution, led him to confound accidents with essences, to overlook the retributive laws of man's social economy, and to charge upon a people the excesses which were rightly attributable to a long course of oppression on the

t of their governors, might, and really did, under other circumstances, form the intrepid patriot, the eloquent and bold ailant of ministerial corruption and despotic rule. Burke took his way in the case of the French revolution. Not that estimate of the leading actors in that mournful drama was wrong, or that his view of the enormities committed was too tensely dark, but that he forgot to trace facts to their source, charge upon the really criminal the atrocities which were perated, and to mark with adequate reprobation the system ich had so far brutalized a nation as to fit it for the part ted in France. As a philosophic statesman, he ought to have criminated, much more clearly than he did, between the case the French people and that of their rulers. The outbreak of opular fury, when released from the unnatural pressure of nturies, is always threatening, and its excesses are just matrs of lamentation and rebuke. But the lesson taught is far ifferent from that which Burke inculcated, and the measures to e pursued are the very reverse of that military crusade of hich he was the advocate. This is the stain which rests upon is memory, and its disastrous consequences are yet felt roughout Europe. But we must not pursue this topic. It is ough that we have noted our opinion, and we now turn to the olumes before us.

Of these volumes we cannot well speak too highly. The *orrespondence* which they contain is fraught with varied, deep, nd permanent interest, arising from the illustrations afforded the personal character and views of Mr. Burke, and the light hrown upon the position of the various political parties of his lay, and on the great questions which then agitated the public mind. Accustomed as we have been for some years past to keep an observant eye on the productions of the British press, we have met with nothing which, in their own department, excels them. They relate to the most interesting and eventful period of modern history, reveal the secret springs of many important public movements, exhibit, as in council, the leading spirits of a prominent section of the political world, and are rich with the elements of a philosophy that, for depth and largeness of view, has few equals, and no superior. We have read the volumes with intense delight; frequently, indeed, differing from the views broached, sometimes wondering how such an intellect as Burke's could stray so far, and occasionally pitying the perplexities in which his party position held him. Yet through all we have been fascinated far beyond what is usual, and pity the callousness or stupidity which can permit any man to read them without a similar feeling.

Our best course will be to put our readers in a condition to

judge for themselves, in doing which, our only difficulty arises from the abundance of the materials out of which we must select. The letters extend from 1744 to the close of Burke's life in 1797, and relate, amongst various other topics, to the revolt of the American Colonies, the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and the French Revolution. At the former of these periods he was a youth, and the few letters prior to 1762, which are preserved in the early part of the collection, were addressed to his school-fellow Richard Shackleton. They are highly characteristic, and will afford good materials to those who are interested in tracing the earlier developments of intellectual superiority. In 1759, Burke's connexion with William Gerard Hamilton—commonly called Single-Speech Hamilton—commenced. He accompanied that gentleman, who was Irish Secretary under Lord Halifax's lieutenancy, to Dublin, and in 1763 obtained a pension of £300 per annum. An interesting letter to Hamilton, written in March of that year, printed in the present collection, shews the reluctance with which genius abandons its natural vocation, in order to meet the necessities of its position. It is probable that Hamilton looked with an unfriendly eye on the literary pursuits of his secretary, and had interposed his authority to constrain their relinquishment.

'You may recollect,' says Burke, 'when you did me the honour to take me as a companion in your studies, you found me with the little work we spoke of last Tuesday, as a sort of rent-charge on my thoughts. I informed you of this, and you acquiesced in it. You are now so generous, (and it is but strict justice to allow, that upon all occasions you have been so,) to offer to free me from this burthen. But, in fact, though I am extremely desirous of deferring the accomplishment, I have no notion of entirely suppressing that work; and this upon two principles, not solely confined to that work, but which extend much farther, and indeed to the plan of my whole life.

'Whatever advantages I have acquired, and even that advantage which I must reckon as the greatest and most pleasing of them, have been owing to some small degree of literary reputation. It will be hard to persuade me that any further services which your kindness may propose for me, or any in which my friends may wish to co-operate with you, will not be greatly facilitated by doing something to cultivate and keep alive the same reputation. I am fully sensible, that this reputation may be at least as much hazarded, as forwarded, by new publications. But because a certain oblivion is the consequence, to writers of my inferior class, of an entire neglect of publication, I consider it such a risk as sometimes must be run. For this purpose, some short time, at convenient intervals, and especially at the dead time of the year, will be requisite to study and consult proper books. These times, as you very well know, cannot be easily defined; nor indeed is it necessary they should. The matter may be very easily settled by a good understanding

between ourselves; and by a discreet liberty, which I think you would not wish to restrain, nor I to abuse. I am not so unreasonable, nor absurd enough, to think I have any title to so considerable a share in your interest as I have had, and hope still to have, without any or but an insignificant return on my side; especially as I am conscious that my best and most continued endeavours are of no very great value. I know that your business ought, on all occasions, to have the preference; to be the first and the last, and, indeed, in all respects, the main concern. All I contend for is, that I may not be considered as absolutely excluded from all other thoughts, in their proper time and due subordination; the fixing the times for them, to be left entirely to yourself.'—Vol. i., pp. 48—50.

This connexion was not long-lived. Hamilton, to use the strong language of Burke, 'attempted to make a property—a piece of household goods' of him, and the latter, with a becoming self-respect, spurned the effort, and relinquished at once his appointment and his pension. His conduct, in reference more particularly to the latter, was highly honourable, and the whole transaction places his character in a very creditable light. 'Six of the best years of my life,' he remarks, writing to a friend, 'he took me from every pursuit of literary reputation, or of improvement of my fortune. In that time he made his own fortune (a very great one), and he has also taken to *himself* the very little one which I have made. In all this time you may easily conceive how much I felt at seeing myself left behind by almost all my contemporaries.'

A detailed account of the rupture is given in a letter to Mr. Henry Flood, the principal parts of which having been quoted by Prior in his life of Burke, are probably familiar to our readers. It is evident that the young politician was deeply excited, and his correspondence on the subject discloses some features of character which were mainly concerned in the more questionable points of his subsequent history. Writing to Mr. J. Monck Mason, he says:—

'The way in which you take up my affairs, binds me to you in a manner I cannot express; for, to tell you the truth, I never can, (knowing, as I do, the principles upon which I always endeavour to act) submit to any sort of compromise of my character; and I shall never, therefore, look upon those who, after hearing the whole story, do not think me *perfectly* in the right, and do not consider Hamilton as an infamous scoundrel, to be in the smallest degree my friends, or even to be persons for whom I am bound to have the slightest esteem, as fair or just estimators of the characters and conduct of men. Situated as I am, and feeling as I do, I should be just as well pleased that they totally condemned me, as that they should say that there were faults on both sides, or that it was a disputable case, as I hear is (I cannot forbear saying) the affected language of some persons.'—Ib. p. 70.

The loss of his pension was supplied by his being appointed

private secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham, in July 1765. This nobleman came into office with a division of the Whigs on the dismissal of Mr. George Grenville's administration. Mr. Pitt was first applied to, but insisted on terms which were inadmissible at court, and the result was the formation of a cabinet, over which the Pelham influence was too predominant to allow of its realizing the expectations of the public, or meeting the exigencies of the crisis. It was too liberal for the king and too conservative for the people; hated by the court, and wanting in the energy and public spirit which are needful to secure popular support. The members of the new administration were strong in family connexions and aristocratic influence, but were mistrustful of their principles, and suspicious of the people. Like the Whigs of a subsequent period, they were perpetually alarmed, lest the people whom they governed, and who constituted their sole strength, should outgrow their controul. Burke unhesitatingly avowed the aristocratic complexion of his party, affirming, 'Such I always understood it to be, in the true sense of the word!' The American Colonies were at this period on the eve of revolt—and the stolid policy of the monarch insisted on the continuance of measures which threatened the stability of the empire. The personal character of the Marquis of Rockingham was unexceptionable, and his talents, though not first-rate, were respectable. The section of the Whigs, however, of which he was the recognized leader, was not composed of the highest and most trustworthy members of that party, and its policy was consequently temporizing and undecided. The Stamp Act was repealed, but the Declaratory Act was passed, and the want of firmness in the leader, combined with the absence amongst his supporters of mutual confidence, and of attachment to the principles avowed, soon brought his administration to a close. The great Commoner maintained a neutral position, and Burke's allusions to him, throughout the present *collection* are marked by much asperity. As a subordinate in the Rockingham party, he keenly resented a course which was fatal to its continuance in power. Writing to Mr. Flood, May 18th, 1765, when the dismissal of the Grenville administration was daily looked for, he refers to Mr. Pitt in terms which show that even before his own public adhesion to the Rockingham party, he sympathized with them in their estimate of the intractable character of that great man.

'Nothing but an intractable temper in your friend Pitt, can prevent a most admirable and lasting system from being put together; and this crisis will show whether pride or patriotism be predominant in his character; for you may be assured, that he has it now in his power to come into the service of his country, upon any plan of politics he may

choose to dictate, with great and honourable terms to himself and to every friend he has in the world; and with such a stretch of power, as will be equal to every thing but absolute despotism, over the King and kingdom. A few days will show whether he will take this part, or that of continuing on his back at Hayes, talking fustian, excluded from all ministerial, and incapable of all parliamentary service; for his gout is worse than ever, but his pride may disable him more than his gout.'—ib. p. 80.

The diminished popularity of Mr. Pitt after his removal to the upper house, is referred to in a letter to the Marquis of Rockingham, dated August 21, 1766, in the following terms:—'There is still a little twilight of popularity remaining round the great peer, but it fades away every moment; and the people here who in general only reflect back the impressions of London, are growing quite out of humour with him.'

In another letter to the same nobleman, July 9, 1769, Burke refers to a report of Lord Chatham having been closeted with the king, in terms which sufficiently indicate the soreness of his feeling; whilst another, dated December 5, 1774, alludes to a weakness in the character of that extraordinary man, the existence of which his warmest admirers are compelled to acknowledge.

'Lord Chatham,' he remarks, writing to the Marquis of Rockingham, 'shows a disposition to come near you, but with those reserves which he never fails to have as long as he thinks that the closet door stands ajar to receive him. The least peep into that closet intoxicates him, and will to the end of his life. However, as he is, and must be, looked to, by those that are within and those that are without, it would not be amiss to find out how he proposes to act, and if possible to fall in with him; and to take the same line in parliament, though you may never come to an understanding with him in other politics. This I am sure of, that as long as you make no approaches *to* him, but show yourself always approachable *by* him, you stand in the fairest way to gain his esteem, and to secure yourself against his manœuvres.'—ib. p. 506.

Lord Chatham had at this time passed his meridian. A life of suffering had broken down his health, and impaired the vigour of his intellect. His imperial mind quailed beneath difficulties which it had formerly despised, and showed its weakness by the undue exultation with which the delusive smile of the king was acknowledged.

Numerous allusions to the passing politics of the day occur in Burke's Correspondence, some of which as bearing on present interests, or as illustrative of principles permanently applicable to the conduct of affairs, we shall transcribe. Writing to the Marquis of Rockingham, July 30, 1769, he says:

'Charles Fox called to see me, and I gathered a good deal of the one they hold from him. He talks of the Bedfords in his old strain of

dislike; but the ministry is much more united by the union of the other parties; things grow more distinct; the ministry becomes more formed; and the necessity of firmness and perseverance is every day more evident. I do believe, that the Duke of Grafton has got new and stronger assurances than ever of support, and that the court is fully determined to abide by the plan of the last session. . . The course of thanking the members for their votes, expresses, indeed, a dissatisfaction in the procedure of the house of commons; but it expresses also a submission to it; but if we mean to get *redress*, we must strengthen the hands of the minority within doors, by the accession of the public opinion, strongly declared to the court, which is the source of the whole mischief. I cannot, for my life, see what can be done very effectual, as long as this parliament and this ministry subsist.'—ib. pp. 180, 181.

The Rockingham party utterly failed in opposition. The ministry was sure of its majority in both houses, and the country looked on with indifference as if uninterested in the struggle. Something of this sort has occurred in more recent times, and in both cases has been preceded by a loss of public confidence in the leaders of the popular party. The Rockingham ministry, as we have already seen, was too aristocratic for the people; and Lord Chatham's administration, which succeeded, was composed of a coalition of whigs and tories, with scarcely anything but the past reputation of the premier on which to rely. Under these circumstances it is no marvel that the people regarded the discussions of parliament with mistrust and indifference. Their confidence had been abused, and they looked in vain for any other set of men in whose integrity and talents they could trust. Failing in every parliamentary division, it was seriously debated amongst the adherents of Lord Rockingham, whether they had not better retire for a season from the two houses, than by their presence afford to the Duke of Grafton, the tory premier, new occasions of triumph. This matter is frequently adverted to, and Burke's views are unfolded in a letter to Mr. Dowdeswell, dated November 7, 1772, from which we extract the following:—

'In the main, I have the satisfaction of going along with you, in most of your reasonings. I believe that a great deal of the difference in opinion concerning the plan of non-attendance in this session, which prevails among Lord Rockingham's friends, has arisen from our not exactly understanding one another on the *extent* of the measure, and the *motives* for proposing it. It is not suggested from choice. It is upon the idea that nothing can be attempted in parliament, with any hope of success; and that the people without doors are cold and unconcerned in the contest which is carried on between us and the ministers. If either of these fail in fact, the measure is taken up on mistaken principles. If both considerations are founded, then it is to be shown what else it is that promises better.

'Without all question, if this absence should appear the result of a supine indolence and neglect of duty, it must have the worst effect imaginable upon our character. If it cannot be made expressive of the strongest and most indignant feeling and resentment, of the whole train of conduct adopted by the majority of the two Houses, it were better to continue our tiresome attendance, our fruitless debates, and our feeble divisions for six years to come, in the manner we have dragged through them for the six years that are past. But I have not yet been able to persuade myself, that your absence from parliament at the opening of the next session can pass by without making a strong impression on the public. Your character for diligence will not permit your absence to be thought the effect of inactivity; your known integrity would render every imputation of corruption ridiculous; and your number, weight, and consequence, would necessarily incite an inquiry into your reasons for a procedure so contrary to the usual tenor of your conduct. The ministry and their partisans may be depended upon for an attack on you; and this attack calling for an explanation, you will lay your reasons before the public with more grace, and probably with better effect than if they appeared previous to the step you had taken. It is always imprudent to suffer the previous public agitation of any measure that you are resolved to pursue: better take it first, and pledge your *people* for its subsequent justification. This is my idea of the *spirit* of the non-attendance proposed by Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Richmond. I concurred in it most heartily: not without a sense of the inconveniences which may attend it, but considering it as the only thing which remained for us to do. We have tried every thing else.

With regard to the *extent* of the plan, I never understood it to amount to a total secession; and in this particular I think I have the happiness of approaching very near to some of your ideas. The absence, I thought, would be proper on their speech and address, and upon those points which are generally considered as the measures of government, and to which we are morally certain that the House is mortgaged to the court. The attendance upon other points will mark the distinction we mean to keep in view the more strongly.—ib. pp. 357—360.

This scheme, however, was ultimately abandoned. The party continued its attendance, but did little; some of its members making their peace with the treasury benches, and others remaining faithful to their engagements, though despairing of better times. The letters of Burke and of his friends evince considerable disquietude at the state of affairs. The want of public spirit in their own party is frequently adverted to. The selfishness of some, the indolence of others, and the questionable allegiance of many more, are conspicuous throughout the correspondence, and satisfactorily accouunt for their short tenure of office. The personal influence of the Marquis of Rockingham alone availed to keep them together.

'For these two last sessions,' says Mr. Burke to Lord Rockingham, December 5, 1774, 'indeed for the three last, the public seemed to be so perfectly careless and supine, with regard to its most essential interests, that much exertion on our part, would rather have indicated a restlessness of spirit than a manly zeal. I concurred entirely in the reasonableness of our remaining quiet, and taking no further part in business, than what served to mark our dissent from the measures which have been unfortunately in fashion. It was all that we could then do. Even at this time, I do not see all that spirit against ministry, which I should have expected to rise among the people on the disappointment of every hope that had been held out to them. However, it seems to be rising, and perhaps nearly as much and as fast, as a spirit wholly unmanaged can rise. Whatever progress it may make by its own nature, we know, by abundant experience, that unless it is tempered, directed, and kept up, it never can operate to any purpose. If care be not taken of this, the present set may make an advantage, even of the mischiefs and confusion they have caused by their own blundering conduct. For, if no other persons, and no other regular system, are held out to the people at large, as objects of their confidence in time of distress, they must of necessity resort to the ministry. By neglecting to show ourselves at this crisis, we may play into the adversary's hand the advantageous game which we have obtained, by the uniformity of our conduct, and the superiority of our general plan of politics.

'If your lordship should see things in this light, you will of course perceive, too, the necessity of proceeding regularly, and with your whole force; and that this great affair of America is to be taken up as a business. I remember that when your lordship collected your strength upon some capital objects, such as the *nullum tempus* bill, and that for elections, your way was to choose out six or seven friends, and to get each of them to secure the attendance of those whom they touched the most nearly. Perhaps you will think that something of this kind ought to be done, in the present instance. To act with any sort of effect, the principal of your friends ought to be called to town a full week before the meeting. Lord John Cavendish ought not to be suffered to plead any sort of excuse. He ought to be allowed a certain decent and reasonable portion of fox-hunting to put him into wind for the parliamentary race he is to run; but any thing more is intolerable. I really do not wish that his place of *locum tenens* may be long; but whilst our affairs continue as they do, from poor Dowdeswell's unhappy state of health, he must show a degree of regular attendance on business, without which nothing that we can do will be either effectual or reputable; and it is not only ministry that will prevail over us, but we shall be a prey to the detached bodies, and even detached individuals that compose our most heterogeneous, unsystematic, and self-destructive opposition. His grace of Richmond ought surely to be as early in town as any; but he will not, if your lordship does not press it strongly. Other lords attending early, will have a good effect. A great deal of the temper of the people without doors, will depend upon the figure you make in the two Houses. ib. pp. 504—507.

The following, written six years later, will probably recall to every reader the present condition of the Tory party.

'The people are angry with the ministry. I believe there never was a time in which they were in more perfect contempt. But that doctrine of the equality of all men, which has been preached by knavery, and so greedily adopted by malice, envy, and cunning, has left these people no resource. They condemn the ministry, but they do not look to the opposition. I am too much concerned to be a very proper judge in this cause; but, if I am not greatly mistaken, there has been no period within reach of history in which the people had less reason for this indiscriminate distrust. But, perhaps, we are suffering for the sins of our political progenitors. The nation may at length awake. The dread is, lest, if they call on any one to assist them, it may be just the worst man,—that is, the greatest boaster and promiser in the society. I believe the *tories* are angry; and if, *among tories*, they could find any better set than the present, they would do any thing to raise them up; but to destroy the worst of their own, in order to make way for the very best of ours, is more than I expect from their public spirit. It is too great a sacrifice to be expected from the spirit of party. However, they may, on this occasion, as upon some former ones, be brought to do more than they intend. If they could be got to take the lead, we might fall in, and something may be done. It is in this course only that I have now any hope.'—vol. ii. p. 242—243.

It is well known that Burke was suspected by many of his contemporaries of being the author of the celebrated Letters of Junius. These letters were commenced in January, 1769, when he was in opposition, and certainly broach many opinions analogous to those which he held. There are others, however—and of no less importance—on which the views of the two writers were opposed, whilst the evidence of style is decisive against the supposition of his authorship. Many of those whom Junius assailed held Burke responsible, and the Tory ministers, who were desirous of dragging their terrible assailant into the light, did not hesitate to attribute these publications to him. The present collection, however, settles this point, unless Burke's personal integrity be given up. Two letters to Mr. Charles Townshend are printed, from which there is no appeal without a direct impeachment of the writer's honour. The first is dated October 17, 1771, and thus refers to the report then current:—

'You observe very rightly, that no fair man can believe me to be the author of Junius. Such a supposition might tend, indeed, to raise the estimation of my powers of writing above their just value. Not one of my friends does, upon that flattering principle, give me for the writer; and when my enemies endeavour to fix Junius upon me, it is not for the sake of giving me the credit of an able performance. My friends I have satisfied;—my enemies shall never have any direct satisfaction from me. The ministry, I am told, are convinced of my having written Junius, on

the authority of a miserable bookseller's preface, which I have read since I saw you, in which there are not three lines of common truth or sense, and which defames me, if possible, with more falsehood and malignity, than the libellers whom they pay for that worthy purpose. This argument of theirs only serves to show how much their malice is superior to their discernment. For some years, and almost daily, they have been abusing me in the public papers; and (among other pretences for their scurrility) as being the author of the letters in question. I have never once condescended to take the least notice of their invectives, or publicly to deny the fact upon which some of them were grounded. At the same time, to you, or to any of my friends, I have been as ready as I ought to be, in disclaiming in the most precise terms, writings, that are as superior perhaps to my talents, as they are most certainly different in many essential points from my regards and my principles.'—vol. i. 268, 269.

Mr. Townshend, or some of his friends, was not fully satisfied with this disclaimer, and Mr. Burke, therefore, a week afterwards, wrote another letter in which he more distinctly denies the allegation, and disclaims any knowledge of Junius.

'Surely,' he remarks, 'my situation is a little vexatious, and not a little singular. I am, it seems, called upon to disown the libels in which I am myself satirized as well as others. If I give no denial, things are fixed upon me which are not, on many accounts, very honourable to me. If I deny, it seems to be giving satisfaction to those to whom I owe none and intend none. In this perplexity all I can do is, to satisfy you, and to leave you to satisfy those whom you think worthy of being informed. I have, I dare say, to nine-tenths of my acquaintance, denied my being the author of Junius, or having any knowledge of the author, as often as the thing was mentioned, whether in jest or earnest, in style of disapprobation or of compliment. Perhaps I may have omitted to do so to you, in any formal manner, as not supposing you to have any suspicion of me. I now give you my word and honour that I am not the author of Junius, and that I know not the author of that paper, and I do authorize you to say so.'—ib. 274, 275.

In the allusions which occur to American affairs, and they are numerous, the apathy of the public mind is bitterly deplored. We can scarcely realize the indifference which these allusions betoken, and are compelled to call up the existing state of things with respect to Ireland, in order to convince us of their probability. The measures of the administration had driven the colonies to the very eve of revolt. Expostulations and entreaties, memorials and warnings, were alike disregarded. The power of taxation had been claimed, and the whole machinery of government was to be employed in enforcing its execution. The fairest provinces of the empire were thus endangered, and yet so crippled and dispirited was the public mind, so lost for a season to all the higher and nobler sentiments of an enlight-

ened patriotism, that it looked on with indifference, and allowed its best interests to be tampered with by imbecile and unprincipled rulers. 'Any remarkable highway robbery at Hounslow Heath,' says Burke, in 1774, 'would make more conversation than all the disturbances in America.' Some months later, he writes: 'In the present temper of the nation, and with the character of the present administration, the disorder and discontent of all America, and the more remote future mischiefs which may arise from those causes, operate as little as the division of Poland. The insensibility of the merchants of London is of a degree and kind scarcely to be conceived. Even those who are most likely to be overwhelmed by any real American confusion, are amongst the most supine.'

Again, in August, 1775, when European states had taken part with the American colonies, he refers to the same apathy, and laments over it, as proof of the degeneracy of the nation. Writing to Lord Rockingham, he says:—

'Your lordship's observation on the general temper of the nation at this crisis, is certainly just. If any indication is to be taken from external appearances, the king is entirely satisfied with the present state of his government. His spirits at his levees, at the play, everywhere, seem to be remarkably good. His ministers, too, are perfectly at their ease. Most of them are amusing themselves in the country, while England is disfurnished of its forces in the face of armed Europe, and Gibraltar and Minorca are delivered over to the custody of foreigners. They are at their ease relative to the only point which could give them anxiety,—they are assured of their places.

'As to the good people of England, they seem to partake every day, more and more, of the character of that administration which they have been induced to tolerate. I am satisfied, that within a few years, there has been a great change in the national character. We seem no longer that eager, inquisitive, jealous, fiery people, which we have been formerly, and which we have been a very short time ago. The people look back, without pleasure or indignation; and forward, without hope or fear. No man commends the measures which have been pursued, or expects any good from those which are in preparation; but it is a cold, languid opinion, like what men discover in affairs that do not concern them. It excites to no passion; it prompts to no action.'—vol. ii. p. 47, 48.

In connection with this subject, we may quote a brief extract from a letter of Charles James Fox to Mr. Burke, in which he adverts, in terms of deep despondency, to one of the early defeats of the colonists. Though there is much force in his remark, it is not to be taken in its full meaning, as the subsequent history of America, and of more than one European state has shown.

'What a dismal piece of news! and what a melancholy consideration for all thinking men, that no people, animated by what principle soever,

can make a successful resistance to military discipline. I do not know that I was ever so affected with any public event, either in history or in life. The introduction of great standing armies into Europe, has then made all mankind irrecoverably slaves. But to complain is useless, and I cannot bear to give the tories the triumph of seeing how dejected I am at heart. Indeed I am not altogether so much so about the particular business in question, which I think very far from being decided, as I am from the sad figure that *men* make against *soldiers*.'—vol. i. p. 493, 494.

We had marked many other passages in the second volume for quotation, but must content ourselves with the following, in order that space may be left for some notice of the references which subsequently occur to the French revolution. The whole letter from which this passage is taken, is eminently worthy of attentive perusal; and is not unsuited, as every intelligent reader will perceive, to the aspect and requirements of the present day. It is addressed to a member of a Whig club at Bristol.

'You ought not solely to rely on us; for be assured that it is not either the members of parliament, or the men in any other public capacity that have made or kept a people safe and free, if they were wanting to themselves. If members are honest, they deserve, and I am sure they will want support; if they are corrupt, they merit, and I am sure they ought to have blame and reprehension. We are like other men, who all want to be moved by praise or shame; by reward and punishment. We must be encouraged by our constituents, and we must be kept in awe of them, or we never shall do our duty as we ought. Believe me, it is a great truth, that there never was, for any long time, a corrupt representative of a virtuous people; or a mean, sluggish, careless people that ever had a good government of any form. If it be true in any degree, that the governors form the people, I am certain it is as true that the people in their turn impart their character to their rulers. Such as you are, sooner or later, must parliament be.

'Where there are towards six hundred persons, with much temptation and common frailty, many will undoubtedly be moved from the line of duty. But I have told you before, and I am not afraid to repeat it, that there are many more amongst us who are free from all sorts of corruption, and of a more excellent public spirit, than could well be expected. Since there is this difference, it is the business of the constituents to distinguish what it is the policy of some to confound. When you find men that you ought to trust, you must give them support; else it is not them that you desert, but yourselves that you betray. Nor is it at all difficult to make this distinction. The way to do it is quite plain and simple. It is to be attentive to the conduct of men, and to judge of them by their actions, and by nothing else.

'You will, therefore, not listen to those who tell you that these matters are above you, and ought to be left entirely to those into whose hands the king has put them. The public interest is more your business than theirs; and it is from want of spirit, and not from want of

ability, that you can become wholly unfit to argue or to judge upon it. For in this very thing lies the difference between freemen and those that are not free. In a free country, every man thinks he has a concern in all public matters; that he has a right to form, and a right to deliver an opinion upon them. They sift, examine, and discuss them. They are curious, eager, attentive, and jealous; and by making such matters the daily subjects of their thoughts and discoveries, vast numbers contract a very tolerable knowledge of them, and some a very considerable one. And this it is that fills free countries with men of ability in all stations. Whereas, in other countries, none but men whose office calls them to it having much care or thought about public affairs, and not daring to try the force of their opinions with one another, ability of this sort is extremely rare in any station of life. In free countries there is often found more real public wisdom and sagacity in shops and manufactories, than in the cabinets of princes in countries where none dares to have an opinion until he comes into them. Your whole importance, therefore, depends upon a constant, discreet use of your own reason; otherwise you and your country sink to nothing. If upon any particular occasion you should be roused, you will not know what to do. Your fire will be a fire in straw, fitter to waste and consume yourselves, than to warm or enliven any thing else. You will be only a giddy mob, upon whom no sort of reliance is to be had. You may disturb your country, but you never can reform your government. In other nations, they have for some time indulged themselves in a larger use of this manly liberty than formerly they dared.—vol. ii. pp. 194—198.

The French revolution constituted the almost exclusive topic of Mr. Burke's reflections during the latter period of his life. From the first he regarded it with mistrust. There was much in his political creed to induce this. That creed was aristocratic whiggery, a type of political faith which concealed the spirit of an oligarchy under the forms and phraseology of popular freedom. It was therefore no marvel that he viewed with suspicion the earliest and best scenes of the revolution. He was fearful of the power which had been evoked, and speedily prepared himself to battle with it. It is not to his credit that he utterly excluded from his heart the generous exultation with which many of his countrymen, as far removed as himself from the love of anarchy and murder, hailed the first movements of this great event. His eulogists are accustomed to attribute this to his sagacity, but we believe nothing of the kind, for that sagacity was perpetually at fault in the very matter of the revolution itself, and did not prevent his uttering prophecies at which history enables us to smile. There was more of the aristocrat than of the prophet, more of political prejudice than of sagacious forethought, in the views he adopted. The oracle spoke the language of passion, not of inspiration, and it would have been strange indeed, so numerous were its utterances, if some

of them had not coincided with subsequent events. 'You may easily believe,' he writes, in 1789, 'that I have had my eyes turned, with great curiosity, to the astonishing scene now displayed in France. It has certainly given rise in my mind to many reflections, and to some emotions. These are natural and unavoidable; but it would ill become me to be too ready in forming a positive opinion upon matters transacted in a country, with the correct political map of which I must be very imperfectly acquainted.'

His opinions, however, were soon decided, and he was not the man to remain inactive when they were so. He threw into the contest the whole ardour of his impassioned nature, and consecrated himself, with all his vast resources and talents, to the cause he had espoused. The *Reflections on the revolution in France* speedily testified the side he had adopted, and formed an epoch in his political life. The third volume of the present collection contains numerous letters on this absorbing topic, many of which throw considerable light on the state of English politics, whilst they evince the feverish excitability, hasty judgments, and anti-popular bias of the great champion of European conservatism. An interesting correspondence on the subject of his volume took place between him and Mr. (afterwards Sir) Philip Francis, in which the latter availed himself of the privilege of friendship beyond what was agreeable either to the author or his son. 'I know with certainty,' Mr. Francis remarks, 'that I am the only friend, and many there are, who ventures to contradict or oppose you face to face on subjects of this nature. They either care too little for *you*, or too much for *themselves*, to run the risk of giving you immediate offence, for the sake of any subsequent or remote advantage you might derive from it.' He then proceeds to notice the style of the work, of which a proof sheet had been forwarded to him, in the following passage, which we can readily believe was anything but agreeable to the pride of authorship.

'Waving all discussion concerning the substance and general tendency of this printed letter, I must declare my opinion, that what I have seen of it is very loosely put together. In point of writing, at least, the manuscript you showed me first was much less exceptionable. Remember that this is one of the most singular, that it may be the most distinguished, and ought to be one of the most deliberate acts of your life. Your writings have hitherto been the delight and instruction of your own country. You now undertake to correct and instruct another nation; and your appeal, in effect, is to all Europe. Allowing you the liberty to do so in an extreme case, you cannot deny that it ought to be done with special deliberation in the choice of the topics, and with no less care and circumspection in the use you make of them. Have you thoroughly

considered whether it be worthy of Mr. Burke—of a privy-counsellor—of a man so high and considerable in the House of Commons as you are—and holding the station you have obtained in the opinion of the world, to enter into a war of pamphlets with Dr. Price? If he answered you, as assuredly he will, (and so will many others,) can you refuse to reply to a person whom you have attacked? If you do, you are defeated in a battle of your own provoking, and driven to fly from ground of your own choosing. If you do not, where is such a contest to lead you, but into a vile and disgraceful, though it were ever so victorious, an altercation? '*Dii meliora.*' But if you will do it, away with all jest, and sneer, and sarcasm; let every thing you say be grave, direct and serious. In a case so interesting as the errors of a great nation, and the calamities of great individuals, and feeling them so deeply as you profess to do, all manner of insinuation is improper, all gibe and nick-name prohibited. In my opinion, all that you say of the queen is pure foppery. If she be a perfect female character, you ought to take your ground upon her virtues. If she be the reverse, it is ridiculous in any but a lover, to place her personal charms in opposition to her crimes. Either way, I know the argument must proceed upon a supposition; for neither have you said any thing to establish her moral merits, nor have her accusers formally tried and convicted her of guilt. On this subject, however, you cannot but know that the opinion of the world is not lately, but has been many years decided. But in effect, when you assert her claim to protection and respect, on no other topics than those of gallantry, beauty, and personal accomplishments, you virtually abandon the proof and assertion of her innocence, which you know is the point substantially in question. Pray, sir, how long have you felt yourself so desperately disposed to admire the ladies of Germany? I despise and abhor, as much as you can do, all personal insult and outrage, even to guilt itself, if I see it, where it ought to be, dejected and helpless; but it is in vain to expect that I, or any reasonable man, shall regret the sufferings of a Messalina, as I should those of a Mrs. Crewe or a Mrs. Burke; I mean all that is beautiful or virtuous amongst women. Is it nothing but outside? Have they no moral minds? Or are you such a determined champion of beauty as to draw your sword in defence of any jade upon earth provided she be handsome? Look back, I beseech you, and deliberate a little, before you determine that this is an office that perfectly becomes you.'—vol. iii. pp. 129—131.

Burke admitted the correctness of the criticism on his style, so far as the looseness of its texture and its epistolary character were concerned; but defended himself with warmth and some tartness on the other points mooted by his correspondent. Francis, however, was not silenced, but replied under date of November 3, 1790: 'Once for all I wish you would let me teach you to write English. To me, who am to read every thing you write, it would be a great comfort, and to you no disparagement. Why will you not allow yourself to be persuaded that polish is material to preservation.' Proceeding from the style to the substance of the work, he dissects with a masterly hand the

brilliant declamation of his friend, and indicates the wiser and juster course which ought to have been pursued. The passage, though long, is too interesting and valuable to be wholly omitted.

'From the plain, unlaboured narrative of history, I can produce you pictures of the constant miseries of the people of France, that would surpass everything that you, with all the efforts of your eloquence, have painted of the sufferings, great, I own, and much to be regretted, of a few individuals in a single day. But it seems they had their *Etats généraux* to appeal to. A French historian, now open before me, and who writes with great guard and moderation, says, 'une assemblée des Etats généraux, tenue en 1412, mérita le reproche qu'on a fait quelquefois à ces grandes assemblées, de voir et d'exposer tous nos maux *sans* en soulager un.' This, I believe to have been constantly the case. The people derived very little, if any, protection from the states-general; certainly not within any period in which the history of modern nations is distinctly written, and may be safely relied on. If this state of the case be generally true, it follows that the French of this day could not act as we did in 1688. They had no constitution as we had to recur to. They had no foundation to build upon. They had no walls to repair. Much less had they *the elements of a constitution very nearly as good as could be wished.* A proposition so extraordinary as this last, so likely to fill the minds of common readers with doubt and surprise, ought to have been made out *in limine*, since the most important deductions are drawn from it. If it be not true, or if it be left to stand upon an assertion, for which no argument or evidence is produced, all that part of your 'Reflections' which impeaches the French Assembly for taking new ground to act on, is a *petitio principii*, and will be, in effect, a justification of the revolution you condemn, if the French can show that your premises are not founded in fact. If they had no model in their own country, they must, of necessity, begin anew. They could not, in this respect, be guided by the example of England, because in our own case there was a constitution to resort to; in theirs, there was none. Allowance should be made for men whose duty it is to act in such a situation. They may commit many errors; but neither will I charge them with the fury of the populace, nor with the crimes of individuals. Many things have been done which greatly deserve to be lamented; and the more, because they weaken and disgrace a cause essentially just and honourable. The loss of a single life in a popular tumult, excites individual tenderness and pity. No tears are shed for nations. When the provinces are scourged to the bone by a mercenary and merciless military power, and every drop of its blood and substance extorted from it by the edicts of a royal council, the case seems very tolerable to those who are not involved in it. When thousands after thousands are dragooned out of their country for the sake of their religion, or sent to row in the galleys for selling salt against law,—when the liberty of every individual is at the mercy of every prostitute, pimp, or parasite, that has access to the hand of power, or to any of its basest substitutes,—my mind, I own, is not at once prepared to be satisfied with gentle palliatives for such disorders. Why? Because, as you say, it is not *natural* that it should. But, it

seems, the present king of France is of a mild, inoffensive character, and not to be charged with a personal disposition to tyranny. Be it so. Then this is the time to cure the disease which belongs to the system, not to the man, and to take securities for the future. Would you advise the French to wait for the return of a more vigorous power, of some more resolute prince, against whose firmness and abilities they would have no chance of success? Or is it only in the cause of public freedom, of multitudes groaning under oppression, that you would take no advantages of time and opportunity? I do not understand the sense of such generosity in any contest between right and wrong; but, in this, I am sure of the danger of it. You will not believe it possible, that it can be my wish or intention to justify any atrocious acts of violence committed by the populace. I do not even undertake to defend the most deliberate acts of the assembly. With all manner of reason and justice in the assumption of their power, they may possibly have exhibited a total want of wisdom in the exercise of it. These questions are perfectly distinct. In some places you talk of the national assembly, as if they were the direct authors of everything done by the mob of Paris; in others, you describe them as the passive instruments of that mob, and acting under the immediate terrors of personal danger. But you dread and detest commotion of every kind. And so should I—and who would not?—if a healthy repose could be obtained without a tempest or stagnation. But tell me,—has not God himself commanded, or permitted, the storm to purify the elements.'—ib. pp. 166—170.

In the following January, Burke's mind was made up to the propriety of that crusade against France, to the inculcation of which the remainder of his life was devoted. 'To tell you the truth,' he writes, 'I have no opinion at all of internal remedies in their case. To quit the metaphor,—I cannot persuade myself, that anything whatsoever can be effected without a great force from abroad.' This was his dogma, and its adoption by the powers of Europe, stimulated to madness the energies of the French people, and may fairly be charged with the havoc and misery which followed. It is due, however, to his memory to add, that while he advocated the re-establishment of the Bourbons by foreign force, he did not contemplate a return to their old *régime* of government. We know how delusive any expectation of this kind must have proved, in the event of a military occupation of the throne, and are not therefore concerned to vindicate the writer's wisdom. Our province is to note simply what his view was, which is sufficiently clear from the following passage in a letter to his son, written in September, 1790. Referring to a *declaration* recently issued by the Bourbon princes, he says:—

'I think it well penned, and in many points very right and proper. But the *ton* is not just what one would wish in all points. In some things it is dangerously defective. They ought to promise distinctly and without ambiguity, that they mean, when the monarchy, as the es-

sential basis, shall be restored, to secure with it a free constitution; and that for this purpose they will cause, at a meeting of the states, freely chosen, according to the ancient legal order, to vote by order, all *Lettres de Cachet*, and other means of arbitrary imprisonment, to be abolished. That all taxation shall be by the said states, conjointly with the king. That responsibility shall be established, and the public revenue put out of the power of abuse and malversation; a canonical synod of the Gallican church to reform all abuses; and (as unfortunately the king has lost all reputation) they should pledge themselves, with their lives and fortunes, to support, along with their king, those conditions and that wise order, which can alone support a free and vigorous government, Without such a declaration, or to that effect, they can hope no converts. For my part, for one, though I make no doubt of preferring the ancient course, or almost any other, to this vile chimera, and sick man's dream of government, yet I could not actively, or with a good heart and clear conscience, go to the re-establishment of a monarchical despotism in the place of this system of anarchy. I should think myself obliged to withdraw myself wholly from such a competition, and give repose to my age, as I should wish you to give other employment to your youth.—ib. pp. 348—9.

We are reluctantly compelled to refrain from further extract. Some passages expressive of the writer's opinion of the political protestantism of Ireland, we should gladly have quoted, as affording a solution of many difficulties connected with that country. The anomalous position of Ireland cannot be understood without a thorough knowledge of the character and baneful effects of this politico-ecclesiastical party, and Burke's opinion would probably have weighed much with some readers. But our space is pre-occupied, and we have no alternative.

We part from these volumes with regret, and need scarcely recommend them to the early perusal of all classes of intelligent Englishmen.

Art. V. *The Moral Government of God elucidated and enforced.* By Thomas Kerns, M.D., etc. Simpkin and Marshall. 12mo, pp. 408.

THE ordinary division of human knowledge into *physical* and *moral* is conventionally useful and well enough understood; but its deficiences have been frequently pointed out by philosophical writers; and the reality of the division itself cannot in all cases be maintained, because no science is so wholly insulated as to be susceptible of any thing like geographical limitations. Sir James Macintosh has justly and acutely remarked, that 'every branch of knowledge has its root in the theory of the understanding, from which even the mathematician must have what can be known of his magnitudes and his numbers; and moral science is

founded on that hitherto unnamed part of the philosophy of human nature (to be constantly and vigilantly distinguished from intellectual philosophy) which contemplates the laws of sensibility, of emotion, of desire and aversion, of pleasure and pain, of happiness and misery; and on which arise the august and sacred landmarks that stand conspicuous along the frontier between right and wrong.'

The general distinction, however, between the *physical* and the *moral* is sufficiently obvious, though the one may have subtle relations and close connexions with the other. The points at which such connexions are observable are more perplexing where systems and definitions are in question, than when duty and action are to be determined. Practice is often easy when theory is at fault, and uses may be high and obvious where accurate analysis is impracticable. Mackintosh has happily enough defined the character of these two departments of philosophy, when he says, 'the purpose of the physical sciences, throughout all their provinces, is to answer the question, *What is?* The purpose of all moral sciences is to answer the question, *What ought to be?* They aim at ascertaining the rules which ought to govern voluntary action, and to which those habitual dispositions of mind, which are the source of voluntary actions, ought to be adapted.'

Yet it will occur to the reader, that the question stated by Sir James Mackintosh, as characteristic of moral science,—*What ought to be?* is wholly dependent upon the previous question, *What is?* for we cannot proceed to determine what is the duty of voluntary agents till we know their powers, relations, laws, and conditions, all which fall within the province of things that are. Neither can we discuss the question of the divine moral government, without a constant reference to the perfections of the Deity, the indications of his will, and the reciprocal relations of himself and his creatures. In fact, the very foundations of moral government are to be sought in the attributes of the divine Being, and in the entire mental and moral constitution of his creatures. The exercise of that government—the particular laws it involves—the obligations under which creatures are laid, are again questions of fact; so that the whole province assigned to moral science, may, with the strictest propriety, be made dependent upon the question of *what is?* only making that question comprehensive of the powers, actions, and dispositions of intelligent beings. That which *is* must rule that which ought to be. The *ought* is a debt dependent altogether on facts and natural relations.

These observations may serve to show how very fallacious those systems of moral philosophy are likely to be, and how

shallow their foundations and principles must be, when the only oracle consulted is human reason. Such speculators proceed at once to determine what the actual system of the Deity is, from consulting with their own judgment, what, according to their very imperfect knowledge, and their perverted feelings, it ought to be. Hence we have moral systems of endless variety, adjusted and graduated to the scale of each philosopher's notions and feelings, from the coldest and most undevout deism, up to the wildest fanaticism. Theory here, as in all other departments, has been the most formidable foe to truth, and the greatest obstacle to its discovery.

The subject itself is the highest and most sacred that can engage the intellect of man, implicating, as it evidently does, the momentous question of religion; although most of our moral philosophers have canvassed it, as much as possible, by the light of reason, and as little as possible under the light of revelation. Yet no christian ought to consent to such an exclusion of divine light upon questions which so evidently involve both the being and the government of the Deity, the relations and the duties of man; questions of fact, too, which, without that light, have proved themselves too subtle and too complicated for finite understandings.

To acknowledge the existence of a Deity, and yet allege, as some modern philosophers do, that He is wholly indifferent or inactive as to the government of the world, differs very little, if at all, from a verbal confession and a real denial of his Godhead. We might as well say that there is no God, as say that he is inefficient in the universe he has made, or that his moral attributes, whatever they may be, are wholly unoccupied in the government of finite intelligences. The difference between this supposition, and a deity without any moral attributes, would be wholly unimportant, and might be practically renounced. He would then be a mere physical cause, mighty and marvellous in its effects: but to such a deity no reverence or homage, no respect or love, could be due from the heart of man. We should inevitably feel, in that case, that our deity was inferior to ourselves, and could not awaken in us even those lively emotions of love and gratitude, esteem and respect, which the virtues of our fellow beings frequently call forth. He could not even become an object of refined and exalted sentiment. That such notions of a deity should be embraced by the bestial and low-minded incapables of the socialist or Owenite school, is not at all wonderful; for their principles and aims are all animal; but that men, emulating the dignified character of philosophers, and not a few who have achieved that character, in some departments of science, should entertain or patronize such crude and

rfect notions, is dishonourable alike to their understandings their hearts: but it is, above all, lamentable for the perni- influence which their names must impart to such opinions ıg many of the scientific aspirants in almost every depart- of philosophy. Yet such, we regret to say, are the notions ısively prevalent among the continental philosophers, and o means unusual among our own. It might be curious and uctive to trace the origin of these notions, in the spirit of modern philosophy. Every thing has been brought to the of mechanical, chemical, or mathematical analysis. Beyond ɜ circles our sages would fain admit no facts, and perceive rounds for reasoning. But there will yet be found a world uth, and that of the most sublime character, to which neither principles of number and quantity, nor the scalpel of the ɔcting-room, nor the entire apparatus of the laboratory, will itate any access. These, from their connexion with our ɔst nature, their influence upon human character and happi- , their relation to our immortal destiny, and the prerogatives Iim for whom all beings exist, must yet assert their reality, ɔrtance, and authority. If they should be the last to yield ıe inquisitive spirit of our philosophy, they will not be the t to reward and bless it, when it has discovered that humble, hable, and candid disposition which is the pre-requisite of ission into the highest school of the best and most impor- science. It is altogether a strange, and surely an irra- al process, by which the idea of a Deity has been detached ı the perfections of goodness, rectitude, wisdom, and the ogative of universal government. Yet such is the theoreti- notion of some, and the practical, or rather the impractical ıion of more. They recognize nothing but infinite power. , as sure as there is a God, so sure it is that he must be remely wise and infinitely good. The very same proofs as supposed to establish the existence of an infinite power, w that wisdom and benevolence regulate the exercise of that ver. Even to form such a world, such a system as this in ich we are placed, involves other attributes besides mere ver. Design is just as manifest as power. The complete- ıs of execution demonstrates previous perfection of idea or ıception. Beyond and after the actual execution of the plan, olving—to say the least—power, wisdom and benevolence: can equally perceive the evidence of a superintending mind. e dependence of one part upon another, which is a matter of t and observation, ought never to have led to the contradic- y conclusion that the whole is independent—but ought, on ɜ other hand, to have established beyond dispute the depend- ce of the entire system upon the will and other attributes of ɜ Being that produced it. But to create a world or a universe,

and then leave it to itself, and all the confusion incident to conflicting wills and interests, to all the casualties and chances which such an infinite variety of objects and agents must incur, would neither comport with wisdom nor goodness, nor with any rational notion of a Deity. The immense display of power and wisdom herein made, requires an end worthy of the intellect which entertained such a multitudinous conception of beings and objects, all inimitably beautiful, exquisitely connected with each other, and from the least to the greatest, from the meanest to the noblest, defying all rivalry.

But such a world without law—or law without an executive efficiency, a presiding magistracy, would be in itself a practical absurdity, and a state of things utterly repugnant to the conception of a wise, righteous, orderly, and benevolent First Cause —such as all nature evinces its author to be. Strictly speaking, therefore, if the universe requires an infinite cause, an infinite intelligence, to account for its existence, it no less requires the same cause to account for its conservation and government. Unless we could conceive of every object and being made infinite, and having the cause and reason of its existence and continuance in itself, which were an absurdity, we could not admit or believe that any part, or any being was made independent of that infinite First Cause, to which the whole leads us. Hence we infer that the natural world could not subsist a moment longer than while it was supported and regulated by the Almighty hand which formed it. '*Sublata causâ, tollitur effectus,*' is an undisputed and indisputable maxim.

The question of *moral* government has been in all ages much debated. We are not disposed to detail theories, or bring forward the names of philosophers who have endeavoured by abstract thought to conceive what the government of the world involves, or whether there is any system of moral rule at all. The notions of philosophers are very vague and very various upon these questions; and perhaps the philosophical system, as it is styled, comprehends little more than the admission of divine power to sustain and keep in operation the laws of the physical universe. The tendency is to admit as little as possible of moral government, and to suppose all laws of this kind as indefinite and relaxed as the inclinations of men could desire. But this theory supplies no foundation even for the fixity of what are called *laws of nature.*

Such a scheme is neither rational in itself, nor respectful towards the Governor of the universe. It is not even wise nor politic in reference to men themselves: for if there is such a thing as moral government, both for our own sakes and the honour of our divine Ruler, we ought to be attentive to its indications, vigilant of its laws, and anxious to approve ourselves

to its requirements. There are moral powers and capacities in men—they must have been derived from a being who recognizes such powers and the objects or relations on which they are to be exercised. The natural state of all human beings developes the existence and the deep mysteries of conscience. Social relations of all kinds imply obligations, duties, and laws; their observance or violation involves happiness or misery, reward or punishment. The inference is, that a moral system does exist, as a matter of fact, in human nature itself, and its origin can be identified with no other cause but that which called the human race into being. The existence of such a system in human nature, proves that the Author of nature is a moral governor—for there is not merely a system of rewards and punishments incorporated with the laws of our nature, but this system has respect to our voluntary actions. It does not consist merely in making the actions of men causes of happiness or misery, reward or punishment, but in rewarding righteous actions and punishing wicked ones; in making virtue conducive to human happiness, vice conducive to suffering. It does not annul this statement to allow that the system now in operation does not in all respects reach perfection, or arrive at completeness—because it may be a part of the divine plan to reserve that consummation for a future state. It is quite enough, in establishing the evidence of the system, to prove that there exist such laws of our nature, in reference to voluntary actions, as do in a wonderful way evince a power beyond mere physical causes, in executing themselves by immediately rewarding or punishing the agents of good or bad actions. The occurrence of such results, accompanied, as they uniformly are, with a correspondence of pleasurable or painful emotion in the human conscience, proves the existence of such a constitution of nature as is properly expressed by the term *moral*—it logically follows, that, as this takes place upon system, uniformly and orderly, it must be the result of primitive arrangement and design by the Author of nature; and the inference then becomes inevitable that he is a righteous governor, and maintains over intelligent beings a moral government.

Some philosophers have spoken of the government of God as consisting in the simple exercise of an absolute and unqualified benevolence. The objection to such a notion is, that it places out of sight order and rectitude, conformity to the supreme will as the means of happiness, and supposes the Creator and governor of the universe simply to pursue the happiness of his creatures without regard to their conduct as regulated by, or opposed to, his will. This theory is both unphilosophical and irreconcileable altogether with the

fact of punishment and suffering, which is as evident as the fact that virtue is accompanied with happiness. Moreover, in its fondness for the happiness of the creature, it is chargeable with grasping at an end without attention to the means. To suppose this of a Being infinitely wise as well as infinitely benevolent, is assuredly doing him no honour. It is at the same time altogether out of keeping with his usual procedure, which invariably adopts means for the attainment of its ends, and as invariably requires us to regard them. Assuredly, therefore, the Author of nature has given us abundant evidence in our own reason, in the consciousness of our own minds, and in the entire dependance of effects on causes, that he attains his ends by means. If, then, his end be admitted to be the greatest possible happiness of his sentient and intelligent creation, yet that happiness must not be separated from rectitude, or conformity to the sovereign will of the supreme moral Governor, in whatever way he may have made that will discoverable by us. His laws consult our happiness, and secure it by an eternal connexion between rectitude and felicity—sinning and suffering. But our first business, as creatures, or servants, is with rectitude, not with happiness; or with happiness, not simply and independently, but as an end which the eternal Governor has decreed we shall attain only through the means of rectitude. These observations may serve to show that reason may safely conclude upon the existence of a moral government, and consequently that the Author of our nature is a Being possessed of moral attributes in the highest perfection, and fullest exercise over his intelligent creation. So much, at least, may be pronounced clear and certain to those who deem the subject worthy of close and deep attention. Those who will not think deeply, humbly, and candidly upon it, may be expected to take up with superficial and inconsistent theories, as prejudicial to their own highest interests, as derogatory to the glory of the Deity. Those who question the fact of a moral government altogether, must either be persons *whose wish is father to the thought*, or those whose attention has never been given to the inquiry—an inquiry, we will not say, equal in importance to any other which has been so happy as to command their attention—but infinitely transcending, in interest to themselves, every other subject into which they may have inquired. If they admit that it was worthy of the Deity to occupy his thoughts with the conception, and his attributes of wisdom, power, and benevolence with the creation of such a world as this, they cannot deem it unworthy of him to govern it righteously. Rather, they must infer that the production of the universe involved the obligation of both caring for it and directing all its agencies, according to

the several properties imparted to them, and the laws under which they are placed, to the consummation he has designed. The continuance of the natural constitution, undisturbed and unimpaired to the present moment, proves that the government is still proceeding, and that the final end of the Creator is not yet complete. This is exactly what might be expected, upon the supposition that the government of the world is in the hands of an infinite Being, who is under no necessity of hastening the completion of his designs, whose plan at present developed, shows a connexion with the future, and whose endowments of intelligent creatures qualify them for that future state of rewards and punishments. No valid presumption can be found against such an issue of the present system of things, and every positive intimation which reason can derive, from the most careful examination of the entire system, is in its favour. There is now a rewarding and punishing of actions by the laws of our constitution, and since this implies government, it is far more reasonable to conclude, that the government is in accordance with the rules of rectitude and virtue, which are palpable to our understandings, than to infer, that the Supreme Governor recognizes no such rules, and that our consciousness of them is a matter of accident and chance.

The best ethical system of the schools may be said to have established, by unanswerable reasons, the fundamental facts and principles of a moral government, though they left their disciples painfully at fault in the working out in life and action the rules and motives, the hopes and fears, which such a system supposes. The adaptation of the theory of a moral government, in the abstract, to the condition of imperfect and lapsed intelligences, is a business of quite another kind. To proceed with this by the light of mere reason, is not merely perilous and presumptuous—it is hopeless, and must prove nugatory. The predicament to which it reduces us, shows the necessity for an extraordinary interposition of the Deity, and gives occasion for that supernal display of divine benevolence which is explained by revelation, and embodied in redemption. The neglect of this supernatural expedient for attaining the ends of the divine benevolence in moral government, cannot be charged upon those ancient moralists, who did their best to arrange a system that might subserve the ends of social virtue, and individual wellbeing; but the same cannot be said of all who have enjoyed the additional advantage of revelation. By too many of this class the christian system has been intentionally neglected, and fruitless theories have been vamped up, which were fitter for a heathen age than for a christian—theories, which are as void of consistency with themselves and with the entire of human nature,

as destitute of support to halting virtue, and consolation or hope to sinning and suffering humanity.

The author of the volume before us is not a writer of this class. His views are thoroughly imbued with the spirit of revealed religion, and include the whole history of man's redemption. In fact, it is rather this part of the divine moral government which Dr. Kerns endeavours to elucidate and enforce, than what previous writers generally have taken as moral science. He accordingly accepts the foundations as already established by such writers as Butler, Paley, and others, and proceeds at once to illustrate the divine moral attributes, as displayed in the government of angels and of men, and, as the author supposes, the intelligent inhabitants of other worlds. His general view of the subject is comprised in the following short extract:—

'As the works of creation unfold to us sublime views of the essential attributes of Deity, so the government of God, in connexion with intelligent creatures, furnishes some of the loftiest conceptions of his moral character. Of this the sacred volume is the grand repository: we have there not only a history of his dealings with mankind, and a declaration of those principles by which he will govern the world till the end of time, but also the future destiny of our race, and even some intimations concerning the state of other intelligences. In the following remarks on the divine administration, we acknowledge our entire dependance on this source: beyond it we know nothing; we have therefore drawn freely from its sacred treasures, and, lighted by the lamp of revealed truth, have ventured to contemplate those movements of the Supreme Governor, which illustrate his moral attributes.

'From the power and majesty which are universally admitted as belonging to the Divine Being, we must be conscious that our hopes for time and eternity are deeply involved in his will and pleasure; and, consequently, an inquiry into the character of his moral government must be interesting and important to the heirs of immortality. By it we behold the mode of his former operations, the rule of his present agency, and the principles on which he will act, till the consummation of all things.

'Our object being to lead the reflecting mind to a profitable meditation on the Divine government, and impressed with the conviction that polemical theology is not the most profitable, we have studiously avoided, as much as we considered warrantable without compromise, or inconsistence with the design of the work; and when we have on one or two occasions introduced a controverted subject, it was with the view of elucidating some great principle of the imperial administration of God.' —Preface, pp. 7, 8.

We must confess that this mode of discussing the fact, and the peculiar nature of God's moral government, does not comport with our ideas of the object which every such treatise should

keep in view. If the design of the author is simply to elucidate the revelations of God contained in his book, he should not profess to give us a treatise on the general subject of moral government, since such a profession necessarily leads us to expect an attempt both to ascertain the fact of moral government, and its harmony with the entire nature of man, and the dispensations of Providence. A mere statement of the discoveries made by revelation is not calculated to convince the sceptic, nor remove the difficulties which even christians acknowledge they feel in solving the problems which the belief of such a system suggests to them. The moral government of God must have preceded revelation, and the events which have arisen out of the principles of that government must be laid as foundations for revelation, or as occasions justifying and requiring its interposition. Otherwise, our views are chargeable with incompleteness. To begin with revelation, is very much like constructing the roof before we have laid the foundation, or ascertained the extent of the building. The principal service which all treatises upon moral government can be expected to render to the cause of truth is, in our view, to prepare the way for revelation, first by proving its necessity, and next by evincing its harmony with all those principles of our own nature and facts of divine Providence which exist confessedly independent of the revealed system. These are the facts which weigh most with speculative and inquisitive minds, and which it is not wise in a christian philosopher to avoid or slight. The moral government exhibited in revelation, even to secure the steady confidence and enlightened approbation of believers, must be shown to harmonize with the constitution of things in nature, or else it cannot long retain its hold upon the faith of mankind; and to give it complete success against the spirit of philosophical infidelity, its minute and complete consistency, at least in all fundamental and important principles, with the laws and facts of nature, must be clearly and powerfully evinced. This appears to us to be the most effectual way of disarming the objector to revelation, and the very best, and perhaps the only way, in which works on the moral government of God can be of efficient service to true religion. After we have done homage to the authority of revelation, under the conviction of its divine origin, and have honestly placed ourselves under its tuition, we have done with reason as a final rule, and must submit ourselves to the authority of a divine and infallible teacher, from whom there is no appeal—this is theology—the science both of God and from God. But this is altogether another school of instruction, differing *in toto* from the spirit of that in which the principles of moral science must be discussed, aye, and established too, before we

can safely venture to yield ourselves to the dogmatic instructions of theology. It is very pious, no doubt, to attribute all the honour of elucidating moral government to the oracle of revelation, and to allege that '*we know nothing beyond* it.' But this will never be admitted by the ethical philosopher; it is not strictly true; and can never remove the differences which the disciple of the inductive philosophy imagines he discovers between the facts of nature and the principles of revelation. We must come down to the plain level of facts, experience, and consciousness, if we hope to advance the cause of truth, benefit mankind, and promote the glory of God. And why should we not? It is the shortest way to the end we seek; it may be done with honour and with success. Examples are numerous and splendid of the ability with which the consistency of this revealed system of moral government with the facts of nature may be vindicated. Butler, Balguy, Shuttleworth, and many others have triumphantly vindicated the moral government of God, by thus showing the consistency of the revealed system with the facts and laws of the universe. But then by all these writers a moral system is first recognised as in existence and operation, prior to the intervention of that divine expedient which contemplates man as fallen from moral rectitude, as incapable thereby of ever fulfilling the requirements of strict justice, and as being cast helpless and guilty upon the sovereign mercy and grace developed in the revealed system. It is therefore not to set up and establish a moral system of government that revelation interposes, but to prevent the disastrous consequences of man's defection, and accomplish the purposes of Divine benevolence, in a method altogether *sui generis*, but in perfect harmony with the previous system, and in strict conformity to its principles and requirements.

The adoption of the revealed system, or the revealed addition to the previous system of moral government, places the moral philosopher upon altogether new ground. The scene and the system are then entirely changed; and it is in proving the consistency of the revealed appendix to the nature and constitution already existing, that his chief labour is required. Then if he labours skilfully, he can hardly fail to labour successfully.

We regret that Dr. Kerns has not directed his researches and his reasonings to this view of the subject—since, though confessedly the most arduous, it is incomparably the most important and desirable. For what he has done, however, we tender him our cordial thanks. His work is composed in the best spirit, and displays respectable ability, though it does not exhibit and enforce those views of the general subject which have been brought forward by a host of the most eminent divines and philosophers.

The author professes himself a disciple of the Arminian system of theology, and appears to be almost an exclusive admirer of Dr. Adam Clarke as an expositor of the sacred volume. How far an accurate and comprehensive view of the whole divine system may be expected from such a quarter, we shall leave our readers to judge for themselves; only taking occasion to intimate that there are other writers in our language, of no mean name, whose general views on the system of moral government would have assisted Dr. Kerns in perfecting his own—writers, too, whose deference to the authority of revelation, and insight into its meaning, might entitle them to be consulted in connexion with his favourite commentator.

We have no wish, however, to be thought unkind or ungenerous towards a writer who differs from ourselves merely in some of the details of revelation. His general views are creditable alike to his judgment and his heart: and his efforts to exalt the honour of God and maintain the authority of the divine word merit our warmest approbation. We feel confident that every sincere christian will be gratified to find a writer of the medical profession so thoroughly acquainted with the history of redemption, so earnest in the enforcement of its truths, and so anxious to extend its salutary influence in society. The duty which we owe to our readers compels us to add, that they must not expect to find in the present work any thing like a philosophical treatise, on the entire system of God's moral government, or a disquisition showing the harmony of revelation with the laws of our moral nature. It is a warm-hearted, pious, and discursive treatise on the moral perfections and the gracious dispensation of God, as these are exhibited in the sacred history. The work forms a suitable companion and excellent conclusion to the previous production, entitled '*The Arcana of Nature Revealed*,' by the same author, which we formerly recommended to the notice of our readers.

Art. VI. *Historical Memoir of a Mission to the Court of Vienna in* 1806, *by the Right Honourable Sir Robert Adair, G.C.B., with a Selection from his Despatches. Published by permission of the proper authorities.* London: Longman and Co. 1844.

In noticing this volume, we are not going to carry our readers into the crooked mazes of Austrian politics. That power, which lies so compact upon the map of Europe,—which comprises the fairest portion of the Italian peninsula, the most valuable provinces on the Adriatic shores, the kingdoms of Bohemia and

Hungary, the spoils of Poland, the supremacy over Germany, and a sort of pretended succession to the Cæsars of the western empire, has no longer the genius of Charlemagne, nor the ambition of Charles the Fifth, to animate it. Austria is in fact settling upon its lees as the China of Europe,—the grand empress of conservatism, the ponderous obstacle to intellectual and general progress, which, in an upward direction, her thirty millions of subjects might at times be disposed to make. She has never very well succeeded as a belligerent. Her armies may be immense; but it is not to them immediately, that she owes her territorial aggrandizement. It is a maxim as old as Maximilian, or older,—

Bella gerant alii,—tu felix Austria nube!

Nor, will it strike the reader, as otherwise than remarkable, that the entire character of the nation, should have been, with regard to its aggressions, *feminine* rather than masculine. The sword has now and then plundered her, as in the instance of Frederick, called by courtesy the Great, when he appropriated Silesia; but with regard to depriving others of what belonged to them, she has always looked to a petticoat system for success. She has coquetted, flattered, scolded, lied, bribed, purloined, smuggled, purchased stolen goods at inadequate prices. Marriages have been to her what battles have been to other people. Through intrigues and cabinet robberies she has grown great. Venus and Hymen, and not Mars or Bellona, would have been the tutelary divinities on her standards, had she existed before the christian era. We are not sure that similar characteristics may not be traced out in her social and domestic organization. The imperial government seems a kind of grandmother tyrannizing over an enormously large family. Like an old lady, its predilections are all on the side of antiquity. Nothing has gone on well since the happy days when she was young, and of course the wisest among women. Her appearance may be really very venerable: but her sceptre is an ubiquitous walking-stick, poking into every conceivable detail of family affairs. We have ourselves the most sincere reverence for hoary hairs,—especially when found 'in the ways of righteousness.' But, on the other hand, a grey procuress, a beldame, painted and powdered, as we see in old mansion-house portraits,—a crusty duenna, whose mouth is full of false teeth, and real maledictions,—whose trembling fingers hold the distaff of a dark destiny,—such an object will and must ever have, we candidly confess, our cordial detestation. Austria, we conceive, answers to this typical representation,—whether we contemplate her upon a minute or a mighty scale;—whether in the seizure of the Buccovina, or the occupation of Gallicia,—whether in the extinction of the glories

of Venice, or the annihilation of the Calixtines,—whether in the imprisonment of her patriots, the suppression of her press, the fraudful debasement of her circulating medium, and the prodigious roguery of almost all her monetary proceedings,—for which Prince Metternich has no other palliation to offer, than the universal bankruptcy of his finances.

With this effete, ignorant, obstinate, and superstitious power, it has always been the delight of tories to sympathize. Their mutual pulsations beat and throb in the most wondrous harmony. When the Bourbons were cast out from France, Vienna was to be the paradise for our aristocracy, instead of Paris. Pomp, parade, and etiquette, took refuge there. George the Third, himself the impersonation of an oligarchy, used to think with a sigh, that civilization, by which he meant despotism, had withdrawn from the Seine to the Danube. Whigs were only a trifle better in this respect than their opponents. In their dream about the balance of Europe, his Imperial Majesty, the grand Autocrat of Schonenbrunn, shone forth from the firmament of politics as a fixed star of the first magnitude. Hence, when the ministry of the Talents took the helm of these kingdoms, Charles James Fox dispatched our author as one of his most confidential envoys to the emperor Francis. Bounaparte at Austerlitz had humbled in the dust the united eagles of Russia and Germany. The peace of Presburg transferred not a few plumes to the conqueror, whose pride was not to be satisfied with hollow submissions, worthless words, or empty fame. An alliance recently formed between Austria and Great Britain, for certain specific objects, still continued; although as to its offensive aspect towards France, there remained nothing to glory in beyond the expense of subsidies, and the discomfiture of another continental confederacy. We at length professed to have learned so much wisdom that no more loans would be forthcoming. Sir Robert Adair, however, was to express on all occasions, 'our most perfect goodwill to Austria, and tranquillize her perfectly with regard to any apprehension she might entertain of our getting her into a scrape for the purposes of Russia and England, or even for that of the general advantage of Europe.' Yet the possibility of not being able to satiate or conciliate Napoleon was to be suggested to her; in about the same base cringing tone and spirit, that an opulent dowager is informed by her coachman, that unless the pole of her carriage is mended, the whole equipage will break down and place in peril the necks of all parties. Few things are more sickening to our taste, than our foreign diplomacy, whenever we have had to deal with crowned heads. Lord Amherst came back from Pekin, and very properly, because he refused to perform the degrading ceremonial

of the Ki-tow, and bump his forehead nine times on the ground before the celestial descendant of the sun and moon. But really when the difference is allowed for, between central Europe and extreme Asia, we cannot help feeling that the representatives of these islands, in their treatment of royal and imperial potentates, not so very far from home, have exhibited a general demeanour quite as base or servile, as that which was demanded by the semi-barbarian Tartar. Who would imagine, from the mincing manners and supplicatory voices of our ambassadors, that we were soliciting the honour of rescuing corrupt governments from destruction,—of discharging their debts, pensioning their princes, or paying their armies? The plain state of the case was just this. The French victor was welding into one vast edifice of empire, about seventy millions of his fellow creatures. A war, which had commenced for mere party purposes, had now come to wear the character of involving the independence, or even the existence, of nearly all other neighbouring nations. An obvious policy would have been for Austria, Russia, Prussia, Great Britain, Sicily, Sweden, and the Ottoman Porte, to have all acted together, as one people, against the common invader. Oliver Cromwell would have told them so, in plain, blunt, unequivocal language: and they would have probably listened to him, as Mazarine and his contemporaries did under much less alarming circumstances. If they would not hearken to straightforward honest suggestions,—then the next best plan would have been to let them alone,—to husband and not waste our own insular resources,—to have coerced the false monarchs of the continent to befriend popular rights and evoke the spirit of liberal institutions,—to have won, under divine Providence, the best terms in our power, either by land, or sea, or non-interventional foreign policy,—and to have made our fellow subjects so happy at home, as that the humblest classes should have felt they had something worth struggling for. The foreign minister surely hesitated and succumbed far more than suited the genuine grandeur of his position. His genius quailed before the sneers and criticisms of that section of his former admirers, who had seceded from his ascendancy to follow after Edmund Burke. They considered him as about to undergo the test of his character as a British statesman. There would be put to the proof, they thought, the consistency of his opposition to the war system of his predecessor, with his old opinions, as an advocate for the European policy of King William the Third.

Amidst all this, there was just 'much ado about nothing.' Sir Robert Adair had always been a particular friend to the great whig statesman, and had supported him in particular against those headstrong measures of Mr. Pitt, which inflamed the

military mania of France, and cost this country more men and money than ever the American war had done. When, however, the treaty of Amiens turned out to be little better than waste paper, and the triumphs of Napoleon, already alluded to, had rendered the case one of life or death, an envoy at Vienna could scarcely do more than act as a spy; or, to speak less offensively, he was forced to become a mere collector and transmitter home of secret intelligence. Austria had no longer a will of her own; nor had her faithless, haughty, vacillating conduct, merited a better fate. In England, the new administration managed as badly as their predecessors; never deigning to think how they might ameliorate the hard lot of their own countrymen, except with regard to the Enlistment Bill, the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and attempts at Catholic Emancipation. Abroad, they were ready to fall upon their knees, rather than press upon the delicate feelings of mortified sovereigns: whilst at home,—woe to the persons and purses of honest loyal lieges. Lord Henry Petty proposed an augmentation of the Assessed Taxes, Customs, and Excise, besides his duplication of the Income Tax, accompanied by another loan of twenty millions! The aggregate supplies of that year reached the enormous total of £67,800,000:—and for what purpose? Holland succumbed under the comparatively mild usurpation of Louis Bounaparte, in obedience to the dictates of Napoleon. That ambitious personage was casting his eye round all Europe to ascertain where he could reap fresh laurels, or from whence he could most effectually wound our pride, or our commerce. It was said, that he considered himself destined for universal dominion: and he undoubtedly laughed at the pecuniary efforts of his adversaries. In vain was the prosperity of our middle classes almost crushed by an oppressive Treasury, that foreign cabinets might at length grow timely wise. St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna, were once more to be the centres of hope, and the fountains of despair. Money alone proved insufficient to resuscitate defunct corpses; although it seemed to galvanize each in its turn. Prussia first exhibited some such convulsive motion. She happened still to possess a monarch with more zeal than discretion: and, on the 9th of October, his manifesto appeared. The French emperor offered no other reply than the bayonet. His victories at Saalfeldt, Jena, and Auerstadt, scattered the squadrons of Frederick William, and deprived him of Saxony. Sir Robert Adair well describes the thunderclaps, which these events proved at the court of the emperor Francis. For what purpose, we again ask, had our financial follies been perpetrated? Berlin had to receive Davoust and his conquering legions. The citizens of that capital crouched at the very feet of their new master; so much so,

that he raised a new regiment from amongst them,—encouraging their enlistment by a proclamation 'resembling those addresses, in which English recruits are allured to some hazardous service!' Pomerania readily capitulated. Hanover and Westphalia soon followed their example, thus extending the frontiers of France to the Weser. Hesse Cassel and Silesia were also overrun; and at Posen the formation of a patriotic army for the deliverance of Poland was proposed, which made Austria again turn pale; whilst the British envoy cautiously opened our purse-strings, to pay a few discontented troops here, or prevent a disbandment of others there,—just when it was of no use in the world, except to throw away our money, and to excite cupidity. Russia at length roused herself,—also, when it was too late. Her armies moved upon the Vistula, to be beaten back by Murat. Warsaw quickly fell. Its batteries were turned upon the retreating Calmucks; whose entrenchments were again forced near the Urka, after an obstinate conflict. Buonaparte meanwhile fastened the gaze of a basilisk upon Vienna. Her horrified sovereign could only protest that he would do exactly what he was bidden, notwithstanding the presence at his court of a representative of George the Third; whom Napoleon justly deemed his most determined enemy. He not only accused his majesty of inflaming other princes against him, but he inveighed in strong terms against the mode in which England asserted her supposed rights as mistress of the ocean. 'In retaliation of this odious tyranny, he promulgated from Berlin his blockade of the British Islands, when he had not even the means of enforcing it against the Isle of Wight, prohibiting all commerce and communication with those territories; menacing with captivity all British subjects; commanding the confiscation of their property, wherever it might be found; and of every article of our colonial produce, which his subjects might possess.' It has been truly remarked, that considering himself as master of the continent, he indulged in these projects, under the idea that he should crush with one blow the whole of our foreign traffic. But where, all this time, lay the wisdom of our foreign diplomacy? Sir Robert Adair, doubtless, did the best he could do: but to weave ropes out of sand, or combine Austria with Russia and Prussia, was a task clearly beyond his power. Austria, without spirit as she then shewed herself, should have been left to the fulness of humiliation which the tyrant had in store for her. It would have been more consulting our dignity to have withdrawn from her gay metropolis, and relied for mere information upon humbler instrumentality than an expensive embassy. It is notorious, that the Duke of Wellington obtained his best intelligence, throughout the Peninsular War, from a cobbler at Irun: and similar

knights of St. Crispin might have been found, we venture to imagine, in the neighbourhood of the palace of Schonenbrunn.

When the ministry had to meet parliament before Christmas-day, in London, there was an outburst of wailing and recrimination. As the new year, 1807, drew on, the misfortunes of Frederick William, together with our general continental policy, underwent free discussion. It was affirmed with truth, that the former had treated us just as the emperors Francis and Alexander were about to do; namely, in consulting for their own selfish interests first, and getting as much out of us as they could. What else, we would again enquire, was to be expected from Polish spoliators? Nevertheless, although there are no lessons equivalent to those of personal experience, it is often necessary, that even those should be repeated, with an amount of reiteration perfectly incomprehensible to the uninitiated. Prussia pretending to renounce all idea of ever appropriating Hanover, our stolid sovereign proceeded once more to lavish pecuniary grants, together with large supplies of arms and stores; besides subsidizing Sweden, and continuing to coax and stroke the imperial crest of humbled Austria. Notwithstanding a repulse of Ney, the loss of Dantzic and the grand engagement of Friedland at length undeceived the most blinded. It was now plain, that there was no trust to be placed in princes. Konings-berg had surrendered. Frederick William struck his forehead in despair, and was seen pacing the streets of Memel a perfect maniac, unconscious of public observation. But at least there still remained Russia, all the world exclaimed; so that John Bull would yet have something for his outlay! Alas for the credulity of mankind! On the 25th of June, 1807, upon a raft moored in the middle of the Niemen, Napoleon and Alexander met for an important arrangement. The strong mind of course carried away the weaker one. From the interview of that day, grew the peace of Tilsit, on the 7th of July following: with all its secret articles. The French conqueror touched the zenith of his glory. Great Britain was left to shift for herself. The kingdom of Westphalia was erected upon the ruins of Prussia and Hanover. Russia was to be thenceforward a cat's paw to Napoleon, with which he was to resist our maritime ascendancy, and influence the politics of Austria. Sir Robert Adair had to shut up his desk, pack up his moveables, tear up his papers and cyphers, and abandon his mission to Vienna!

The volume before us comprises a mass of correspondence bearing upon this interesting and humiliating period. It is dedicated in a brief but affecting address to Earl Grey, as a monument of friendship and intimacy now protracted to half a century. There is a dulness about almost all diplomatic collec-

produced no fewer than three elaborate lives of Savonarola in the last six years, written respectively by Rudelbach, Meier, and Rapp. To these authorities the present writer, as we are informed, is mainly indebted; and he has likewise availed himself of many other sources of fact and opinion, such as Muratori, Tiraboschi, Sismondi, d'Aubigné, &c. The author observes in his preface, that

'Though small in compass, the following Life of Savonarola contains more facts of his history, and more extracts from his writings than exist in any other or in all the memoirs and biographies of him hitherto written. Nothing in it has been misstated or overcharged, but the whole subject treated, in its theological, political, and philosophical bearings, with the utmost impartiality that the author could command. We now know that the work in which Savonarola was engaged, notwithstanding its temporary failure, was of God, and not to be attributed to any one person, however conspicuous in its direction.'

The author opens his work with a glance at the moral state of the church just before the birth of Savonarola, which is worthy of citation, inasmuch as it tends to afford us a clue to those incentives of after-action by which the spirit of such a man would necessarily be moved:—

'The grief of the church for the loss of her pristine unity was not to be consoled by the licentiousness of the Vatican, nor was the ample learning of Nicholas the Fifth, sufficient to compensate the decay of the ancient faith. He might repair, or rebuild altars and temples—remove simony from among the practices of his court—sign a concordat with the German church:—but what availed these or greater benefits, while that faith had been corrupted, and superstition yet received the sanction of the so-called vicar of Christ? Only so recently as the year 1450, this superstition had been made to subserve the avarice of the clergy and people of Rome. The jubilee had again been celebrated*, and such multitudes had been induced to seek plenary indulgence at the tombs of the apostles, that many were crushed to death in the churches, and many perished by the accidents inseparable from all great assemblages of the people. Ninety-seven pilgrims were thrown at once by the pressure of the crowd from the bridge of St. Angelo, and drowned. These physically were the victims of idolatrous imposture, but there were others afar off who were spiritual sufferers. Nicholas the Fifth, with all his learning, had not fortitude to resist the pernicious precedent of former pontiffs, who had afforded to those who were prevented by personal occasions from locally attending, the facilities of redeeming their omission at a distance. Indeed, not only salvation, but full and complete indulgence for all manner of sin and crime had been brought to every man's private door. For the greater convenience of purchasers, and the greater profit of the venders, both the jubilee and its indulgences

* The vain and imperious Paul the Second, famous for his persecution of literature, and his avarice, abridged the interval between the jubilees to twenty-five years.

had frequently been permitted to every place in Christendom. Those, therefore, who would not or could not come to Rome, might lawfully stay away, if they paid the price for the privilege of receiving at home the anticipatory pardon for which, at a lesser rate, they must have crossed the Alps. In a word, the pope was no longer the vicar of Christ, but of Mammon. No man can serve both.'—p. 4.

Precisely at this period, Girolamo Savonarola, whom Luther classes with John of Hüss and Jerome of Prague, was destined to appear on the stage of the world. His birth took place at Ferrara, on the 21st of September, 1452, about three years and three months previous to that of John Reuchlin. For the benefit of his early education he seems to have been indebted principally to his father and grandfather:—the ruggedness of his character, indeed, both as boy and man, would lead us to suppose that he had not been blessed with the softening influences of maternal instruction.

Many circumstances contributed in a remarkable manner to influence the infant mind of Savonarola. The physiological mysticism of his grandfather Michele, by whom he was early initiated in literature,—the mystical spirit embodied in Italian life and art—the characters and careers of popes Nicholas V., Pius II., and Calixtus III.—the peculiar state of the church, and the canonization of Catherine of Sienna;—all these circumstances and events, but particularly the last, so famous in all subsequent ages, and productive of such popular sensation in its own, could not fail of making a deep and lasting impression on the poetic and enthusiastic temperament of Savonarola. On the death of Michele, the father determined on having his son Girolamo carefully and liberally instructed, by competent teachers, in his native town; and we are told, 'so greatly zealous was he for the truth, as well as so much accustomed to investigate its evidences for himself, that he was wont, when their views differed, to contend with his teachers, and assert his right to maintain his own.' In Greek and Roman lore, which had just then redawned upon the world, he made a rapid progress, and, under paternal guidance, studied logic and philosophy. Such were the 'unworldly yearnings,'—induced by the study of the works of Aristotle and Plato,—which ever accompany in the minds of ingenuous youth, the first perception of the ideal, that he began to apprehend in the system of things about him—in the conduct of individuals and general society,—'a rule of living and acting repugnant to those sublime principles which he had been taught to appreciate in the works of his masters, and the truth of which he had recognised in the aspirations of his own better spirit.' Besides Plato, the writings of Thomas Aquinas occupied the attention of Savonarola to a great extent.

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Impelled by his religious convictions, Savonarola quitted Ferrara secretly, and on the 24th of April, 1475, he found safe refuge in a Dominican monastery at Bologna, whence, the next day, he wrote an affectionate letter to his father, detailing his reasons of such a step. Here he was employed in teaching the scholastic philosophy, and in studying the works of Jerome, Augustine, and Cassian. He soon found that the fraternity with which he had joined himself, were as much estranged from the principles which animated him, as was the world he had abandoned. He was solicitous to preserve both liberty of conscience and freedom of opinion. His tendencies were towards a purely personal rather than a ceremonial religion. He may be said to have deemed it no robbery to partake of that revelation which Augustine fearlessly participated with the earliest apostles. Absolute submission to the merciful sovereignty of God, and a strong feeling of gratitude to divine love, which consecrated him for one of his chosen vessels, were the qualities which prepared him to contend that, not because of any prevision of man's fitness or worthiness,—not because of any pre-existent virtues,—but only because of God's sovereign will, and wisdom, and mercy—are either societies or individuals chosen to be the educators of the human family.

In the year 1482, during the war between Ferrara and Venice, the fathers of the Dominican order were, with Savonarola, sojourning in the convent of *St. Maria degli Angiola*, in Ferrara, whence, for greater safety, the latter, with some others, removed to Florence; here it was arranged, that, in the Lent of 1483—the year of Luther's birth—he should preach the fast-day sermons. The opportunity long looked for had now arrived. It was now to be seen how he, whose eloquence had flowed at the lecture-table, with profit to his auditors, would acquit himself in the congregation of believers, as the orator of salvation, the advocate for God and man.

'With hopes thus high,' says the writer of his life, 'Savonarola ascends the pulpit in the church of Lorenzo, at Florence. The congregation is numerous; for hitherto the preachers have been sufficiently attractive, and the new preacher has much celebrity, and from him much is expected. But these hopes and expectations are premature. Savonarola has much to learn before he is perfect as an orator. A constrained carriage, an ungainly figure, a piping voice, have little to please an audience. Day after day the number of hearers diminishes—day after day—till at length only twenty-five are left, including women and boys. Nor is Savonarola not aware of the cause, but has left his self-condemnation on record. 'I had,' he says, 'neither voice, lungs, nor style. My preaching disgusted every one. I could not have moved so much as a chicken!'

'He returned to his monastery with feelings that may be conceived but not described.

'Must Savonarola renounce his hope? Is there no chance of his becoming even so much as useful as a preacher? Is the pulpit after all no probable stage for the exertions of a genius, felt, by the possessor, to be of the highest order—for the overflow of an enthusiasm that is consuming his heart, wherein it had long concentrated itself, and been secretly nourished, like the scathing lava beneath the crater, with materials of combustion?—We shall see.'—pp. 84, 85.

It may be truly said, in respect of the Romish church, at this period, that a succession of apostates, rather than of apostles, had occupied the seats of ecclesiastical privilege. Pope Sixtus IV., under whom Savonarola was now living, was one of the worst that ever bore the sacred character. He had placed the city of Florence under an interdict, excommunicated Lorenzo di Medici, and published a declaration of war; but his menaces were treated with scorn, even by the ecclesiastics. They called upon France and Milan to aid them against his oppression. Moreover, he carried the transgression of nepotism beyond all former example, was signally superstitious, and singularly venal, creating new offices for the purposes of sale. He even ventured on offering the last insult to his court and his church, by raising to the dignity of cardinal his own valet, a youth, named Jacopo di Parma. Dying in 1484, he was succeeded by Innocent VIII., who had actually *purchased* the vote of the conclave, in order to his election, and had no sooner attained it, than he violated all treaties and oaths, made with and sworn to the cardinals—though he had bound himself, on pain of anathema, not to exercise his power of self-absolution! Perfidy was common to the popes, but none had fixed it at so high a mark before!

'Clear it was, that the mystery of iniquity was approximating its climax. How was a Savonarola likely to bear these things? Shall he not preach against them? Yes, if he can; and now he can—for he has gained facility, by such practice as he could get, and has left untried no mode of self-improvement. He is not one of those flowers that veil their petals under the bud, and let them wither ere they blossom and bring fruit. No! not fruitless will this rich heart, full of love, be shut up within itself; he will go forth into the world, though as a lamb, among raging wolves. His name shall be added to the list of great men, in whom the unconquerable will has triumphed over physical incapacity. Even his weak frame is to become, under the strong impulse of his fervid soul, an efficient instrument, and the neglected preacher shall ere long rise into an orator, who shall ultimately be followed by applauding thousands, who will own his power, not only by the deep silence of admiration, but by the violent struggles of hysterical passion, and the more precious tribute of tears of conviction.'—p. 95.

In the first year of the pontificate of Innocent the Eighth, 1485, Savonarola went to preach in Brescia. His mind was full of the scriptures, and the part he undertook to expound was none other than the mysterious, spirit-stirring Apocalypse. 'How his imagination was fired—how his eloquence was awakened! Words poured from him like water from the divine fountain of life, and the new light of gospel truth surrounded his brow with a glory like the aureola of saints. He stood before the people as a prophet. Such without his announcement they believed him to be—for he brought the crimes of the church to the judgment of the book, and denounced them in the language of God himself.' His style of preaching, and the subject-matter of his discourse, awakened the admiration of the people, who were not unprepared for such truths. After his success at Brescia, Savonarola qualified himself for higher efforts of oratory; and by frequent preaching and more sedulous study of the scriptures, cultivated that unction of speech, without which the preacher is but a babbler, however fluent. He continued loud in his lamentation and denunciations against the corruptions of the church, speaking with the voice of inspiration, and not by the authority of man.

Prince Pico della Mirandola, happening to be present at a provincial chapter of the Dominicans of Lombardy, held at Reggio in 1487, was so charmed with the talents, eloquence, and erudition displayed by Savonarola in the disputation which then took place, that he conceived a strong interest in his favour, and was desirous to have him recalled to Florence. He therefore recommended him strongly to his friend, Lorenzo di Medici, who invited Savonarola to that city, and caused him to be installed Prior of San Marco. Henceforth his name is connected with the history of Florence.

The lectures of Savonarola in the monastery of San Marco, were attended by crowds of hearers of all ranks; even men such as Pico della Mirandola, Girolamo and Dominico Benevieri, and others of like note, were among them. He was bound by such associations, both to the Medici and the papacy, as it would be difficult to undervalue. On the 1st of August, 1489, he began in the garden of the cloister, under a shrubbery of Damascus roses, to expound to a numerous audience his favourite book—the Apocalypse of St. John. The effect of his discourse was, as might have been expected, very great, and so much the more, as now the external means that appertain to the finished orator, were in his power. He was (how different from his first attempt in the church of Lorenzo!) an extempore preacher, deriving assistance from scriptural phraseology, and a finished elocution.

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times, exhibits phenomena that intimate the soul's immortality. Savonarola was fond of children; it was his special delight to discourse with the budding intelligence touching divine things and the sacred scriptures. He was accustomed also to visit the cells of the monks, to converse with them on spiritual topics. Savonarola was severely abstemious, and he desired only the coarsest and most patched clothing. The author of his 'Life,' gives us an anecdote in reference to this trait, and some subsequent remarks on his moral character, which are worthy of notice.

'Two abbots of Vallombrosa were once conversing with him about the reformation of the monasteries—Savonarola glanced at their cowls, which were of beautiful velvet, and smiled. The abbots knew his meaning, and blushed—so much virtue yet remained with them. At length, they gained courage, and ventured to remonstrate. 'Brother Girolamo! marvel not at the fineness of our cowls, they last so much the longer!'—Whereto the Prior answered: 'What a pity San Benedetto and San Gio Gualbert knew not this secret! They would else have worn the same.'

'Such gentle irony was sufficient rebuke, and they were silent.

'None ever doubted of the chastity of Savonarola. This is a point that merits deep consideration. When preaching at Brescia, Savonarola had exclaimed: 'The chastity of the cloister is slain!' Had not the celibacy of the clergy become a futile pretext, provoking fornication and adultery, and encouraging concubinage? Had not the church become a brothel? Was not the church of Rome even the mother of harlots? Was it not written on her front, blazoned shamelessly on the folds of her tiara? Did she any longer attempt to conceal it? Was not the veil altogether withdrawn? Innocent the Eighth regarded as no crime what he had inherited as a custom. The clergy were rendered dissolute by an absurd regulation, which outraged nature without ministering to grace, and violated the precept of scripture, declaring that 'Marriage is honourable in all.'—The cloisters were grossly immoral—most odious practices were indulged—all due to what Luther calls 'the hell of celibacy.' Savonarola had not arrived at this perception; he was a monk. He thought it right to take the vow of chastity—he had taken it—and he kept it. In all the relations of life he was a sincere man; and it was this which made him sternly heroic—which fitted him for a reformer—which predisposed him for the martyr's crown.

'Such are the relations in which Savonarola stands connected with those who now ostensibly minister at the altar of God, or affect to meditate in the retreats of piety. He is a prophet among priests and monks—an apostle in the midst of apostates—a champion of truth numbered with liars—a believer fallen into the camp of practical, if not theoretic, atheists—a victor, ere long to be a victim.'—pp. 145—146.

During the Lent of 1492, Savonarola visited Bologna, where he preached, and his sermons met with a good reception. There was, however, much in his pulpit oratory that was personal. We

are presented with several instances of this.—Savonarola was energetic in commending the Bible, as the only code of morals. The style of his pulpit orations was earnest, impassioned, abounding in exclamatory appeals, oftentimes highly figurative, yet desultory and rambling. At the conclusion, he would frequently descend from the pulpit bathed in tears—amid the sobs and groans of the congregation.

Savonarola prophesied that a scourge should visit Italy, and Florence in particular, for her transgressions; and he persisted, as by divine command, in repeatedly admonishing the people of the necessity of a religious life. He was wont to assert, that the death of Lorenzo would be the commencement of a state revolution in Florence. Lorenzo himself clearly saw the necessity of some other influence beside art and philosophy, namely, religion, for the security of a state; and cherished a secret sentiment that Savonarola was the agent divinely appointed to supply it. There were three political factions in Florence, striving for supremacy.—The first was named Frateschi (brethren), or Piagnone (mourners); these were the zealous advocates of liberty, who had not only united for the restoration of the republic, but went about constantly and loudly lamenting the corruption of morals, and the decay of prosperity in the city. At their head was Savonarola.—The second party was named Compagnacci, from the assistance they derived from companies of young nobles, who enlisted themselves in its service. The third party —denominated Bigi (grey), was that of the Medici. Of the three parties, the first and third sided against the second: and the second dreaded the first more than the third. As is mostly the case in the political arena, more sympathy existed between the two extremes, than between the mean and either opposite. 'The conduct, both of Savonarola and Lorenzo, was the result of a deep instinct in the nature of both, and of a law by which their position was necessarily regulated. Neither of them knew this—but not the less they acted on the obscure feelings by which it was represented. Savonarola attracted Lorenzo—but was himself only repelled by the advances of the political ruler. The æsthetic and the ascetic man were mutually related—but there might be no contact.'

At length Lorenzo was thrown on a sick-bed. He had frequently expressed a desire for the conversation of the 'true monk,' as he had once denominated Savonarola, and now sent for him, as he had reason to fear his death was nigh at hand. Savonarola attended, and having commended him to the divine mercy, proceeded to assure the sufferer, that if he had a strong and living faith, God would and could forgive him. Lorenzo replied that he had this faith; whereupon Savonarola added, it was

necessary that he should restore, or direct his sons to restore, whatever he had unjustly obtained. This also Lorenzo promised. But when the reforming monk demanded that he should reinstate Florence in authority and right of the old republican freedom, Lorenzo maintained a stubborn silence. Savonarola instantly left him, it is even said, without granting him absolution. Lorenzo died on the 8th of April, 1492.

After his death, Savonarola stood forth more prominently than ever, in his invectives against the corruptions of the pontifical court, the general depravity of manners, and the domineering spirit of the Medici. Pietro succeeded his father Lorenzo in the government of Florence, but was ill-calculated either to attain or preserve the sovereignty of the state. He was not without talent and humane culture, but destitute of reflection and decision. He held the reins of government feebly, and pursued a policy opposed to what his father had commenced, and adopted the counsels of the inexperienced and the young. Through his misconduct the Medici were at length compelled to flee from Florence, and sought refuge in Bologna.

'Shortly after Lorenzo's death, in July of the same year, died Innocent VIII., and was succeeded, (as if to show, that the moral apostacy had not passed its climax) by Alexander VI., who soon applied himself entirely to the secular business of his elevated position, and relinquished even the appearance of religious motives. As Roderigo Borgia, the new pontiff, had already made himself infamous for his debaucheries, and on the death of his predecessor felt no shame in actually purchasing the seat of papal power, now more temporal than spiritual, to which he had aspired, and which he but employed to the end of founding a great inalienable sovereignty for his family in the domains of the church; yet this man, who has been justly called the scourge of Christendom, and the opprobrium of the human race, was on his election by the people of Rome hailed as a deity. On no other occasion, it is said, had the Holy City arrayed herself in such splendour, or descended to such loathsome adulation as on that, when she placed in the apostolical chair the most profligate of mankind—a man in whom there was no sincerity, no shame, no truth, no honesty, no faith—a being of an insatiable spirit, an immeasurable ambition, of a more than barbarous cruelty, and a worse than natural lust—in short, an incarnation of the satanic spirit itself, who, having purchased the vacant chair of the apostate vicar of Christ, despised mankind too much to flatter their mock reverence of piety, by playing the hypocrite on the desecrated throne of superstition. But in the person of Charles VIII. (of France), such men as Savonarola recognized the divinely appointed opponent to the infernal usurper, who had dared to occupy the highest station in God's temple, now perverted to the performance of undisguised evil.'—pp. 164—5.

When Charles the Eighth had advanced against the Floren-

ne dominions, as far as to conquer a frontier town, Savonarola as appointed one of an embassy of five orators deputed to de- and of him the restoration of Pisa. His address to the king, ithout premeditation, as given in the 'Life,' tends to impress with a high notion of the abilities and sterling character of the an. In the name of the embassy he saluted Charles not only the servant and delegate of God, who for high designs was to ppear in Italy, but withal, reminded him of the duty that be- nged to such a mission, which he required him conscientiously observe, if he would insure the happy issue of his undertaking. avonarola had now become decidedly the greatest man in lorence. He was a real monk, and his soul yearned after othing so much as the true glory of God. This was manifested y his anxiety for the reform of the monasteries, and by his in- ituting a new monastic society. Florence was his favourite ty, as the beloved scene of his ministrations. He had won the earts, and was zealous for the salvation of the souls of all within . So habitual and general was it for the Florentines to hear im, that 'shops were shut till after the morning preaching, and ie richer citizens often entertained twenty or thirty at a time f those who came from a distance. Even in the winter the hurch of San Marco was beset soon after midnight by devotees, ho waited until it was opened, then lighting their tapers, re- ained in silent prayer until the mighty preacher appeared. len who had found his eloquence the effectual means of chang- ig their own minds, anxiously sought to bring others within is influence.'

There was ever a bias in the mind of Savonarola to the spiri- ual aspects of whatever subjects he discussed. In his political iews there was the same poetic tendency. This is especially ecognisable in the hints thrown out in his sermons on the new rganization of the state, delivered immediately after the expul- ion of the Medici; albeit, Savonarola was a church reformer y choice, but a state reformer by necessity. In his zeal for a hange, he wished to begin with the clergy; and as might natu- ally be supposed, this zeal brought on a serious collision of arties. The relative position of Savonarola and the reigning ope and the clergy at this period must be well considered, in rder to be duly estimated. The clergy were a degenerate set, nd the pontiff not only completely secularised, but absolutely emoralized. The 'true monk' of Florence had not feared to enounce the crying evils of those terrible times, charged with uilt so gross and abominable, that ordinary delicacy prevents ven a bold writer from doing justice to the subject by giving lustrative details of the enormities committed. 'In perusing ome of his sermons,' says the author of the Life before us, 'one

is affected even to tears, by the consciousness which he displays of the duty to which he was called, the peril by which he was surrounded, and the death that awaited him. In all this, he presents a striking contrast to Luther, both in the progress and the personal issue of his mission.' His pre-vision of martyrdom demands attention, as given in his own words: 'Do you ask me *in general*, what will be the end of the conflict? I answer, victory! But if you ask me *in particular?* then I answer death! But death is not extinction! Rather it serves to spread abroad the light! This light, as I have evermore declared, is spread wider than you believe. It is already in many hearts. And if you knew how many were enlightened thereby, not only here but in various places, you would be astonished, and change your lives. Write to Rome, that this light is kindled in all places, howbeit it is not yet known, yet will it soon be perceived, and divisions spring up therefrom. But Rome shall not quench this fire, as nevertheless it will endeavour to do. Nay, if it quenches it in one, then will another and a stronger break out. I say to you, this light will be kindled in Rome and all Italy, among bishops and cardinals; even worldly princes and great men will protect it and promote it, when it is time; indeed, I have already many letters from several, declaring that they are prepared for its sake to lose their lives. Write that I invite all the learned men of Florence, Rome, and Italy to oppose this truth, and that I am ready to defend it in every way.'

For seven years had Savonarola, with the zeal of a prophet, borne witness in Florence to the justice of God and the sinfulness of man, announcing with truth the burthen of the times, and prescribing the means of deliverance, crying aloud for the reformation both of church and state. Those alarming abuses and corruptions which, with a strange and terrible novelty, so forcibly impressed both Wickliff and Luther, in their visits to Rome, were familiar to Savonarola from his earliest days. From then till now he had lived in the midst of a thick darkness—a darkness that could be handled. He had not only observed, but experienced the effects of the system of Romish superstition in destroying the faith and purity of the gospel, in paralyzing the conscience, depraving the heart, and deadening the intellect, until the free-born reason of man became chained up in the fetters of error and custom, and a chartered indulgence was to be purchased for money, in the most horrid sins and licentiousness. And now, at the head of this power of evil, was none other than that incarnation of Satan, Alexander the Sixth. The first paroxysm of wrath at this state of things having subsided, his mind seems to have 'concentrated itself in a deep determination to resist the further encroachment of the Man of

Sin, and stem the mystery of iniquity that was now coming like an ocean torrent on the world, or to perish in the attempt. In the persons of the prophet of Florence and the Pope of Rome, two systems had met in collision, and what the immediate event would be, was as yet undecided by the Great Disposer.'

Alexander the Sixth, operated upon by the enemies of Savonarola at Rome, at length determined to put some stop to the spreading contagion. A papal brief accordingly arrived in Florence, directing him not to preach, as appointed, at that city during the Lent of 1495, but at Lucca. It was the Pope's policy, therefore, to remove him from Florence. He prepared to obey the Pope's mandate, but the magistracy interfered, and wrote to his holiness, praying him to withdraw his direction. The signory, likewise, expressed to him their astonishment that the authorities in Rome should be incautious enough to believe, or men be found bold enough to utter such calumnies of such a man. This solicitation of the magistracy and the signory had the desired effect with the Pope. He consented to recall his brief, and permitted Savonarola to remain for the present, and preach during Lent in Florence. Annoyed as Alexander the Sixth evidently was at the monk's temerity, yet he thought it the most prudent course not to proceed to extremities against so learned, eloquent, pious, and influential a person. Might he not, indeed, make of him a friend instead of an enemy? or might not other means be devised, which, without implicating the papal chair, would silence or remove him?

'One day, accordingly, the Pope sent for a bishop of the Dominican order, and said, 'I desire that as a brother of the same order, you will answer the sermons of Savonarola, and controvert effectually their arguments.' The caution of the prelate was equal to that of the pontiff; and he seems also to have had an advantage in possessing what the latter wanted—a conscience. 'Holy father!' responded the bishop. 'I am prepared to fulfil your commands; yet permit me to remark, that if I am to vanquish him, I must be supplied with arms.' 'Arms! what arms?' exclaimed the astonished pontiff. 'This monk,' continued the bishop, 'says we ought not to keep concubines, commit simony, or be guilty of licentiousness. If in this he speaks truly, what shall I reply?' 'What, then, must we do with him?' inquired his holiness. 'Reward him,' answered the prelate; 'give him a red hat—make of him a cardinal and a friend at once. Send to him Ludovico, a man equally learned with himself, and let him argue with Savonarola, not forgetting, as his strongest argument, this offer—to be promised, on condition that he abstains from prophesying, and retracts what he has said and written.' With this advice, Alexander the Sixth was well pleased, and gave directions for carrying the same into immediate execution.'—pp. 242, 243.

The pope at length cited Savonarola to Rome, with which

order however, he was unable to comply through sickness. Being thus incapacitated from preaching also, his place in the pulpit of San Marco was supplied for some time by Dominico da Pescia. Meanwhile Savonarola himself was employed in composing his celebrated *Compendium Revelationum*, a compilation of the contents of his sermons on the subject of the impending chastisement of Italy, and the renovation of the church. His disciples as well as his reputation continued to increase. He had already called upon his hearers, not only to surrender the luxuries of life, but even such works of the poets, and such specimens of art, as were in the least tainted with immorality. An æsthetic cultivation had received the utmost encouragement, and yet had fallen short of securing religious excellence. Was it unnatural, therefore, for such a mind to believe that an ascetic piety was needful to counteract the corruption which a polite philosophy had left untouched? What we have now to relate comes in illustration of this remark. On the celebration of the carnival in 1496, instead of the usual games and shows, either Savonarola, or one of his followers acting under his orders, commanded a bonfire to be kindled in the principal piazza in Florence, whither troops of children were employed to bring and commit to the flames, not only the manuscripts of those writers, both ancient and modern, whose works he had denounced as immoral, (including even the works of Boccaccio, the Morgante, books of dreams and magic) but also a great number of statues and paintings; thus perished many works of Fra Bartolommeo and other artists of that period; and even statues of antiquity, the study and delight of the age, were thus sacrificed on the altar of purification. This scene of ruthless destruction was repeated three succeeding years, and while the flames rose around these precious treasures, the people, regarding the sacrifice as an act of sacred duty, shouted forth a loud 'Te Deum.' Thus was the contest maintained between the æsthetic and ascetic principles; but such severity has thrown discredit on the name of the Italian reformer.

In pursuance of the Dominican bishop's advice before mentioned, Fra Ludovico arrives in Florence, and seeks the cell of Savonarola. The reply of the latter to his arguments backed by the offer of the cardinalate, was 'come to my sermon tomorrow morning, and you shall hear my answer.' Thus invited, the guest attends the church at the time appointed. What is his wonder when, after more violent denunciations than ever fulminated from the pulpit of San Marco, the preacher exclaims, 'No other red hat will I have than that of martyrdom, coloured with my own blood!' 'Verily,' said Ludovico, 'this is a true servant of God;' and returned to Rome.

The crisis was now arrived at which he was compelled to discriminate between the Romish church, and the person who represented it. The combat thickens. 'What chance has the servant of Christ with Satan, incarnate on the throne of Christ?' A papal brief arrives, suspending him from preaching. He dispatches a defensive epistle to the pope in vindication of himself. A great popular excitement is raised in his favour, wherein men and women of all ranks, undeterred by papal censures, crowd to receive the sacrament at the hands of the reformer, though by so doing they quit the pale of the Romish church.

Savonarola now appeals to the princes of the earth for a council of the church. 'Know, then,' says he, in his celebrated epistle addressed to them, 'I most emphatically give you assurance, by the authority of the word of the Lord, that *this Alexander the Sixth is* NO POPE, and cannot be recognized as pope, not only because he has bought the papal chair with scandalous simony, not only on account of his many public vices, but on account of his secret scandalous actions, which at fitting time and place we will bring to light. Yes, I say to you that *he is no Christian, and believes in no Almighty God,*' &c.

Such was the lofty position taken by Savonarola against Alexander the Sixth. It was a fearful time. An epistle from the pope soon reached the signory in Florence, moving them by threatenings and promises to proceed against Savonarola, 'the son of blasphemy,' as he was therein called, and to deliver him into the hands of the pope. Nevertheless, he resumed his functions in defiance of the pope's mandate.

The fame of Savonarola had now reached its highest point, and a fearful reverse awaited him. In the beginning of the year 1497, a conspiracy to restore the Medici was discovered. The lower classes of the people sided with the conspirators, and the Compagnacci thought it a suitable opportunity to cover Savonarola with infamy, in which attempt they were neither hindered nor punished by the magistrates. Popular disturbances occurred in his church, insomuch that the preacher was obliged to quit the pulpit, thickly surrounded by his friends. Many seized their arms, and the whole town was in commotion. Savonarola received from the signory an intimation to preach no more. Scarcely were these violent proceedings known in Rome, when the pope, on the 12th of May, 1497, pronounced his excommunication.

In the Lent of 1498, Domenico da Pescia the disciple of Savonarola became engaged in a contest with a Franciscan, when the latter disputed the truth of Savonarola's declarations, and defended the validity of his excommunication. Moreover, Domenico pledged himself to maintain, both by arguments and

the fire-ordeal, the truth of certain propositions, having reference thereto. Francesco di Puglia in his reply, declared his 'readiness to stand the ordeal, touching the matter in hand.' The multitude, eager to witness so extraordinary and exciting a spectacle, urged both parties to come to a decision; and the magistrates were constrained to give their consent. Accordingly, the 7th of April, 1498, was fixed on for the trial. On that day, the champions appeared; but when they saw one another in cold blood, and beheld the pile, they were seized with fear, and very anxious to escape, by any subterfuge, the imminent danger into which they had thrown themselves. The Dominican pretended he could not enter the flames without the host in his hand. This the Franciscans strenuously refused to allow. 'The debate is loud and angry, the bitterest taunts are thrown out on each side, when the providence of God silences the disputants in an unexpected manner, which, forbidding to either party the triumph of a miraculous victory, is yet interpreted by each as a special interposition in its favour. A furious storm of hail and rain, with thunder, lightning, and tempestuous winds, deluges the pile, so that it is impossible to light it.' The populace being thus disappointed in their expectations of a splendid melo-dramatic spectacle, cast the blame of failure on the Dominicans, and utterly and finally withdrew their favour from Savonarola. Riot and murder ensued the next day. Savonarola, Domenico da Pescia, and Silvestro Maruffi were arrested, and the cries and the rage of the mob against them were terrific. This capture gave great satisfaction to the pope, who ordered absolution to be given to all transgressors concerned in the affair.

Savonarola was brought before the sixteen judges of inquiry, who questioned, and then tortured him. A forged protocol was fabricated, in which his conduct rather than his creed was arraigned; the final issue was, that he was condemned as a 'heretic, schismatic, disturber of the church, and perverter of the people.' In Rome, the sentence of death was already signed, the people having declared that Savonarola should die, though he were John the Baptist. Accordingly, after a formal re-hearing, the three were condemned to death, being sentenced to be hanged and burned at Florence.

On the day of execution, May 22nd, 1498, Savonarola administered the sacrament to himself, and then to his brethren, on which the latter were conducted down stairs. Exposed to much insult, they were brought to the piazza. A funeral pile was heaped around three stakes, on the very spot, where, a few weeks before, stood that which was intended for the ordeal by fire. The confessor asking if Savonarola had any thing to say, he answered only, that he should pray for him, and admonish his followers not to be scandalized at his death.

'During the ceremony of stripping him of his sacerdotal dress, degrading him from his office, and expelling him from the church, Savonarola remained silent and abstracted, as a man who had already separated himself from the world, wherein he had no longer any work to perform for his divine Master; but when the bishop took him by the hand, and instead of the form, 'I separate thee from the church militant,' used the words, 'I separate thee from the church triumphant.' Savonarola replied, loud enough to be heard by those standing around, —'From the militant, but not from the triumphant; that thou canst not do.' Thus, while men cut him off from the visible church, his joyful hope of being admitted to the assembly of saints in the presence of his Lord, grew brighter; and he felt himself once more not forsaken, but accepted in the Beloved.'—p. 370.

The burning took place amid the insults and execrations of the populace, and the bodies, having mingled themselves with the ashes, were taken thence in cars, and thrown from the old bridge into the Arno.

We have thus gone through some of the more prominent traits in the character, and facts in the career, of this eminent Italian reformer. These are very lucidly and ably discriminated by the present biographer: between Savonarola and Luther he draws a just and accurate line of distinction.

'He was not more superstitious than Luther,' says he, 'though more mystical and less doctrinal. If we were to compare Luther with St. Paul, we might compare Savonarola with St. John. One sought to discover TRUTH, the other to manifest LOVE. Religion with Savonarola was *love*—commenced, continued, ended in *love*. He was of the Seraphic, rather than Cherubic, nature. . . . . In all other things, save in the superstition and error that seduced him into accepting the ordeal, and exhibiting the host, he will be found completely to have walked in the steps of his Divine Master, and to have presented a remarkable resemblance. Had it pleased Providence, that Savonarola should have succeeded in effecting the Reformation of the church, instead of Luther, it would have been marked in some particulars by different characteristics. It would have been less in the spirit of St. Paul, and more in that of St. John. We should have had less of faith and more of love. It would have retained less of ceremony and recognized more of spiritualism. It would have been less protestant, and more catholic. Mystic sentiment would have been encouraged, not discarded. To this kind of feeling Luther's hard intellect was foreign! Savonarola's tender disposition friendly. D'Aubigné has indeed stated its freedom from mysticism, as among the merits of Luther's Reformation!'—pp. 387—389.

Art. VII. *A Pastor's Memorial of Egypt, the Red Sea, the Wilderness of Sin and Paran, Mount Sinai, Jerusalem and other principal localities of the Holy Land, visited in* 1842, *by the Rev. George Fisk, LLB.* London: Seeley. 1843.

2. *A Visit to my Father Land; being Notes of a Journey to Syria and Palestine in* 1843, *by Ridley H. Herschell.* London: Unwin, Bucklesbury. 1844.

THE attention of what is commonly called the christian world is at the present time more than ever directed to the shores of Palestine. Various causes have contributed to this. The circulation and more careful perusal of the sacred volume have awakened a desire to become acquainted with the condition of those localities to which its pages refer; political events have rendered Judea a scene of interest among the nations; and many students of prophecy have been gladdened by the hope that the restoration of Israel to the home of their fathers may introduce a better era in the history of the world. Nor must we fail to observe the fact that the growth of a religion which consists principally in 'meats and drinks and divers washings, and carnal ordinances,' and which beguiles its votaries with the thought that

> ——— 'Sure each holy vow
> Less quickly from the unstable soul would fade,
> Offered where Christ in agony was laid,'

may have been one cause why at this period many christian pilgrims set their faces, in the literal import of the phrase, Zion-wards. That increased interest which is felt among all classes in the home and welfare of the Jewish nation must, as an event viewed generally, and apart from the causes from which it may arise, be regarded as a token of good.

The first of the works which introduce this article has been before the public for some time, and we owe to its estimable author an apology that it has not received an earlier notice in our pages. Inasmuch as they treat of the same subjects, and are very similar in their kind, we have united it with a smaller volume;—and will endeavour to furnish our readers with some general idea of the contents of both. A few descriptions of interesting localities may be selected from each; and in conclusion we will examine some of those principles, which the writers interweave in their respective narratives.

The journeys of the two travellers, it will be seen, occurred exactly a year apart. Mr. Fisk travelled as a clergyman of the English establishment; Mr. Herschell as a nonconforming

christian minister, who in his belief in Jesus as the true Messiah, does not consider himself to have forfeited the privileges of a son of Abraham. From the former we have an octavo volume of 360 pages; from the latter, a book that our readers may comfortably carry in their pockets. Both consist largely of extracts from diaries, are written in an unaffected and simple style, and are full of the spirit of genuine christian benevolence. In Mr. Herschell's volume we should, in so small space, have been gratified by longer descriptions, and the absence of many digressions, which, though by no means uninteresting, are disproportionate to the bulk of the volume. Both narratives are addressed more immediately to the personal acquaintance of the writers, whose ministerial office leads them often to indulge in similar reflections, except that in the case of the latter we have all the tender and sacred associations of the child of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob visiting his fatherland.

At Cairo Mr. Fisk became acquainted with those wild sons of the desert, the Bedaween Arabs. We present our readers with his full description of them:—

'They are for the most part straight, upright, and gracefully formed. I have never met with a lame or deformed Bedawee. They are generally of a spare habit, muscular and sinewy. Their skins are of a fine rich brown, very like the colour of the carefully roasted coffee berry. Frequently their skin has almost a transparent appearance, and is capable of exhibiting emotion, in the rushing of blood to the cheeks. Their eyes are well set in their heads, and are sparkling, burning, quick and intelligent. They have mostly thin spare beards, which they wear untrimmed. They possess immense energy and activity, and are capable of enduring fatigue, all of which, their most abstemious habits tend to cherish. Their step, when in the desert, is firm, agile and graceful. They walk as nature intended. They have never been drilled into awkwardness by dancing and posture masters. Every muscle, tendon, and sinew, performs its proper office. If asked to mention the best specimen of unfortured, manly, gracefulness of bearing I have ever met with, I would try and depict a young healthy Bedaween Arab, and their simple attire is as graceful as their persons, though consisting of but slender and uncostly materials. Next to the skin they wear a tunic, or shirt, of unbleached coarse linen, open at the throat and chest, and extending a little below the knees, the legs being left bare. The sleeves are wide and flowing, and admit of being thrown up to the shoulder, so as to leave the arm unencumbered, when needful for the use of the sabre. This garment is gathered round the loins by a broad stiff leathern girdle, in which is fixed the long crooked knife, with a blade of about eighteen inches long—a fearful weapon in a dexterous hand. From the girdle is suspended also the flint and steel for firing their matchlock guns; and also a pouch for tobacco, commonly made of lizard skin.'

'Slung from the neck, they wear a belt containing several rounds of

pet which sounded long, and waxed louder and louder. The whole ion appeared scathed, as if the breathings of the Almighty were yet on it, and as if the flame and smoke which veiled His awful presence d but just passed away. . . . The ascent is commenced at a deep vine, lying to the south-west of the convent—that is, at its back; and e first stage carried us over such part of Horeb as forms a kind of east work, or foundation, from which Gebel Moura—the alleged peak f Mount Sinai—springs. This part of the journey is made tolerably ey, by means of large slabs or blocks of granite, dispersed in such rder as to give a firm footing; but as many have been washed away om time to time by winter torrents, some effort is required to keep the ad. In about half an hour, the ascent becomes still more fatiguing nd steep; and the way lies between impending masses of vast magnitude, and through two arched gateways, at a short distance from each ther; the first of which reminded me of the wicket gate of John Bunyan—whither Evangelist had directed Christian. The latter of the rched ways introduced us to a rather extensive plain, or platform, in which grows a fine towering cypress, and near it is a roughly-constructed stone building, called the chapel of the convent; and another, in commemoration of the flight of Elijah to Horeb. From this spot the summit of Mount Sinai is visible; and from thence the direct ascent is made. It is toilsome and difficult. The monks, who live upon traditions, point out the various objects of interest, but make sad work in referring to Scripture names and narratives. When we were rather more than half way up the peak of Sinai, they pointed out a spot in which tradition says that Moses surveyed the conflict between Joshua and Amalek; and surely no place, more probable or picturesque, could well be selected. After many a persevering effort the summit was gained, where we found a chapel of the Greek church and a mosque—but both in a ruinously dilapidated state. Proceeding to the very highest point, so as to command the vast region of mountain scenery, my mind was absorbed by the terrific grandeur of the picture. In the words of an enterprising and intelligent traveller, of an earlier day, I may say,—'It would seem as if Arabia Petræa had once been an ocean of lava, and that, while its waves were running literally mountains high, it was commanded suddenly to stand still.''—pp. 155, 157, 158.

Having made these extracts from the larger work of Mr. Fisk, we should perhaps gratify our readers by placing in juxtaposition, descriptions of the same locality taken from each of the volumes. We select as suitable for our purpose, because of its brevity, the account which is given us of Jacob's well.

'At the widest part of the opening of the valley, there is a low pile of rude masonry, surrounded by a large number of loose stones of considerable size, and remains of walls and their foundations. It is an object which many a traveller might overlook, were he not prepared for it by previous announcement. An ancient—a very ancient well is concealed by these remains, the descent to which is made through a narrow mouth in the stone work above, usually covered with a massive fragment of

ammunition; while by the side is usually suspended a strong iron-hilted sabre, and behind the shoulders a long match-lock gun, sometimes ornamented with bits of mother-of-pearl. On the head they wear the tarbouch, or skull-cap, made of crimson felt, with a blue tassel at the crown, round which is bound a shawl or turban. Some, instead of the latter, wear the *Keffieh*, which is a handkerchief, often of rich colours, placed diagonally open over the head. The foremost corner is thrown back, and the whole is left to fall in graceful folds over the shoulders, and bound round the temples by a fillet of camel's hair twisted into a rope. This latter head-dress is far more common among the Arabs on both sides of the river Jordan, than among those of the more southern parts of the desert. The attire of all Bedaweens, except the very poorest, is completed by an outside flowing mantle, of a very graceful shape—sometimes blue, now and then crimson—but more commonly of a fawn colour, marked with broad stripes of dark brown. The former are generally of woollen cloth; the latter of camel's hair. They commonly go barefoot; but those who can afford such a luxury, have sandals of fish-skin, which are made at Tor, in the peninsula of Sinai. They, however, use them only occasionally, when the sands are intensely hot, or the mountain passes sharp and rugged. With such a costume—picturesque and graceful, it is no wonder that they should produce, at first, a startling effect upon an European mind, when seen in connection with their *wild bird of the wilderness* bearing. Their garments appear as if they had never been new—they are so frayed and worn; and often are little better than a bundle of rags—yet not the less graceful for that; and their weapons, doubtless, have passed from father to son, for several generations.'—pp. 91, 92.

The sheikh of a tribe of these Arabs, by whom the band of travellers was conducted, after various disputes with a neighbouring tribe respecting the right of acting as guides, was suddenly murdered in the wilderness, not far from Tkabah, the ancient Eziongeber. The death of this faithful guide appears, as we may well suppose, to have been a cause of great grief and alarm to the travellers, and to have increased their anxiety throughout their journey towards Jerusalem. The progress of European civilization and increased facilities of intercourse between our own country and our possessions in the East, may, it is to be hoped, remove these hindrances to the comfort and peace of travellers, and prevent the diminution of the Arab race by the wars and quarrels of neighbouring tribes. Before reaching Eziongeber, Mr. Fisk, under the guidance of the faithful sheikh, surveyed and ascended Mount Sinai.

'The twenty-third of May was a memorable day. I made the ascent of Mount Sinai. Not a particle of the wilderness of granite about me was there, which had not quaked at the mysterious and awful presence of Jehovah, by which it was overspread; not one of its numberless clefts and caverns, in which was not heard and echoed, the voice of the

trumpet which sounded long, and waxed louder and louder. The whole region appeared scathed, as if the breathings of the Almighty were yet upon it, and as if the flame and smoke which veiled His awful presence had but just passed away. . . . The ascent is commenced at a deep ravine, lying to the south-west of the convent—that is, at its back; and the first stage carried us over such part of Horeb as forms a kind of breast work, or foundation, from which Gebel Moura—the alleged peak of Mount Sinai—springs. This part of the journey is made tolerably easy, by means of large slabs or blocks of granite, dispersed in such order as to give a firm footing; but as many have been washed away from time to time by winter torrents, some effort is required to keep the road. In about half an hour, the ascent becomes still more fatiguing and steep; and the way lies between impending masses of vast magnitude, and through two arched gateways, at a short distance from each other; the first of which reminded me of the wicket gate of John Bunyan—whither Evangelist had directed Christian. The latter of the arched ways introduced us to a rather extensive plain, or platform, in which grows a fine towering cypress, and near it is a roughly-constructed stone building, called the chapel of the convent; and another, in commemoration of the flight of Elijah to Horeb. From this spot the summit of Mount Sinai is visible; and from thence the direct ascent is made. It is toilsome and difficult. The monks, who live upon traditions, point out the various objects of interest, but make sad work in referring to Scripture names and narratives. When we were rather more than half way up the peak of Sinai, they pointed out a spot in which tradition says that Moses surveyed the conflict between Joshua and Amalek; and surely no place, more probable or picturesque, could well be selected. After many a persevering effort the summit was gained, where we found a chapel of the Greek church and a mosque—but both in a ruinously dilapidated state. Proceeding to the very highest point, so as to command the vast region of mountain scenery, my mind was absorbed by the terrific grandeur of the picture. In the words of an enterprising and intelligent traveller, of an earlier day, I may say,—'It would seem as if Arabia Petræa had once been an ocean of lava, and that, while its waves were running literally mountains high, it was commanded suddenly to stand still.''—pp. 155, 157, 158.

Having made these extracts from the larger work of Mr. Fisk, we should perhaps gratify our readers by placing in juxtaposition, descriptions of the same locality taken from each of the volumes. We select as suitable for our purpose, because of its brevity, the account which is given us of Jacob's well.

'At the widest part of the opening of the valley, there is a low pile of rude masonry, surrounded by a large number of loose stones of considerable size, and remains of walls and their foundations. It is an object which many a traveller might overlook, were he not prepared for it by previous announcement. An ancient—a very ancient well is concealed by these remains, the descent to which is made through a narrow mouth n the stone work above, usually covered with a massive fragment of

stone. The stone was too heavy for us to remove without more aid than we could command. I should gladly have drunk of this water—but, in addition to the fact of its mouth being closed, I learnt that the 'well is deep,'—and I had 'nothing to draw with.' The most august traveller whose feet ever pressed the soil of the Holy Land, once rested on the brink of this noted well. That traveller was Jesus of Nazareth. The well is Jacob's well. It is in the high road—the road over which the generation of past ages have been wont to travel from Judæa to Galilee. The identity of the well of Jacob is not sought for through any popish tradition, but through a Mahommedan one, which appears never to have been disputed; and it seems, time out of mind, to have been called by the Arabs *Bir Y'acoob*, (the well of Jacob,) and it is by that name they now universally designate it. On account of its great depth, and the consequent coolness of the water at all seasons, it has no doubt been highly esteemed from the beginning; and this may be alleged as a reason why the woman of Samaria should come so far from Sychar to draw water, when other wells were near at hand, and while the vale of Sychar abounded with rich streams.'—Fisk, pp. 339—341.

'We only remained a few hours at Nabloos (Sychar), being now anxious to arrive at Jerusalem as soon as possible. About half an hour after we left the city we came to Jacob's well. There is a low vaulted chamber built over the mouth of the well, the lower part of which may have been originally the ledge that surrounded it, on which, or on a similar one of an older date, our Lord may have sat to rest when weary with his journey. All travellers express surprise why the woman of Samaria should come a mile and a-half to draw water, when there are fountains close to the town of Sychar. I think there is every reason to suppose she did so as a religious ceremony, similar to that practised by the Jews in Jerusalem, on the great day of the Feast of Tabernacles. I must not omit to mention, that one of the American missionaries some years ago sounded Jacob's well, and found it seventy-five feet deep, having ten feet of water in it. The Samaritan woman might truly say, 'the well is deep.' '—Herschell, pp. 120, 124, 129.

The reason assigned by Mr. Fisk, in explanation of the coming of the woman will hardly be deemed sufficient to account for it; and as it seems highly probable that the Samaritans would imitate the practices of the Jews in Jerusalem, there is great plausibility in Mr. Herschell's conjecture. We have scarcely room for further extracts; but, there is one spot amongst many sacred and dear, to which the mind of the christian often adverts, and which is hardly, if at all inferior in interest even to the Hill of Calvary. To this less of ambiguity appears to attach than to many of the localities which were hallowed by the Saviour's presence. It is the garden of Gethsemane, where the human feebleness of the august sufferer strangely alternated with the divine benevolence and strength; the one qualifying him to sympathize with his sorrowful brethren; the other to pour out for them his soul unto death. Here are the descriptions of our travellers:—

'At the base of the Mount of Olives, just over the brook Kedron, where the road to Jericho joins that to Bethany, on your right hand lies a bare and sterile plot of ground, surrounded by a wall of unhewn stone. It is shaded by eight aged and gnarled olive trees, upon which the suns of many centuries have risen and set. It is a place of loneliness and seclusion, overhung by the Mount of Olives on the one side, and the western heights of the valley of Jehoshaphat, and the embattled walls of Jerusalem on the other. It is just a spot as a soul, desiring to be alone with God, would choose, when the shades of evening were gathered over it. Such is Gethsemane. I have gazed down upon it from the heights on either side. I have traversed again and again its length and breadth. I have mused, and meditated, and prayed beneath its venerable shade; and, in my mind, it possesses a charm beyond all other scenes in the world; for I cannot doubt—none I believe have ever doubted, of its identity,—and to think, that to that very spot, 'Jesus oftimes resorted with his disciples;' that there God incarnate walked and wept, and agonized, and prayed, and submitted! That the olive trees now growing in Gethsemane, have sprung from the roots of those existing in our Lord's time, is I think very probable. Their size, apparent age, and general character indicate it. It is likely that the original trees were standing; when, in preparation for his siege, Titus cut down all the timber around the city; but there is no reason for supposing, that he would be at the labour and cost of removing the roots of trees felled for such a purpose. It is well known that the bole of the olive tree, when its trunk has been felled, will in due time send forth shoots or suckers in great numbers, which grow up intertwined, so as to form one compacted stem. Upon a careful examination of some of these venerable trees, such is their appearance. They bear upon them the proof of having grown in the manner I have described. Their roots, which are very large and wide spreading, are, in many parts, far above the surface of the soil. They are protected by earth and stones, heaped up against them. At the south eastern corner is a small space fenced off, which tradition has marked as the scene of Judas's act of treachery. It is called '*terra damnata*.' Near that spot is a ledge of rock, on which it is said the disciples reclined when 'their eyes were heavy.' '—Fisk, pp. 268, 269.

'The brook Cedron, or Kidron, is only a dry channel, through which no stream flows, except during the heavy rains of winter; but on crossing it, near the north east corner of the city, you come to a plat of ground, enclosed with a stone wall, which has long been pointed out as the Garden of Gethsemane; and as the situation corresponds to the place described in the gospel narrative, being near the Mount of Olives, there is little reason to doubt, that in, or near this spot, the mysterious agony of our blessed Lord took place. In this enclosure are eight very old olive trees. I felt how natural to the human mind is the worship of the visible, the love of relics—I could not resist pulling many twigs of those ancient trees. Gethsemane is situated near the base of the Mount of Olives, lying a little to the right of the path which leads to the top of the Mount.'—Herschell, pp. 161, 163.

The volume of Mr. Fisk contains, at its commencement, a

sketch of the Mount of Olives and the Garden of Gethsemane, as taken by himself on the spot. We would willingly linger over these descriptions of the interesting localities of the Holy Land. Jerusalem, the Sea of Galilee, the Jordan, as also Alexandria and Constantinople, might well claim our attention, but our space is already occupied. In conclusion, we must advert to some topics which are alluded to by both writers, and on which they differ in opinion. Mr. Fisk, judging from the reflections which he has here published, is a pious and devoted clergyman, by no means ignorant of the contents of the sacred scriptures, or indifferent to the progress of the truth of the Bible amongst mankind. The aspect of popery in Rome filled his mind with sorrow and fear, lest a system so superstitious and unworthy of the name of christianity, should prevail in his own land. We could wish that he would muse over the exhibitions of an outward religion at home, with the same impartiality with which he contemplated scenes abroad. It is strange if he does not perceive that these very feelings, which he indulges in the presence of the gorgeous splendour of the Vatican, are often reasonably awakened in the minds of christians who love the truths of the Bible, when, in this country, they witness the pomp and pride of a priesthood scarcely less rich or worldly than that of Rome. Does not England, we ask, in her cathedrals and ecclesiastical palaces, ofttimes furnish to the eye of an observer, processions, chaunts, costume, ritual, which are equally destitute of spiritual life, and deficient in all the qualifications of acceptable worship, with these, which are thus described by Mr. Fisk, as taking place within the walls of the proudest temple in the world :—

'I took my station on the south side of the high altar, amidst one of the largest assemblies I ever witnessed; and certainly, I must admit, one of the most picturesque and striking. Perhaps it would not be easy for the most vivid imagination to conceive anything more splendid and dazzling, in its way. And there was something, too, in the season of the year—the blandness of the atmosphere without, and the brightness of the light within, that helped the mind and stimulated the imaginative faculty. It was at about ten o'clock that the great western doors of the cathedral were thrown wide open, while the choir within sang the introductory anthem. By and by, the papal procession began to enter, advancing up the middle of the nave, which had been kept by the pontifical guards. The procession was headed by soldiers in armour, followed by a large retinue of the civil officers of the pope, in costume, and a great body of ecclesiastics, monks, friars, etc., in the various habits of their orders; then came the patriarch of the Greek church—crowned, accompanied by several bishops of the same church, and their various officers and attendants; and after them a very large assemblage of bishops of the church of Rome, in their splendid and gold embroidered

s and mitres; next, a great number of cardinals, in their state attire
:arlet and purple, attended by their train bearers and other officials.
as, perhaps, half an hour before those who formed the procession
taken the several places assigned for them. A large space behind
high altar, in which stood the papal throne, was carpeted and
rbly decorated with gorgeous drapery of crimson and gold, and set
t for the distinguished members of the procession, except for the
inals, whose place was immediately about the high altar, so as to be
:tendance upon the pope. As soon as all were in their places, a loud
ish of trumpets from without, responded to by another within the
edral, announced the arrival of the sovereign pontiff himself. Every
was turned towards the entrance on the south side, where there is a
munication with the vatican; and soon was seen the uplifted golden
s of the pope, and next, himself, borne aloft, over the heads of the
ıle, in his gilded chair of state, under a rich canopy, with fans of
: dimensions, made of peacock's feathers, continually waving from
to side. He wore his robes of state, white silk and gold, and his
e crown. He sat more like an image than a living man, with his
for the most part closed, and occasionally moving his hands, as if in
ıct of benediction. His person is far from prepossessing, however
weight of years upon his brow might entitle him to be called venera-
I should speak of his countenance as being a bad specimen of
vulgar Italian. He was soon seated on his throne behind the high
', and received the homage of bishops and others. His triple crown
then removed from his royal brow, and forthwith offered and depo-
l on the high altar; and then, wearing a plain white scull cap
:ad, he was arrayed no longer in royal but in priestly vestments, for
purpose of saying mass, according to annual custom. During the
le ceremony, the pope, aged as he is, appeared like a hale and active
. The scene was certainly imposing and splendid in the extreme;
alas, no religious feeling could for a moment be connected with it. It
ıed altogether a matter of mere external display and ceremonious
p; and I could not but feel how gracious a lot was mine, that I
ıld be a member of a church through which both the bread of life
the water of life are really dispensed to the people. And, alas, I
ght, if a poor guilty and sin withered soul, craving after salvation,
entered St. Peter's at that moment, he might have been dazzled by
:hurch's splendor, so as to have forgotten, for a season, the burthen
s sorrows, but would have departed without an answer capable of
ging peace and consolation.'—pp. 24, 25.

We have no wish unnecessarily to disturb the grateful satis-
ion and complacency with which our author contemplates
own position as a clergyman of the English establishment,
are obliged to confess the painful reflection which often
es itself on our mind, that if one from among the many
ɔrant and ungodly inhabitants of our land, anxiously sought
way of salvation, he would, in most cases, return from the
:monies and services of our national priesthood, not
' without knowledge of the truth, but bewildered or led

astray by most dangerous error. Many of these errors, such men as Mr. Fisk, it is admitted, strongly oppose and condemn; but by their association with the same worldly system, they incur solemn responsibility, and expose themselves to terrible plagues. And not only in England has this church, by her alliance with the state, laid aside her own beautiful garments for the meretricious ornaments of slavery; but, glorying in the base livery which she wears, she has gone forth to other lands, even there in pitiable forms of weakness, to declare that she has renounced her original greatness and strength. In some instances she has selected the very scenes of her earliest triumphs to exhibit the degeneracy of her children. With other forms of worldliness bearing a christian name, she has endeavoured to establish amicable and therefore guilty arrangements, and under the eyes of the votary of Rome, or of the lover of Jerusalem, has sought to rival the tinsel of the one, and to revive the departed grandeur of the other. The observer, alas! has too often mistaken her for the representative of genuine protestantism, and of New Testament christianity, and without examination of the justice of her claims, has at once in contempt of her proceedings, rejected her message. Here is Mr. Herschell's description of a scene in ancient Smyrna, which may well be compared with that in the Vatican. The difference is in proportion, not in kind.

'The building, which has for some years been used as a place of worship in Smyrna, in connexion with the church of England, was on this day consecrated, as it is called, by the Bishop of Gibraltar. When the congregation were assembled, the bishop entered, carrying a silver staff on his arm, about the size of an ordinary poker, on the top of which was a cross. He walked up to the altar, followed by three ministers in surplices, and laid the silver staff on the altar, where the communion vessels were set out for show, like plate upon a sideboard; the Lord's Supper not being dispensed on that day. Having done this, he and his attendants walked back again to the door, where they faced about, and walked again towards the altar, the bishop repeating 'Open to me the gates of righteousness,' and the rest of the service prescribed for the occasion. Now I will ask any candid member of the church of England, whether this silly apeing of popish ceremonies is expedient in places where hitherto christianity has been seen only through the medium of Romish and Greek churches. Should not the great aim of protestant christians be, not thus to identify themselves with popery, but to show that their christianity is something very different from it?'—Herschell, pp. 55, 56.

That which Mr. Herschell commends as the more expedient course for true protestants to pursue, we conceive to be demanded by a consistent love of truth and by fidelity to Him who declared that His kingdom was not of this world. Valuable testimony is

given in Mr. Herschell's narrative to the apostate and degraded state of the Eastern churches, with whom, however, according to the letter commendatory of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Jerusalem is instructed not to intermeddle, but 'to be ready on all occasions, and by all the means in his power, to promote a mutual interchange of respect, courtesy, and kindness.' For a mission based on such principles of connivance and communion with corrupt and idolatrous churches British christians are exhorted to subscribe, render aid, and to offer their continued and earnest prayers.

In parting from these volumes, we must again express the pleasure and instruction we have derived from their perusal, and the respect which we entertain for the motives of the authors in their publication. They cannot fail to inform those who may read them of the condition of the Jewish land. It will prove a matter of rejoicing if more frequent journeys to the East tend to increase the attachment of travellers to the spirituality of the christian religion, and to convince them of the worthlessness of apostolical succession when unaccompanied by apostolical faith. If any churches may reasonably boast of their origin, it is surely those concerning which we have the testimony of scripture, that apostles planted and confirmed them, and appointed their elders; and yet in many instances their light has become dim, and in some the candlestick has been removed out of its place. The bare height of Mount Gerizim, and the tawdry mosque of Omar declare to all who behold them the truth of His words who said, 'The hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem worship the Father; the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth.'

Art. IX. *Her Majesty's Speech at the Prorogation of Parliament.* Sept. 5, 1844.

WERE we to treat the brief document which is called by courtesy the Queen's Speech, the reading of which by the Lord Chancellor closed the session of 1844, in any other manner than as a peg upon which to hang a few remarks upon the sayings and doings of parliament—were we to make it the seed-plot of our observations, and to confine ourselves to the subject matter, the germs of which may be discovered therein—we might find scope enough for criticism, it is true, but that criticism would scarcely touch those points in the recent history of the legislature which most vividly illustrate its political

character. Short as royal speeches usually are—the best quality, by the bye, by which they are distinguished—and empty as they are of serious meaning, this is about the shortest and the most vapid, which it has ever been our lot to read. Its praise is so ill-timed as to look like irony. Its congratulations run so directly in the teeth of fact, as to start the suspicion that covert censure was intended. Its dilation upon one topic, and its entire silence on another, suggest that much has been done, and more left undone, upon which the Cabinet could not unitedly speak, and that their internal divisions have grown to that state which forces into notice the wisdom of the old saw, 'The least said, the soonest mended.' Such as it is, however, the speech is a singularly apt termination of the session—a *finale* in appropriate keeping with the drama which it closes. It will not need, therefore, that we single it out for comment, nor that we disinter it, for literary dissection, from the minute-books in which it has been decently buried. There, let its cold remains rest in peace, with those of kith and kin—it was born but for an idle show—it failed to attract even passing attention—and already it has taken its place with the things which are forgotten.

We are all of us apt to think of parliament in the abstract rather than the concrete, in shaping our expectations of what it will do when next it assembles. Our hopes spring out of our notions of what it ought to be, never out of our knowledge of what it is. When the reality is not before us, we go about the world with the pleasing fiction present to our minds, that parliament is the brain of the body-politic—thinks for it, originates its motions, and controuls its action. Under the influence of this hallucination, we look upon its recesses as the short naps or the long sleep, during which all the great affairs of the empire are standing still. If we watch ourselves closely, we shall find that towards the expiration of every year, the imagination has got so strong a hold upon us as to cause a feverish restlessness about the length of the vacation. We look wistfully for the arrival of the moment when a speech from the throne will resuscitate the dormant legislature. We censure the postponement of it with as much severity, as if with the activity and intelligence of parliament were bound up the fate of all mortal things. It is wonderful how soon fancy is corrected by fact. The very first night of a session does much to dispel all illusions of this nature. The men upon whose wisdom we had, in vague speculation at least, devolved the awful responsibility of saving an empire from ruin, exhibit a most prosaic unconsciousness of the urgency of public affairs. Week passes after week, and yet all the solemn questions, to a

practical solution of which we supposed them bound to apply themselves, remain untouched. There are party debates—there is much smart speaking—a few bills are introduced to remedy evils so remote as scarcely to have been heard of—supplies as a matter of course are asked and granted—but Easter arrives, and still the empire remains pretty much unaffected by the course of legislation. Whitsun overtakes us—but in all important respects, we are just where we were. Whatever may be the domestic difficulties of the country, it generally becomes clear by this time, that it will be left to struggle through them as best it may. Trade may decline or revive, but parliament heeds as little the one fact as the other. The empire may be upon the verge of dismemberment, but no plan is propounded for re-engaging lost affections. Incendiarism may send a glare of light directly into the eyes of honourable members, but they neither inquire, nor suggest, nor act. Towards the close of the session we begin to chide ourselves for ever having committed the folly of expecting—we become convinced that the thinking faculty of the nation resides elsewhere than in the legislature—and reconcile ourselves to the long vacation with the thought that it makes remarkably little difference to the vital interests of the nation whether parliament is sitting or not.

Were our present political system sound, did it thoroughly harmonise with the spirit of the age, we should be among the last to find fault with the great councils of the nation, merely because their periodical labours produced no public sensation. We hold that ordinarily, the absence of anything striking enough to produce great excitement, would be fair proof, not of legislative inefficiency, but of perfection. We can conceive of our rulers dipping their oars with such regularity and precision, as that the progress of state affairs should resemble that of a well-ordered galley, the motion of which is so equable, as not to be perceptibly increased by the strokes of the rowers. The sessions of parliament and the long vacations ought not to be an alternation of motion and rest—nor would they be felt as such, were we in smooth water. On the contrary, government would move onward so constantly and glidingly, as to leave us all but ignorant whether its oars were beneath or above the surface of the stream. In our present position, however, such quiet progress is impossible. The current is strong against us—and we have a right to conclude, that unless the labours of our legislators are violent and disturbing enough to vibrate through the whole empire, we are losing way, and may presently be stranded beyond remedy. Serious times call for serious efforts—and the statesmanship which might be admirably suited

to fine weather, may be fatal in adverse currents, among dangerous shoals.

We know of no period of British history the parliamentary records of which might not, and ought not, to have been eclipsed in interest by those of the two or three past sessions—none which offered the genius of statesmanship ampler room for play. By all those signs in which Providence writes out its designs for the guidance of the thoughtful, it has, of late, been made apparent, that the present system of government is rapidly drawing to a close. The power it retains rests exclusively upon a conventional basis, which every tide of public opinion fearfully undermines. It may still exhibit unbroken unity—scarcely a stone of it may have been displaced—and but here and there a buttress may have been suffered to go out of repair. In itself considered, it may be, and we believe it is, more compact,—its various departments fit together more completely—in detail it is more perfect—and as a whole it is more harmonious—than it ever was in the most palmy days of feudal despotism. But it is like a fortress on the crest of a promontory annually gained upon by the ocean, the sudden fall of which, with all upheld by it, ominous landslips and yawning crevices too distinctly foretell. Events have, in fact, rendered it all but useless. It is now little else than an expensive, a very expensive toy. Men feel that they cannot resort to it for protection—that it serves only as a retreat for a large garrison of officials, whose numbers and position give them the power to worry those whom they were appointed to defend. The common sense of society is against it—and the prescription upon which it is founded is every day losing something of its former breadth and solidity. Government in this country, it is obvious, must ere long undergo a vast, and, considered in its consequences, a revolutionary change. It must be shifted to other foundations—and surely the season for doing it is, when all indications prove that it *must* be done, but when there yet remain time and opportunity for doing it leisurely, securely, and with the least inconvenience to all parties. It seems, then, to us, that it should have been the special business of parliament, during the past few years, as noiselessly, but as firmly as possible, to effect the inevitable transition. And had it but applied itself to this its appointed task, how deeply interesting both for their novelty and their importance would have been the records of its proceedings!

Political revolutions, sudden, sanguinary, and successful, are not uncommon in the pages of history—we have become familiar with their outline, which seldom varies. Sword measured with sword, and force encountering force, is an old story, let the

stake be what it will. But a slow revolution conducted by authority—begun in prudence—carried on with caution—shaped, not by passion, but by calm and enlightened judgment—the gradual unfolding, by means of legislation, of new principles of government, the soundness of which is admitted by all parties—the removal, one by one, of serious abuses—the assimilation, by wise and wary experiment, of our national institutions to the spirit of the age—the infusion of life, health, energy, first into one department of administration, then into another—a process like this would have afforded materials for such a passage of history as the world has never seen. In this work not more splendid than necessary, we should have witnessed an entirely novel antagonism of forces—bold statesmanship meeting and mastering the hosts of difficulties which conventionalism, custom, prescription, vested interests, monopoly, would have opposed to all and every change—mind steadily pushing on along the highways of political truth, and seizing all the passes to national prosperity, leaving it for coming parliaments to complete the conquests which it had already secured—patriotism, casting itself in noble confidence upon the good sense and generous affections of the people, and finding therein a moral strength powerful enough to beat down every combination of force which factious selfishness could bring against it—light struggling with and dispelling darkness. If a lofty ambition had failed to mark this out as the proper scope for parliamentary effort, it had been scarcely too much to expect that the exigent pressure of the times would have done it. It is, unquestionably, a steep, rugged, and toilsome path for the legislature to enter upon — but then it is the only one to safety and repose. To have taken it was as much the concern of the aristocracy as of the people.

It is not without a sense of humiliation that we turn from the contemplation of what parliament might have done, to the recollection of what it has done. To say that it failed to appreciate its appropriate mission would convey but a feeble idea of its delinquency. Rating the exigencies of the times at nothing above the ordinary standard, and putting wholly out of view the inefficiency and consequent insecurity of our political institutions, it is yet impossible for intelligent and sober men to glance back upon the proceedings of the British legislature during the session which has just expired, without being filled with pain, disgust, and apprehension. The selfishness of class was never more shamelessly displayed—never so flagrantly, so recklessly, did the representatives of the people betray such an utter absence of dignity and self-respect. Without any breadth in their views, with scarcely a pretension to patriotism in their objects, guided by no marked and intelligible principle, they

were swayed hither and thither by the threats of a minister whom, at the very moment they were tamely obeying, they gave unmistakeable proofs that they heartily despised. They tracked his heels into the regions of inconsistency with their eyes wide open to their own shame. They were not bewildered—passion did not blind them—they saw clearly whither they were going—paused, remonstrated, besought, threatened—and, finally, like a whipped hound, followed their master to his journey's end. But we anticipate.

We propose, to sketch the outline of the past session, to point out some of its more prominent characteristics, and to draw, in conclusion, some practical inferences.

Parliament was opened on Thursday, February 1st, 1844, by the Queen in person. The royal speech exhibited no very brilliant prospect of ministerial intentions, but such as it was, it turned out to be a far more flattering one than was eventually realized. It dwelt at some length upon the state of our foreign relationships—exaggerated the then apparent indications of returning commercial prosperity—hinted at the great financial measure of the session—and whilst expressing, unconstitutionally as we think, her Majesty's determination to maintain inviolate the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, inasmuch as it is the province of the legislature, not of royalty, to decide upon the maintenance or repeal of an act of parliament, intimated that several measures were in embryo for the removal of just discontent from the sister kingdom. Few words will suffice to describe the results of the session up to the Easter holidays. Five several amendments on the supplies proposed by Mr. Sharman Crawford, intended to assert the principle that representation should be co-extensive with taxation, and supported by regularly declining minorities, beginning with twenty-nine English members, and ending with eight—the thanks of both Houses, to Sir C. Napier, and the officers and men under his command, engaged in the conquest of Scinde—a 'monster' debate extending over nine nights upon the 'monster' state prosecutions just then concluded in Ireland—a bill for the suspension of certain *qui tam* actions, instituted against the Duke of Richmond, and other noble and honourable turf-men, to recover legal penalties for excessive gambling—a measure for the reduction of the three-and-a-half per cents—the introduction, modification by Lord Ashley, and subsequent withdrawal, with a view to remodelling of the government Factories' Bill—the interspersion of these proceedings with an occasional free-trade discussion, or with the launching of semi-official bills, to be consigned after Easter to the

limbo of legislative abortions—such, in brief, may serve to recall the engagements of our senators, during the first, freshest, best attended division of the parliamentary session.

Between Easter and Whitsuntide there was considerable bustle, but little progress. The budget created no sensation but one approaching to laughter, at the extremely insignificant alterations it proposed in our financial system. Not so the Factories' Bill. The Easter recess had been laboriously spent by Mr. Oastler and Mr. Ferrand in agitating throughout our great manufacturing districts the question previously mooted by Lord Ashley—the restriction of labour to ten hours of each working day. The government had already been in danger on this subject, and had saved themselves only by an artful postponement of the final conflict. Lord Ashley, much to the chagrin of the party whom he led, had consented to waive his advantage, and to take the issue of another trial of strength. He was of course defeated, and the ministry, partly by threats of resignation, partly by the vigorous whipping in of their supporters, succeeded in establishing their own safety upon the ruins of the House's character for consistency. The storm of discontent had not yet subsided, when Sir Robert Peel skilfully diverted the attention of the country from the interests of the working classes to those of the capitalists. His famous bill for the amendment of the Bank of England charter, and for the regulation of bank issues, throughout England and Wales, introduced by a speech of unquestionable ability, and founded upon principles recognized by the leading economists, obtained the willing suffrages of all parties in parliament. The Dissenters Chapels' Bill, hotly as it was opposed by a numerous and active section out of doors, tended somewhat, within the precincts of St. Stephen's chapel, to repair the damaged reputation of the ministry. The slight advantage, however, which these measures gave them, they were destined speedily to lose. The Sugar Duties' bill, which proposed the admission into the British market of free-grown foreign sugar, upon a largely reduced amount of discriminating duty, threw parties once more into inextricable confusion, brought about a second crisis, and resulted in a second reversal of its own deliberate vote by the House of Commons, at the imperious bidding of the premier. Then came the outcry about Post-office espionage—an outcry which the House of Commons showed its disposition, in the first instance to stifle, but before the universality and power of which, it was compelled, with an ill grace, to give way. The Poor-law Amendment bill followed—the Railways' bill—the Charitable Trusts (Ireland) bill, and at length an adjournment of the session, with a view to subsequent prorogation.

We have given the barest and most meagre outline of the course of legislation in the preceeding paragraphs. But it will serve our purpose. It will suffice to recall the prominent events of the past session, and to pave the way for some remarks, designed to illustrate those traits of character, for which parliament has, of late, been chiefly remarkable.

The few observations we deem it our duty to make will relate almost exclusively to the House of Commons. The peers can hardly be said, under the present government, to constitute a distinct branch of our imperial legislature. They have lost none of their power, but they see little occasion for its exercise. They work by proxy. To all practical purposes, the lower house is their own, working out, under the name of a popular assembly, the fore-determined plans of a dominant aristocracy. Their lordships, consequently, had little else to do than to affix the seal of their approbation to the measures sent up to them from the Commons. They took the initiative in one or two instances—in one, they outvoted her majesty's ministers. But for the most part, they faithfully echoed the will of the third estate. And this they did without any great waste of words. Their discussions, always somewhat dull, were uniformly dullest on bills which had been forwarded to them by the representative body. On questions of foreign policy their conversations were occasionally interesting—on all ecclesiastical subjects they were conservative and pharisaically devout. But the reports of their debates occupied, at no time, much space in the public prints, and commanded scarcely passing attention. How changed their position from what it was! A few years since, the question uppermost with the public, on all important occasions was 'What will the lords do?' The inquiry would be superfluous now. The index of their intentions may be found in the proceedings of the House of Commons. Their influence predominates there. It is the workshop in which their favourite designs are carved and fashioned. Why should they ostentatiously display their power? Wise in their generation, they abstain from making the attempt, satisfied to appear to the public eye as an obsequious second to the people's house, so long as the real direction of affairs is under their controul. We may very properly leave them, therefore, to the obscurity which they are politic enough to court—and assuming that for all the purposes of history or of criticism, the House of Commons is the parliament, proceed to notice such features of its character as have been most conspicuously displayed during the past session.

It may be worth while to look at it, in the first place, as a *house of business*. Complaints have been made, of late, and not

unreasonably, of the oppressive, the overwhelming, and the annually increasing mass of public business claiming the attention of the House of Commons. Our domestic affairs are sufficiently multifarious and complicated to require, in order to due consideration and dispatch, all the aid which can be derived from a rigid economy of time, a strict observance of punctuality, and such a distribution of labour as to equalize its pressure from the opening to the close of the session. When to these, however, we add the long arrear of legislation due to Ireland, the occasional discussion of those questions which our foreign policy throws upon the surface, the interests of our numerous colonies, and the stock annuals which the field of debate produces, it must be obvious that nothing but business habits of the highest order can enable the House to discharge its duties with even tolerable efficiency and fidelity. And yet, perhaps, there are few deliberative bodies within the four seas which encompass our island, more remarkable than parliament has recently been for laxity, negligence, and disregard of all suitable arrangement in their proceedings. The first six weeks of the session were absolutely frittered away, as though members were wholly at a loss for serious employment. The supplies, it is true, were pressed forward with unprecedented haste—and the discussion on Irish affairs occupied the greater portion of nine nights. But no ministerial measure of importance was introduced, or if introduced was advanced beyond its earliest stage. The Poor-law amendment bill, postponed from time to time, and ultimately left over until after Whitsuntide, might, for any good reason discoverable to the contrary, have been passed with ease before the Easter holidays. But the Home Secretary showed no signs of impatience, and although more than once reminded that the measure had been promised at the earliest practicable period after the opening of parliament, contrived to let five months elapse without doing a single stroke to forward the matter. We have cited this merely as a specimen. The recollection of our readers will, almost without an effort on their part, fill up that space in our remarks which the limits assigned to us oblige us to leave vacant. Dilatoriness and procrastination, however, are far from being the most serious faults of the House of Commons. The reckless improvidence of time, occasioned by repeatedly counting out the house, or by failing to constitute it at the hour appointed for the speaker to take the chair, was so glaring as to call down upon it the rebuke of all parties. The unseemly practice was resorted to with a degree of effrontery which nothing but a consciousness of irresponsibility can account for. By such discreditable means the attempt was more than once made, and for the time was successful, to

stave off the discussion of unpalateable, albeit, important questions. We are unable at this moment to specify, with certainty, the number of red-letter evenings thus placed upon the parliamentary calendar. Nor, indeed, is it necessary that we should. The evil to which we advert is matter of public notoriety. Men cease to be surprised at its occurrence. It is taken as a part of the sessional routine—and with a commercial people, a people accustomed to the regularity of the counting-house, it is ranked as a delinquency, which, if it may be surpassed, cannot be excused.

It naturally occurs to us, in the next place, to glance at the records of the past session with a view to judge of the House of Commons as a *professedly representative body*. On this subject we are not anxious to stretch our conclusions beyond the evidence which lies before us. We feel bound to admit that parliament is not absolutely impervious to public opinion. The repeal of the duty on the importation of foreign wool, a step, although but a small one, in the direction of free trade—the amelioration of the poor laws—the partial modification of the sugar duties—the appointment of a secret committee, delusive as were its labours, to inquire into the spy system patronised at the post office, show that what is matter of all but universal feeling, will give a tinge at last to the decisions of the people's house. But it is no less obvious, that the general hue of legislation is as little affected by the popular will as if constituencies were unknown, and the public were a cipher. We may adduce the case of Ireland, as the most affecting proof of this remark. To see justice done to Ireland, if not for justice sake, at least to avert the danger of a dismemberment of the empire, is, we believe, the common desire of every one interested in the welfare of the community. Her wrongs are denied by none—not even by parliament itself. From the very throne, at the opening of the session, the necessity of some redress was hinted at with as much plainness as royal speeches will usually admit of. Upon this, during the nine nights' debate, all political parties were agreed. The immense moral power possessed by Mr. O'Connell, —probably without a parallel in the history of nations—the quiet determination of the Irish people—the weakness which their alienation entails upon the empire—the scandal fastened upon the British name throughout Christendom by the deplorable state of the sister kingdom—these and various other causes concurred to urge home the conviction that 'something must be done.' There can be no danger in hazarding the assertion that had parliament mirrored the mind of the people, something would have been done—something comprehensive, healing and generous in its character. And yet, during the past session,

Ireland obtained nothing more than smooth words. Not one measure, save the Charitable Trusts' Bill, which, however well meant, was so infelicitously constructed as to convert what was offered as a boon into an insult—not one measure calculated to allay irritation, to awaken hope, to conciliate regard, to woo back forfeited confidence, was passed into law. The registration bill described by its own authors as eminently due to Ireland, but in reality fraught with the worst evils of the Chandos clause, was introduced only to be abandoned. The municipal voters' bill shared the same fate. The relation of landlord and tenant remains unaltered—the protestant church establishment, undiminished in its proportions, and unshorn of its offensive splendour.

Nor does the treatment of Irish questions stand out as a marked exception from the ordinary bearing of parliament in relation to subjects which have the most tenacious hold upon the popular mind. The repeal of the corn laws must be admitted by every candid observer to be foremost amongst the reforms demanded by the voice of public opinion. The career of Mr. Cobden, whose powerful talents and indomitable energy have been exclusively consecrated to this question, may be taken as an accurate index of the state of feeling amongst the middle classes on the subject of our commercial policy. In all the important towns of Great Britain, the seats of manufacturing and trading industry, the centres of intelligence and wealth, who so popular as he? Not many years since, a man living in obscurity, he has risen with the tide of opinion, until his name has become a household word amongst us, and at his bidding, enormous sums of money are unhesitatingly placed at the disposal of the League. These, however, are not the only, nor by any means the strongest proofs of his success. His bold incursions into the agricultural districts, and the series of triumphs he achieved in this new line of agitation, demonstrated with tolerable clearness that the roots of the restrictive system struck into no minds but those of land proprietors, and that earnest care for its maintenance could be found nowhere but with them. The establishment of anti-league associations gave to this demonstration all the additional force to be derived from contrast. The parties by whom they were, under cover, got up—the miserably thin attendance at their meetings—the line of argument usually resorted to—and the virulent abuse poured out upon Mr. Cobden and his fellow agitators, made what was already clear still clearer—that the corn-laws had their life, not in public opinion, not even in the prejudices of tenant farmers, nor in the stolid ignorance of agricultural labourers—but solely in the will of the landlords, backed, as was naturally to be expected, by the clergy

of the establishment. Parliament, although not sitting at the time, could hardly be blind to all that was passing—the drift of the public mind was not to be mistaken; and as if to render all mistake impossible, the election of Mr. Pattison for the city of London by a majority of one hundred and sixty-five, had been effected during the autumnal recess. Such indications as these, it was supposed, could not fail to tell upon the representative body. The tie which links together the House of Commons and the people might not, it was admitted, be over sensitive; but unless representation were all a delusion, Parliament could not, it was imagined, but exhibit some slight assimilation on the subject of free trade to the views so generally and fondly entertained out of doors. Disappointment could not be more complete. The people's house were in no hurry to deal with the people's question. Indeed, useful discussion was all but precluded by the declaration of Sir Robert Peel, on the first evening of the session. We give it as reported at the time, with all the interpolations by means of which the temper and feeling of the House may be ascertained:—

'He was told (he said) that there were two courses open. (Great laughter.) I hope honourable gentlemen do not think that her Majesty's government are making any reservation with respect to this. (Hear, hear). But when the noble lord shall think that, in the opinion of the agricultural portion of the community, protection may be set aside in favour of total repeal, I am strongly inclined to think that the noble lord will be the party to propose a fixed duty, and not myself. (Cheers.) But the experience of the present corn law has not in the slightest degree shaken my opinion in preferring the principle of the graduated scale to that of the fixed duty. (Cheers.) I gave it the preference at the time I proposed it, and nothing that has happened in the interval since then has induced me to change my opinion. (Hear, hear.) I say, therefore, now, as I said last year, though I should not, on the part of the government, think it consistent with my public duty to conciliate support by engagements to adhere, under all circumstances, to a particular law respecting the imposition of duties—yet I can with equal truth say, I have not contemplated, and do not contemplate, an alteration of that law.' (Great and continued cheering.)

After this, one is not surprised at what followed. On Tuesday evening, February 27th, the House, by previous concert, lengthened a debate on the wrongs of the infamous Don Carlos to such a disproportionate extent as to preclude Mr. Cobden from moving, in accordance with the notice he had given, for a select committee to inquire into the operation of the corn laws upon tenant-farmers, and agricultural labourers; and when a fortnight after he succeeded in gaining attention to a very able speech, and in raising a short debate upon the question, he was defeated by a majority of ninety-one. On Tuesday evening, March 19th,

Mr. Ricardo's motion, condemnatory of reciprocity treaties, was got rid of by counting out the House. Mr. Ewart's, for repealing the duties which press on the raw materials of manufacture, was on the following Thursday similarly cushioned. Not until after Whitsuntide—not before Wednesday June 25th, did the corn-law question come fairly, and on its own merits before the House. The debate occupied two nights. The speech of the Premier affords us a vivid illustration of the intimate sympathy subsisting between the people and their representatives. He opened with a derisive allusion to the absence from the House of the Whig party;—

'It is not my intention to occupy much of your time upon an occasion when this House has been engaged for the benefit of a company which generally performs at Covent Garden. It is with great reluctance that I do anything having the least tendency to prevent their enjoying a full benefit; and I must say, I was very sorry to observe, that during the early part of the performance, the front bench on the other side of the House was wholly unoccupied. (Laughter.) I can assure the honourable members opposite—many of whom assisted at my benefit the other night—that I had no desire to be the cause of depriving them of a fuller audience. Throughout the evening I have been here, as well as my honourable friends near me, to witness the performances of that class of gentlemen who have rehearsed their parts upon another stage.'

In the foregoing extract, brief as it is, we may look as through a small and accidental crevice, into the very soul of the House of Commons, and may see with the utmost clearness what kind of entertainment the great question which has for some years all but engrossed public attention, is fortunate enough to meet with there. If any one after this can indulge in the belief that he lives under a bonâ fide system of representative government, his must be a faith which can draw nutriment from the stoniest, most sterile, and most unpropitious soil.

It would, perhaps, rather weaken than strengthen the impression which the course of these remarks can hardly fail to have produced, to allude to the mode in which parliament dealt with the subject of organic reform. There cannot be a reasonable doubt that public opinion on this question is widely extended, and that although it may not as yet have decisively affected the constituent bodies, it pervades the whole body of operatives. Such is its position outside the walls of parliament, that it would not have been presumptuous to anticipate for it a show of respectful consideration within. On looking over the history of the session, we find Mr. Sharman Crawford moving, on Tuesday evening, May 14th, for leave to introduce a bill for a full, fair, and free representation of the people in parliament. He was seconded by Dr. Bowring. Not a remark was hazarded in

reply! Not a single word of discussion was vouchsafed! The division immediately took place, and thirty-one members only recorded their votes in favour of an extended suffrage. We say, an extended suffrage, for the honourable member for Rochdale expressly guarded himself from asking the House to pledge itself to specific details. The following passage from his speech, on the occasion, may serve at one and the same time to show the moderation of his demand, and to explain the true reason for its contemptuous rejection.

'I do not wish now to detain the House with a long array of detailed arguments, but I would ask, can any fair man defend the present state of the representation? I find it summed up briefly in the following terms, in a memorial addressed by the electors of Liverpool to their representatives:—'It is now a fact too palpable to be denied, that the Reform bill of 1832, continuing, as it does, to exclude from the elective franchise six millions out of seven of the adult male population of the United Kingdom, while, at the same time, it gives to 500,000 electors the power virtually to return a majority of members to the House of Commons, renders the voice of the people utterly powerless; and has thus disappointed their reasonable and just expectations as to that House being the representative of the British people.' Again, in a petition presented yesterday from the inhabitants of Liverpool, we have the following statement:—'That twenty-seven small boroughs, with an aggregate population of 172,000, send to parliament thirty-two members; while Liverpool, which has a population exceeding the collective numbers of those twenty-seven boroughs by more than one hundred thousand, only sends two members.' Can any man say that such a state of things ought to continue? Is it possible to argue that some extension of the suffrage ought not to be given? that some better arrangement and division of electoral districts should not be made? then I claim support from all members who think so. If I am permitted to go into committee with a bill, let the particular modes of extending and regulating the franchise which I propose be there argued, and I claim no pledge from any member to support my particular propositions till I prove them to be safe and necessary. The present franchise excludes the great body of the working classes in towns, and in the counties the agricultural labourer is entirely excluded; the nature of the qualification practically has that effect. Is this just or right? The advocates of these exclusions must show that they are necessary for the interests of the community, and that they produce freedom and purity of election, or else they cannot sustain them. I am ready to enter into that argument, if they will meet me in committee.'

We have purposely dwelt at some considerable, but, we trust, not disproportionate length upon the materials before us, specially illustrative of the qualifications of the House of Commons, as a representative assembly; for whatever difference of opinion may have place among our readers, as to who should comprise the constituent body, there can be none, we imagine, as to

the propriety of an intimate correspondence, in sentiment and feeling, between that body and their chosen representatives. The theory of our constitution is either good or bad—if good, it is the interest of all parties to see it reduced to practice;—if bad, is it worth while to retain the shadow when the substance is neither possessed nor desired? It can hardly become a great and enlightened people to be governed by a fiction—and yet, in all important respects the present House of Commons has proved itself, as we have seen, to be little else.

But we must hasten on. We have yet to glance, were it but for a moment, at the *independence and consistency* of this legislative assembly. Although comparatively heedless of national interests, it might yet be sensitively alive to its own honour. Deliberately, by express vote, and twice within an interval of six weeks, to stultify itself—loudly to vaunt its superiority to all party attachments on one day, and on the next, to be driven, by ministerial threats, into a humble confession that its boasting was premature and foolish—to dare the wrath of government, and then fly from it—to descant upon the degradation of being cabinet-bound, and then submit to it—to play Pistol, and, ultimately, like their prototype, to eat the leek—this, for the British House of Commons, is a depth of humiliation and meanness into which its bitterest foes would not have wished it to sink. The first instance of this wretched servility was by far the worst. Lord Ashley's proposal to limit factory labour to ten hours a day, rested for support solely upon the alleged imperious necessity of the case. 'Perish commerce,' exclaimed those who love the luxury of benevolence at other people's expense—'perish commerce, rather than that our toil-worn operatives should remain another year under their crushing burdens.' We shall not soon forget the vivid pictures of suffering, disease, deformity, and early death, inflicted upon our factory hands by the relentless cruelties of the system, drawn, on that occasion, by more than one speaker—the careful computations of the amount of toil endured—the physical exhaustion—the consequent relaxation of all domestic ties—the frightful immoralities—the ignorance and irreligion—of which the masses in our manufacturing districts were said, and, to some extent, too truly said, to be the victims. The House, whether moved by these afflicting representations, or anxious to deal a blow to mill-owners in return for their anti-corn law agitation, or in pure dislike to a government which had betrayed them, or influenced by a combination of all these motives, negatived the ministerial proposition for declaring twelve hours to be the legal limit of factory labour, thereby giving a temporary triumph to Lord Ashley. The triumph, however, was short. The Home Secretary withdrew

his bill, to be reproduced after Easter, with some slight alterations. During the interval, the determination of government to stand or fall by their measure was ostentatiously paraded—the whip was well plied—the pictures of misery which had excited such horror, and had moved such disinterested benevolence, faded away from memory—and on the second trial of strength, the House coolly reversed its former decision. Then came the alteration of the sugar duties, and the rebellion of the monopolists, under Mr. Miles, the member for Bristol. Again the ministry were left in the minority, and again they resorted to a threat of resignation. The country was thrown into a paroxysm of excitement, concluding that no minister would be bold enough to ask, and no legislative assembly subservient enough to grant, a second surrender of a deliberate vote, within a little more than a month. Sir Robert Peel, however, came down to the House, and lectured it in the following autocratic style.—The report, with its parentheses, is extracted from the *Times*.

'But, sir, I admit, differing as we do from my hon. friend upon the merits of his measure, in a commercial point of view, I do not hesitate to admit that upon political grounds I cannot, on the part of the government, consent to adopt it (here the House assumed an attitude of the deepest attention, and the most entire stillness ensued). Some of those, too, who supported my hon. friend, said there was no material difference between the proposal he made and that made by the government; that he proposed, in respect of most classes of sugar, the same amount of protective duty; and that, therefore, we might without difficulty have assented to his amendment. Sir, if it be a matter of unimportance, we cannot consent to concede to the proposition. (The right hon. baronet pronounced this with more than usual emphasis, and proceeded, after a pause, in a tone forcibly expressive of wounded feeling). It was carried by a combination of those who are our general supporters with our political opponents. If the measure, I repeat, be an unimportant one, in proportion to its unimportance, it is significant of a want of confidence in our administration. If you can effect a great public object, that is a reason for proposing an alteration in the plan of the government; but if you cannot effect any important object—if there be no great difference in the value of the two propositions, then I say the concurrence between our political opponents and our political friends has a bearing on our position as the executive government of this empire. (These words, uttered with great energy, elicited renewed cries of 'Hear, hear,' from all parts of the house). It does, in our opinion, diminish our means of resistance (as we understood the expression); and if acquiesced in by us, *it would be an encouragement of similar combinations.* (Ironical cries of 'Hear'). I do not believe, sir—I cannot believe, that the concurrence in that vote was a casual occurrence, arising out of our debatings on the subject. I may be wrong, but my impression is, that it was a preconcerted arrangement (cries of 'No, no,') between some of those who oppose and some of those who support us. When my hon.

friend — of course a word from him would be sufficient to destroy this delusion in my mind, if delusion it be, but I will tell him why I believe the vote was the result of a concert between some of those who support and some of those who oppose us—I am not complaining. (Some ironical cheers and laughter, on account of Sir Robert's manner being marked with more of bitterness than he acknowledged. The right hon. baronet, apparently annoyed, proceeded with elevated voice). No, but I have a right to observe upon such a combination I do not deny the right of hon. gentlemen, if they think fit, to enter into such combination. I do not condescend (so we understood the right hon. baronet, who, through agitation, was somewhat less distinct than usual) —I do not condescend to deprecate them; but I think I have a right to consider what bearing the result has upon the position of the government, when I am determining whether I will acquiesce in an unimportant proposition, as an amendment to the plan of the government, carried by a combination such as I have alluded to. I am not, I repeat, denying the right of the two parties so to combine. Into that I enter not. But I claim for myself the right—and (exclaimed the right hon. gentleman, with considerable elevation of tone) I mean to exercise it!—the right of determining what effect upon my position, as a minister of the crown, my acquiescence in the arrangement proposed would produce.'

The sequel is known. The same House which had affirmed Mr. Miles's proposition by a majority of twenty, cowed by the determination evinced by Sir Robert Peel, rescinded its vote three nights afterwards by a majority of twenty-two. To this degradation it was not likely to submit without very audible and significant murmurs. Mr. D'Israeli truly interpreted the feelings of many when he said—

'About a month ago this House was called on to rescind a resolution on a subject most important to its character, and of the deepest interest to the great body of the nation; and, for the first time since the malt tax vote, this House submitted to that process, which was previously regarded with so much distrust, and only submitted to from such overbearing necessity. I cannot help thinking, sir, that some mysterious influence must be at work to place us, within a month, in precisely the same position, and to put us before the country under circumstances which, I believe, no one in this House, be he on this side or the opposition side, can describe as other than degrading to us all. It may be that the right honourable gentleman will retain power by subjecting us to this stern process; but I mistake the right honourable gentleman's character if I were to suppose that he could greatly value a power which is only to be retained by means so unconstitutional. I think that the right honourable gentleman should deign to consult a little more the feelings of his supporters. I do not think he ought to drag them unreasonably through the mire. He has already once this session made them repeal a solemn decision at which they had arrived, and now he comes down again and says, unless you rescind another important resolution, I will no longer take upon myself the responsiblity of conducting affairs. Now, I really think to rescind one vote during the

session is enough. I don't think in reason we ought to be called on to endure this degradation more than once a-year. That should be managed. The right honourable baronet should introduce some parliamentary tariff for the regulation of our disapproval. The government ought to tell us to what point we might go—thus far and no farther: there are the bounds within which you are to enjoy your parliamentary independence; but the moment you pass them you must submit to public disgrace, or we must submit to private life.'

Thus much, then, for the independence and consistency of the British House of Commons!

We had intended to bring out from the records before us some other features of character which we find developed in the proceedings of parliament during the past session. But we can do no more than allude to incidents from which our readers may gather their own conclusions. The zeal with which the Duke of Richmond's bill for the suspension of the *qui tam* actions was hurried through all its stages—the support given to Sir James Graham, when, detected in his practice of seal-forging and letter-opening, he refused all explanation, and took his stand upon his ministerial responsibility, and the sanction thrown over the subsequent trick, by which a nominal inquiry was converted into a real evasion — the appointment of a select committee to collect evidence on the subject of dog-stealing in the metropolis—the shameless jobbing which appeared upon the face of the Ecclesiastical Courts' bill, one of the numerous ministerial measures ultimately abandoned—the centralising spirit which pervaded the first draft of the Railways' bill, and which, under the auspices of the present Home Secretary, threatens us with a Medical Reform bill, and a government establishment for the cure of the body, in addition to that already existing for the health of the soul—these are matters which we can only barely mention, but which supply ample materials for grave reflection. Each adds a stroke to the portrait upon which we have been gazing—a stroke without which the picture would be incomplete.

We have left ourselves but little space for our concluding remarks—but we are the less concerned about this, inasmuch as the moral to be deduced from the preceding paragraphs is too obvious to require lengthened exposition. We have taken a retrospective view of the proceedings of parliament during the past session. Their work speaks for itself. We put it, therefore, in all seriousness to the candid and the thoughtful, whether it is such as they can honestly declare to be worthy of the councils of a free and enlightened people, adapted to meet the exigencies of the times, calculated to confirm the stability of our institutions, or likely to promote the real prosperity of the

empire. We ask whether patriotism or piety can read the brief epitome we have put before them without a blush of shame, or a sigh of deep regret. Can a system which produces such fruits be deserving of support? Is it in the nature of things that it should long continue? Be our opinions what they may, let us, at all events, be manly enough to open our eyes to our real position. The intelligence and the morality of the age have outgrown the system of government under which we live. The laws which regulate our commerce, which affect our liberties, which meddle with our religion, are framed by assemblies who either know not, or knowing, heed not, the temper, tastes, interests, or capabilities of the people over whom they preside. What one thing is exhibited in high places, but an indecent scramble for spoil? What one commanding virtue does parliament display which should secure for it the respect of the wise and the good? Who can be satisfied—what Christian citizen ought to be satisfied with a system of misgovernment which he can help to alter? Surely, then, they who are actively but peacefully engaged in the attempt to put an end to the present state of things, are far from meriting the *opprobrium* so lavishly heaped upon them. Their vocation may not, for some years to come, be a successful one—but it is far from dishonourable. To war against a worthless and mischievous pretence is unseemly neither in the man nor the Christian.

But the session has not been without its indirect uses. If barren of good measures, it has been fertile of valuable lessons. It has opened many eyes blinded by prejudice. A conviction is gradually spreading among the intelligent of all parties that the present state of things is too bad to last long. The conservatives are ashamed of their own idol, and are all but ready to cast it aside as a senseless thing. The whigs are extinct, and the names of their once honoured leaders excite no hope, command no reverence, and will serve no more as a charm to rally the British people round political delusion. Indeed, the long reign of party is visibly over, and the governed are beginning to inquire, not by whom, but upon what principles they should be ruled. This most desirable tendency in the public mind legislative proceedings during the last session have greatly strengthened and confirmed. It has been clearly demonstrated that a parliament which is born in corruption, naturally grows up selfish, unprincipled, and reckless. It is well for the interests of truth that it is so ordered. We can conceive it to have been otherwise. We can imagine a House of Commons, elected by a shameless violation of every principle of honour, purity, and patriotism, reconciling men to the foul means by which they acquired power, by a vigilant attention to business, and tem-

porary concessions of some value to the demands of public opinion. Had such been the case, bribery and intimidation would have taken rank with the legitimate means of government, and the people would have learned not merely to tolerate, but to defend, what every honest heart should detest. It is matter of congratulation, therefore, that vice has displayed itself in 'its native semblance.' Its power is thereby weakened. The period of its ascendancy is curtailed—and a return to purer, better, and more righteous methods of representative government is greatly accelerated.

Nor does it become us to lose sight of the fact, that the very struggles of faction were made subservient to the diffusion of correct information upon the deplorable condition of the labouring poor. Society has learned more, during the past session, of the peculiar habits, wants, and hardships of the working classes of Great Britain, than during the preceding ten years. Mr. Cobden's motion, on the 12th of March, and the speeches which the progress of incendiarism in Norfolk and Suffolk elicited from some of the leading free-traders, dragged to light numerous facts which none can look upon and still retain the delusion, that the restrictive system is upheld for the advantage of our peasantry. On the other hand, the discussions on the Factories' bill not merely brought out a large mass of facts, but put both parties into a position which they could only maintain by the bold enunciation of many just principles. The essential dignity of labour—the right of the producers of wealth to participate in its enjoyment—the cruelty involved in the supposition that man is born to incessant and unmitigated toil—the folly of identifying him with the machinery that he tends—the momentous certainty that he possesses a mind which ought to be cultivated, a heart which is susceptible, if allowed to develope itself, of every virtuous emotion, an immortality which cannot be over estimated, and that he has all the capabilities, powers, passions and rights of man, of which none can deprive him without defacing the image of the Eternal, and exposing themselves to sure and overwhelming retribution—these are strange doctrines for toryism to preach—doctrines so just, so true, so important, so practical, too, in their moral influence, that if they be but proclaimed, and proclaimed as they were in parliament with apparent earnestness, it matters little what may have been the objects of the party which enunciated them. And this seemed to be the special mission of pure toryism during the session of 1844. With a blind zeal which knew nothing of the ultimate tendencies of its own work, it employed itself in raising up in the millions a spirit of self-appreciation—a sense of what is due to them as the producers

of national wealth—an aspiration after a higher grade of civilization and comfort. In the innermost heart of these truths lie wrapped up the seeds of democracy. When men learn to value their manhood, they cease to be slaves.

On the whole, then, we are satisfied that things are gradually working in the right direction. Out of a passing evil, some lasting good will spring. He who presides over the destinies of nations, and who has in His hand the hearts of all men, is engaged, we firmly believe, in effecting the not-distant overthrow of anti-christian feudalism, and is employing its best friends in subverting its dominion. The triumph of wickedness is short, and perhaps, ere long, it will be seen that the success of the landed aristocracy, at the last general election, purchased as it was at an expense both of money and of character altogether unprecedented, did more than any other event recorded in history to pave the way for the revocation of their exclusive privileges and their political supremacy.

Brief Notices.

The Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Vol IV. Part I. London: Longman & Co.

It affords us pleasure to record the satisfactory progress of this great work, which we introduced to the favourable notice of our readers on its first appearance. The present, constituting the seventh half volume, brings down the Dictionary to the close of the letter A, and is eminently distinguished, in common with its predecessors, by those qualities which give permanent value to such an undertaking. A Biographical Dictionary of the order projected by the Useful Knowledge Society has long been needed; and it is not too much to say, that the parts already published fully realize the expectations excited, and leave no room to doubt but that the work, when completed, will be all which the advanced state of our literature, the acknowledged ability of the editor and of his contributors, and the high reputation of the Society itself, led us to anticipate. For diligent research, minuteness and accuracy of detail, fulness of information, impartiality of criticism, and freedom from prejudice, whether political or ecclesiastical, it is deserving of high commendation, and is entitled to take rank in the very first class of useful publications.

We know not what are the prospects of the undertaking, but should deeply regret the fact if the want of encouragement induced a limitation of the original plan of the Society. A large circulation must of course be required to cover the expenses of such a work, and it will be

a lasting disgrace to the British public if it be not obtained. The volumes are brought out at intervals of three months, so as to place the work within the reach of most classes of the reading public; and we strongly recommend it, not only to ministers and students, but to all intelligent young men who are desirous of acquainting themselves with the history and productions of eminent men of all past times.

Affectionate Counsels to Students of Theology on leaving College, and also to young Ministers; being an Address, considerably enlarged, delivered in Ebenezer Chapel, June 25th, 1844, to Mr. E. R. Conder, A.M., and others, on the completion of their studies, and leaving Spring Hill College. By John Angell James. Published at the earnest request of the Tutors and the Students. 8vo. pp. 48. London: Hamilton and Co.

THIS is a seasonable publication, which cannot be too extensively circulated amongst our theological students and young ministers. It abounds in admirable counsel, conveyed in a spirit of sincere attachment, and must be productive of lasting benefits to all by whom it is attentively perused. Mr. James is pre-eminently qualified for the task he has undertaken. His pastoral experience, amenity of disposition, and sound judgment, give weight to his counsel, whilst his acknowledged eminence as a preacher, and the universal respect in which he is held, will attract to his pages a degree of attention which few other men could command. The tutors and students of Spring Hill College did wisely—and we thank them for it—in earnestly requesting the publication of the Address. Literature and philosophy are eminently desirable in the ministry, but they will form a poor compensation for the absence of those qualities which have mainly contributed to the success of the most eminent preachers of the gospel. It cannot be too deeply impressed on our young ministers that, to quote the words of Mr. James, 'To be useful, they must be popular; and to be popular they must be richly evangelical, simple, earnest, impressive and affectionate.'

English Presbyterian Chapels, proved to have been Orthodox Foundations, appropriated to Trinitarian Worship, and the preaching of Trinitarian Doctrine. By Joshua Wilson, Esq. 8vo. pp. 36. London: Jackson and Walford.

THE historical student is greatly indebted to Mr. Wilson for the laborious research with which he has investigated the doctrinal sentiments of the early English presbyterians. His historical argument is perfectly conclusive. Nothing can be clearer, or, to our minds, more satisfactorily made out, than that those sentiments were strictly orthodox, in the ordinary sense of the term. Differing from the esteemed author in the application of his argument, we heartily concur with him on this point, thank him for his pains-taking, and recommend his pamphlet to the perusal of all who would be accurately informed on the theological views of our predecessors. The value of Mr. Wilson's labours is not dependent on any temporary circumstance. They have a permanent interest, and will greatly assist the future historians of nonconformity.

The History of the London Missionary Society, comprising an Account of the origin of the Society, Biographical Notes of some of its Founders and Missionaries, with a record of its progress at home, and its operations abroad, compiled from original documents in the possession of the Society. By William Ellis, late Foreign Secretary of the Society. Vol. I. London: John Snow.

The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society; a Jubilee Memorial; including a sketch of the origin and progress of the Institution. By John Morison, D.D. A new edition, with twenty-one Portraits. London: Fisher, Son, and Co.

THE appearance of these volumes is most seasonable, and will be welcomed by a large class of our readers. Mr. Ellis's volume has reached us just as we are going to press, and we can therefore merely announce its publication, and promise a more extended notice next month. We are glad again to meet him in the line of authorship, rejoice in his partially recovered health, and pray that he may yet be spared for many useful labours. Such a work as he has furnished was much needed, and we predict for it an extensive circulation amongst the friends of Christian missions.

We noticed Dr. Morison's work on its first appearance in terms of high commendation, and are glad that he has been encouraged to furnish a second and cheaper edition at the present moment. The reprint before us, which is included in one volume, is published at less than half the cost of the former edition, though no part of the work has been omitted, except the *General Sketch of Christian Missions.* Both works are specially opportune just now, and their extensive perusal will be one of the most effectual means of aiding the jubilee services of the London Mission.

The Treasury of History, comprising a general Introductory Outline of Universal History, Ancient and Modern, and a Series of Separate Histories of every principal nation that exists, their rise, progress, and present condition, &c. By Samuel Maunder. London: Longman. and Co. 1844.

A USEFUL publication, in which a large mass of information is condensed. Within the compass of eight hundred and sixty-four pages Mr. Maunder has contrived, by means of a small clear type and double columns, to comprise a succinct history of all people and times. The space allotted to English history is of course much larger than that given to any other country; but useful information is furnished respecting all, which, while it satisfies the wants of a large class, will serve to stimulate the enquiries of more advanced readers. The arrangement is lucid, the style unencumbered, the research evinced extensive, and the general tone of the volume commendable. The view taken of the character and times of Charles the First is far from according with our views, and forms an exception to the impartiality evinced throughout other portions of the work. We should have been glad if it had been otherwise, but with this exception—a most important one—we can honestly recommend Mr. Maunder's publication to the favour of our readers.

The Works of William Jay, corrected and revised by himself. Vol IX. Containing Forty Sermons. London: C. A. Bartlett.

THIS volume contains twenty-four discourses which were originally published, nearly forty years since, in two octavo volumes. They passed through five editions in a short time, and have been deservedly esteemed as amongst the most useful productions of the English press. The success with which they met, encouraged Mr. Jay to 'advance in his course of authorship, far beyond what he could originally have intended,' a fact which invests them with considerable interest apart from their inherent merits. 'In looking over these sermons,' says the venerable author, in his brief advertisement to the present reprint, 'after so long a period, in order to comprise them in the complete series of his' (the writer's) 'works, he sees more imperfections in them than he once saw, but he must leave them now as they are to the candour of the public, and the blessing of God.' We need not recommend the volume, but are more concerned to congratulate our readers on their having an opportunity of obtaining it at so greatly reduced a cost.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

The Morning Exercises at Cripplegate, St. Giles's in the Fields, and in Southwark; being divers Sermons preached in 1659—1689 by several Ministers of the Gospel in or near London. Fifth edition. With notes and translations. By James Nichols. Vol. III.

The Religion of Ancient Britain: or a Succinct Account of the Several Religious Systems which have obtained in this island from the earliest times to the Norman Conquest, &c. By George Smith, F.A.S.

Protestant Missions in Bengal Illustrated: being the Substance of a Course of Lectures delivered on Indian Missions. By J. J. A. Weitbrecht, Church (of England) Missionary. Second edition.

The Settlers in Canada. Written for young people. By Captain Marryatt. 2 vols.

The Sacraments: an inquiry into the nature of the Symbolic Institutions of the Christian Religion, usually called the Sacraments. By Robert Halley, D.D. Part I. Baptism. (Congregational Lecture, tenth series.)

History of the War of Independence of the United States of America. By Charles Botta. Translated from the Italian by George Alexander Otis.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR NOVEMBER, 1844.

Art. I. 1. *Notes Explanatory and Practical on the New Testament.* By Albert Barnes. Vol. VI. 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians and Galatians. Blackie & Son. 1844.

2. *The Biblical Cabinet.* Vol. XL. *Calvin and Storr on the Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and Colossians.* Edinburgh: Clark. 1842.

'*His letters,*' say they, '*are weighty and powerful.*' In this judgment of an adversary most readers of these same '*letters*' have agreed. They form a large portion of the New Testament. They have occupied the thoughts of the learned and of the pious through many generations; and we gladly avail ourselves of the occasion offered by the expositions now before us to present our readers with such general reflexions on these sacred writings as our study of them has suggested.

In the early and middle ages, before the existing facilities for communication with distant places were created by the progress of civilization, epistles were of necessity rarer than they have since become; so that we are scarcely competent, in the present age, to conceive of the great difference in the state of society originating in this single cause.

The ten books of Pliny's Epistles are a rich specimen of the tone of a cultivated Roman in his familiar correspondence with his friends. Selected by the writer for publication in his lifetime, and evidently written with a studious attention to the brilliancies and amenities of style, they afford a charming illustration of personal character, and of the manners of the people, and the times. This collection contains a few letters which have been rendered famous in the church on account of their connexion with the character, usages, and persecutions of the

Bythinian churches of the second century; and in one of them—a most graceful intercession with his friend Sabinian on behalf of an offending but repentant freedman—there is a close resemblance, yet a marked inferiority, to Paul's appeal to Philemon on behalf of Onesimus.

In modern times, the formal epistles of public men, and the bulletins of princes, the dispatches of generals, ambassadors, and statesmen, and the lighter missives of eminent poets, philosophers, christians, and literary ladies, have been published in amazing quantities, through every land in Europe and in America.

Passing by the learned and picturesque felicities of Gray; the delightful *naiveté* of Madame Sevigne; the buoyant playfulness of Charles Lamb; and the endless lights scattered on passing characters and events from the letters of Wilberforce and Mackintosh, of Romilly, of Miss Burney, of Lord Eldon, and many of the biographies which have long been teeming from the press, we have a grateful recollection of a collection prefaced by Mr. Montgomery, some seven years ago, and designed to exemplify the fruits of holy living, and the blessedness of holy dying, in the private and confidential letters of eminent persons of both sexes. To the readers of the alluring works to which we have referred, it is superfluous to describe the exquisite gratification, or to estimate the permanent benefits, they have afforded.

The epistles of Paul are of course too sacred to be compared with any uninspired productions, excepting as the comparison is made for the purpose of confirming our belief of the genuineness and the inspiration of these ancient documents of our faith. We are assured by careful experiment that such a comparison must confirm the belief of every intelligent and devout reader. And we may be allowed to say that we have never been more fully impressed with the majesty of the inspired epistles, than when we have repaired to them after studying the most precious remains of ecclesiastical antiquity—the letters of Clemens, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Cyprian. So broad a distinction between the compositions of the apostles and those of their successors deserves to be strongly pointed out and seriously remembered, at a time when such strenuous endeavours are made to elevate the claims of these fathers to a position scarcely inferior to that of the inspired teachers themselves.

It well deserves attention to consider the remarkable fact that this peculiar mode of instruction is so incorporated with the inspired gospel. There is nothing like it in any of the false religions that have been palmed upon the world; neither is there anything like it in the Old Testament. It stamps the final and universal dispensation of true religion with indisputable originality. We cannot but perceive that the divine wisdom

had a most important purpose, or rather a series and variety of most important purposes, to accomplish by this *unique* character of the evangelic revelation. The fact is this: out of the twenty-seven books which compose the New Testament, four are separate, yet harmonious, narratives of our Lord's life and teaching; one a history of the planting of the gospel after His ascension, in the chief places of Asia and Europe; while twenty-two, nearly equalling the entire historic portion in the quantity of matter, are epistles. We hold this fact to be worthy of consideration on several accounts. It affords tests of the truth of the history, of a peculiar and delicate nature; as has been, to a limited extent, shown by Dr. Paley in his Horæ Paulinæ. It takes away the ground on which a fictitious distinction has been made between the authority of the epistles and the authority of the gospels—a distinction which even though it were well founded affords little or no support to the heresies on behalf of which it has been most pertinaciously put forth, but which is utterly baseless, inasmuch as the gospels and epistles stand together on the same claim to inspiration. It unfolds the great principles which may be said to be hidden in the facts of the gospel; applying those great principles, in a manner at once the most solemn and the most familiar, to the practical ends of human virtue and human happiness. It demonstrates the *special nature of that unity and catholicity* of which so much has been pretended and so little understood or exemplified in certain quarters. In christianity itself there is no formal creed; there are no articles of faith; there is no framework of consolidated church government; there is no ritual; there are no prescribed formularies of any kind whatever; on the contrary, separate churches are independently addressed, and addressed uniformly as bound by the authority of inspired teachers to regulate their own affairs, respectively, without appeal to any exterior jurisdiction; as composed of believers who are separated by their habits and their hopes, as well as by their principles and their associations from the world; as amenable—in what relates to their religion—only to the Supreme Lord and the last tribunal; and as bound by duty, swayed by love, and urged by personal interest and honour of the highest kind, to maintain the soundness of their faith, the purity of their practice, and the integrity of their union. These divine instructions are communicated immediately to the christian people. No reference is made to specially authorised interpreters of their meaning. They are, in the highest and the best sense, popular. To the men to whom they were addressed they were sufficiently plain. They are still sufficiently plain, in their doctrinal and hortatory substance, to all real christians. It is true that, as these epistles

were written in a language not now spoken, imply a state of society which has passed away, and contain allusions which the lapse of time has rendered obsolete, a large acquaintance with philology, geography, history, and antiquities is required to place the modern reader in a situation approaching that of the first christians, for the complete understanding of every part of these epistles. And it would be unfair to deny that much insight into the harmony of revealed truth, as a whole, resulting from a patient and devout comparison of its separate portions, has been at all times necessary for deriving from these epistles their full amount of theoretical and practical instruction. But in whom do such qualifications reside? How are they secured? In what way can they be rendered available to general use? We have never seen it pretended, or heard it whispered, that there is any necessary, any exclusive restriction of these intellectual qualities, literary acquirements, and devotional habits to the line of the apostolic succession. Neither have we been taught that episcopal ordination can be safely accepted as a guarantee for their possession. We can comprehend that the catholic church—meaning by that term the whole body of distinct churches united in their one head—is the conservator of the faith, the 'pillar and ground of the truth,' the witness of God, the teacher of the nations; for we see that to the church, in this large sense, the great body of christian doctrines has been directly revealed. And we can, further, comprehend that the church, still in the same apostolical and catholic sense, is the interpreter of scripture. But we cannot comprehend, in any way that is intelligent and christian, the catholicity that destroys the independency of churches, or defer to the interpreter who gives neither sign of inspiration, nor proof of biblical learning and practical devoutness. As sincere champions of antiquity, and reverent followers of apostolical authority, we appeal from the accumulating innovators and usurpers of the early ages of the church to these muniments of a still earlier time, containing the wisdom of the last men that were inspired of God to teach all nations, even until the end of the world. For these reasons we cannot conceal our surprise, tinctured with a harsher feeling, at the prodigious efforts now going on in this country for the building up of 'church principles.' Is not christianity a religion of knowledge? Is it not by the knowledge of the truth lovingly embraced by hearts opened by the Holy Spirit, that men are saved? Is it not by teaching, by ruling according to the laws of Christ, and by constantly setting before men the living example of godliness, that the servants of God are to bring sinners to repentance, and to help the faith and the joy of such as have repented. Then how sad, how presumptuous, to use

the gentlest language, is the course now pursued by both clerical and laical writers in influential stations, to revive—not the clear, and honest, and sober exposition of the gospel in its words and in its symbols—but the claims of men, the dignities of office, the mystery of sacraments, and the authority of the church. Since these partially forgotten additions to the gospel are regarded with such veneration, and pleaded for with so much ardour, we are certainly not much surprised at the laboured attempts at restoring the material paraphernalia of mediæval superstition, and the truly consistent depreciation of that grand ordinance by which the apostles gathered churches to their Lord, and by which the reformers shook the power of Rome. Men who stand on their official character, who regard themselves as priests, to whom the greatest affairs of human life and death are calendered as seasons for their sacramental ministrations, and on whom all the arts attend to heighten the effect of their solemnities on the imaginations of the people—such men need not become laborious students of the scriptures, nor can they be expected to cherish among the people any high sense of their own rights and their own duties as the churches of the Lord.

The institution which we call the Church rose in power as the people sank in knowledge and sanctity. The spread of knowledge and vital religion among the people has been shewn by history to be fatal to that power. This antagonism still exists. Church power and evangelism cannot be made to sustain any different relations to each other. Seeing that the one is of man, and the other of God—the one temporal, the other everlasting—the one fraught with death, and the other with life for the souls of men, we hold it to be one of our first duties to give to the one our earnest opposition, and to the other whatever we can render of calm defence, and of loyal service, even unto death. This belief, and this conscientious conviction, we avow, are nourished by the study of the New Testament epistles. As in the Epistle to the Romans we can find no papacy, neither in that nor in any of the others can we trace either the diocesan episcopate, or the sacramental grace, or any one of those ancient rudiments out of which the human creation which men call the church has been constructed.

Besides the general fact, that so much of the New Testament consists of these letters to the people, we wish to call attention to the particular fact that two-thirds of the epistolary matter of the New Testament came from the Apostle Paul. There are several views of the life and labours of this great minister which strike us as full of interest in connexion with this fact.

It ought not to be forgotten that he was preeminently a 'preacher of the gospel.' In no one instance does he use a

single expression or allusion conveying the idea that he possessed a *sacerdotal* character. He was a preacher inspired of God, commissioned by Jesus Christ, abundant in labours, and successful. In his numerous epistles it is easy to see what the tenour of his preaching must have been. And in comparing his epistles with those of Peter, James, John, and Jude, we may observe that, whilst they all ground their instructions on the same facts, and all aim at the same ends, in the use of similar means, large departments of divine truth are more fully opened by him than by the other apostles, and some have been clearly revealed to us through him alone: from which we gather that it is especially to his writings that we are to repair for the complete understanding of that gospel of which Jesus Christ is the theme, and which was preached with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven.

We can only suggest, in the briefest manner, the proofs and illustrations of this view which are scattered throughout the Pauline epistles. Through him have we been taught the sublime secret hidden from former ages, of the purpose of God to gather into one body the believers of all nations. Through him the relations of the human race to their first parent, and the corresponding relation of the redeemed to Christ the second Adam, have been distinctly made known. By him, the great mystery of our acceptance, though guilty, with God our Judge, through the righteousness which is by faith of Jesus Christ, has been fully and clearly expounded. He has been employed by the Holy Spirit to shew the varied bearings of the prophetic testimony, and of the Levitical institute, on the great salvation. In his writings the truth of the gospel dispensation, its grandeur, its universality, its permanence, are established with masculine power of argument. He has given us glimpses through the veil that separates the living from the dead. He has dwelt largely on the hope of the resurrection, on the circumstances and issues of the second advent, and on the vast scheme by which the purposes of the Only Wise connects the troubled scenes of time with the righteous retributions and the gracious rewards of the eternal age. How varied, how pointed, how searching, how comprehensive are his applications of sacred truth to the most intricate and difficult passages of the christian life; and how tender, yet bright and vigorous are the words with which he cheers the sufferer, the bereaved, the confessor, the martyr!

Let us take a closer survey of some of these divine compositions. On the Epistle to the Romans, we offered some thoughts not long ago.

The works named at the head of this article, have recalled our attention to five others—to the Corinthians, the Galatians,

the Philippians, and the Colossians. The two epistles to the Corinthians are remarkable for their *individuality*, both of them greatly differing from all the other epistles of Paul, and each differing in many particulars from the other. While in the rest of his epistles we find the rich materials of theoretical divinity worked up into their practical applications, here we find the rules and maxims of practical life deduced from the principles of doctrinal theology.—The reader who would enter fully into the peculiarities of these epistles should picture to himself the singular local situation of Corinth; should study its history; should bring before his imagination its busy, luxurious, and gay inhabitants, with their brilliant refinements and corrupting idolatries; and should meditate on the splendid attractions which drew thither the strangers of nearly all nations—some to increase their wealth by commerce; some to gratify their taste in elegant indulgence; and others to display their skill, or feast their sense, in the celebration of the Isthmian games. Having mastered this physical and moral scenery, let him trace the journeyings of the apostle, passing from Macedonia to Jerusalem, and after a brief and painful sojourn at Athens, spending a year and a half of anxious and often depressing toil at Corinth, where, still lingering long after the breaking out of a fierce persecution by his own countrymen, he sailed for Syria to keep the feast at Jerusalem. Then let him accompany the apostle, six years afterwards, to Corinth, where he spent the winter, and in the midst of his labours there wrote the Epistle to the Romans. It was after these visits that from *Ephesus* (not from Philippi, as stated in the postscript), he wrote this *first* epistle. That he had written one before has been surmised from a passage in the ninth verse of the fifth chapter. But it appears to us more probable that, as there is no trace of the existence of an earlier epistle, and as there are important grammatical reasons for abiding by the judgment of the early Greek commentators, the reference in that passage is to this rather than to a former epistle.

The epistle itself is a graphic picture of the state and circumstances of the church, and highly interesting as an exhibition of human nature in peculiar circumstances—an exhibition which is its own voucher for the reality of the persons and the transactions to which it relates. He who knows what christianity is, and who can conceive of its operations amongst such men as the Corinthians, in connexion with the ministry of such a man as Paul, will acknowledge that the difficulties which arose were precisely such as might have been expected, and that the directions given were precisely such as the necessities of the case demanded. The dissensions excited by a pretended teacher—

in all likelihood a Sadducee or philosophic Jew,—the insolent disrespect towards the apostle, the ostentation of knowledge and eloquence, the flagrant immorality of a professed christian, with the want of faithful discipline evinced in his not being removed from the church, and the scandal caused by the quarrels of the members being brought before heathen tribunals, having been reported to the apostle, and sundry questions relating to marriages, and to the eating of meat offered to idols, having been submitted to him by the Corinthian church—the chief part of the epistle is devoted to suitable reproofs and admonitions touching these several points and others of a kindred nature; and towards the close he draws that perfect picture of love, and that magnificent argument on the resurrection, which have been the admiration of every reader.—One cannot seriously read this epistle with the recollection of all the circumstances thus sketched, and not at the same time be impressed with the consummate practical wisdom given to the writer. The ethical principles of the gospel—its humility, its forbearance, its love of peace and order, its purity, its benevolence, springing from a spiritual apprehension of its truths, and secured by its faithful mutual discipline in an organized community, are here drawn out, in their connection with real facts, for the rebuke of the self-willed, and for the guidance of honest christian minds, in every age. How comes it to pass, we might ask an unbeliever, that this stranger, this foreign Jew, could venture on a communication to the inhabitants of a rich and prosperous city so full of high-minded and indignant rebuke? Can he read the letter, and doubt the facts recorded in the evangelic history, or implied through the whole of this document? Can he admit the facts without believing that amongst that dissolute population a new tone of moral judgment and feeling had been created? Can he ponder these things and not see in them a weighty reason for believing that the gospel is true, powerful, elevating, divine? Can he give this reason its due force, and yet fail to acknowledge that this gospel, believed and acted on, is the remedy for the vices and the miseries of our world?

From the Second Epistle to the Corinthians we learn that after writing the first epistle at Ephesus Paul had gone to Troas, and thence to Macedonia, where meeting with Titus, he was, after much disappointment and suspense, gladdened by the report of the effect which his faithful admonitions had produced at Corinth. In this state of mind,—still adapting himself to the temper of parties in the church,—he refers to his sufferings for the gospel in Asia, explains and vindicates his continued absence from Corinth, and, mingling his expressions of interest in the Corinthians with those of joy on account of their obedience,

he pourtrays with great majesty and pathos the character of the ministry with which he is entrusted, and the motives which animate him in his journeys and afflictions; then by every solemn and tender consideration he bespeaks the sympathy of the Corinthians on behalf of the distressed believers in Judea. In these outpourings of a strong mind and a warm heart, there are innumerable touches of personal character; and without any studied method, parade of reasoning, or rhetorical embellishment, some of the cardinal doctrines of our religion are placed in the brightest light, while the practical authority of those doctrines is brought home to the reader's conscience with more than human power.

These two epistles taken together are of incalculable value as portions of divine history, and as models of Christian instruction. The style in which they are written is professedly free from the qualities which were most admired at Corinth. It is natural, free, abounding in passages of abrupt strength and unpretending beauty; sudden in its transitions and changes of persons; sometimes keen and delicate in its irony; not seldom harsh, and even obscure; yet containing periods as sublime as Plato, or as vehement as Demosthenes.

The exposition of these epistles has been said to have engaged less literary and critical attention than some other parts of the New Testament; for, though they are included in all the general commentaries, we meet with but few separate compositions on these particular books. Those of Mosheim, Molderhauer, Schultz, Storr, Krank, Morus, and a few others, on the whole or a part of these epistles, were in the memory of Professor Olshausen when he remarked, in his Biblical Commentary, on the comparative paucity and imperfect character of 'special treatises on these epistles.' A few years since, a respectable course of pulpit expositions, not generally known we apprehend, was published by Mr. Lothian, pastor of a congregational church at St. Andrews. In 1838, the 'Biblical Cabinet' contained a commentary on these epistles by Dr. Billroth of Halle, translated by Mr. Alexander, of Edinburgh,—the work of a young man whose early writings had given promise of great talents and usefulness, and whose commentary on these epistles will afford considerable aid, so far as the application of grammar and philological science can bring out the meaning of the words, and enable the reader to choose amid conflicting interpretations. The Notes by Mr. Barnes continue the work on the New Testament which has been partly brought before our readers. The fifth volume is on the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians. The introduction, though brief, contains all that is necessary for the purpose, and it is clearly and correctly

written. The marginal references are few, but apposite. The notes are for the most part written with freedom, with competent knowledge of the force of original terms and local allusions, and combine some knowledge of what has been written by former expounders, with the independent decisions of a tolerably sound and practical judgment. That the author has availed himself of some of the best authorities in biblical hermeneutics is at once apparent to the learned reader from the prevailing tone of his annotations, and from his occasional, though not obtrusive, references to the most famous masters of the English, Dutch, and German schools.

In the main, his views are such as prevail in the evangelical churches of Europe and America; and in cases where he might be thought deficient in this respect, his Scottish editor has supplied what seemed to be wanting. The remarks in which Mr. Barnes often sums up the contents of a chapter have our hearty admiration.

Our approval of the volume is neither entire nor indiscriminate, as will appear from what we have now to say on one or two points, out of several, on which we differ from Mr. Barnes, and one or two others in which we must express our disagreement with his anonymous editor.

'*For ye see your calling.* You know the general character and condition of those who are Christians among you, that they have not been generally taken from the wise, the rich, and the learned, but humble life. *The design of the apostle here is, to show that the gospel did not depend for its success on human wisdom. His argument is, that in fact* those who were blessed by it had not been of the elevated ranks of society mainly, but that God had shown his power by choosing those who were ignorant, and vicious, and abandoned, and by reforming and purifying their lives. The verb 'Ye see' (βλέπετε), is ambiguous, and may be either in the indicative mood, as our translators have rendered it 'Ye do see,' 'You are well apprised of it and know it,' or it may be in the imperative, 'See, contemplate your condition,' but the sense is substantially the same. Your calling (τὴν κλῆσιν) means those who are circumcised, Rom. iii. 30. The sense is, 'Look upon the condition of those who are Christians.' *Not many wise men.* Not many who are regarded as wise; or who are ranked with philosophers. This supposes that there were some of that description, though the mass of Christians were then, as now, from more humble ranks of life. That there were some of high rank and wealth at Corinth who became Christians, is well known; Crispus and Sosthenes, rulers of the synagogue there, (Acts xviii. 8—17; 1 Cor. i. 1.) Gaius, a rich, hospitable man, (Rom. xvi. 23); and Erastus, the chamberlain of the city of Corinth, (Rom. xvi. 23), had been converted, and were members of the church. Some have supposed (MacKnight) that this should be rendered 'Not many mighty, wise, &c., *call you;* that is, God has not employed the wise and learned *to call* you into his kingdom.' But the sense in our translation is

evidently the correct interpretation. It is the *obvious* sense; and it agrees with the design of the apostle, which was to show that God had not consulted the wisdom, and power, and wealth of men, in the establishment of his church. So the Syriac and the Vulgate render it.'—p. 21.

We acknowledge that in this passage the writer has correctly stated the design of the apostle to be, to show that the gospel did not depend for its success in human wisdom, and we acknowledge that the Syriac version gives the same view of the matter as our translators, and even more strongly, since they here insert the expression, for which there is no express warrant in the Greek, '*among you.*' At the same time, we submit that Dr. MacKnight's translation has the twofold merit of being more consistent with the language of the entire paragraph, and with the acknowledged design of the apostle. It is not in the condition of the persons who are called, but in the agency employed to call them, that we see the gospel did not depend for its success on human wisdom. It was by what the Greeks called the 'foolishness of preaching' that it 'pleased God to save them that believe.' It was in the *teachers* of the new religion that the Jews required a sign, and the Greeks sought wisdom. It was in the preaching of Christ that the foolishness of God was shown to be wiser than men, and the weakness of God stronger than men; and it was by choosing such agents as the world counted foolish, and weak, and base, and despised, that God showed his purpose of confounding the wise and mighty. Now, however true it may be that the converts of the gospel were found mainly amongst the ignorant and poor, this, of itself, does not prove what the apostle is here concerned to maintain; but his position is made good by that which was certainly a fact—and the fact so strongly brought out in the context,—that the preachers of the gospel did not owe their success to their rank, or influence, or philosophy, but to the truth and the power of the gospel which they preached.

We cannot profess that we are satisfied with the interpretation given of the well-known expressions of Paul in the seventh chapter, verses 6, 10, 25, 40, 'I speak this by permission, not of commandment.' 'I command, yet not I, but the Lord.' 'To the rest speak I, not the Lord.' 'I have no commandment of the Lord, yet I give my judgment;' 'after my judgment, and I think also that I have the Spirit of God.' Mr. Barnes's explanation displeases us because of its apparent rashness, and its real inconsistency. It does not appear to us that the expressions of the apostle can mean more than this,—that in the cases in which he gives his judgment, there had been no previous commandment from the Lord; and his judgment is that of one who hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful, and who has the Spirit of God.

We conceive that Mr. Barnes's annotation on the 40th verse applies to the *whole matter*, and that as, in his view, 'the apostle here claims divine inspiration, so that his advice should be regarded as of divine authority, and as binding on all,' the expositor is not warranted in paraphrasing the earlier verses of the same course of directions as he has done.—The learned will call to mind the exposition of Usser, and the general reader will find a calm discussion of the subject in a note to Dr. Wardlaw's discourses on the Socinian controversy.

In the notes on the ninth chapter, the writer takes occasion to insert arguments of his own,—sound and good for aught we know — vindicating the right of christian ministers to support from their people, and exposing the miseries inflicted on (American) pastors by the looseness and want of conscientiousness on the part of the people in fulfilling 'the stipulation and compact by which a people agree to compensate him for his services.'

We think this might have been omitted, at least in an edition on this side of the Atlantic.

We have a word now with the worthy anonymous editor. In Mr. Barnes's note on chap. v. 4; it is said:—

'This passage proves that discipline belongs to the church itself, and so deep was Paul's conviction of this, that even *he* would not administer it without their concurrence and action. And if Paul would not do it, and in a case too where bodily pains were to be inflicted by miraculous agency, assuredly no other ministers have a right to assume the authority, to administer discipline without the action and concurrence of the church itself.'

To this a supplementary note is subjoined to contradict it in express terms, and in the style and language of one who seems to feel that he is bound to acknowledge, besides the New Testament, the authority of church standards. The same impression is produced by the supplementary note on chap. xii. 26.

We are always grieved at the intermixture of the *dogmatic* with the exposition of Scripture. And we should think that the omission of such passages as clash with the opinions of the editor would be better than this undignified and unedifying controversy, which is also unfair, as the party assailed has no opportunity of reply.

1 Cor. xi. 10. The explanation given as new, the writer might have found in Chrysostom, or Grotius, or Billroth. Much probability, however, on behalf of other explanations may be found in some parts of the writings of Tertullian, and Cyprian, the former of whom uses the passage in reference to *evil* angels. Dr. Guyse simply applies the expression to 'the

superior authority of those *messengers* of Christ whom he sent to preach the gospel, and to preside in church assemblies,—that she may not seem to vie with man in the authority of teaching.'

There is a patient and learned investigation of the subject in the dissertation of Zeltner in the second volume of '*Thesaurus Hasæi et Irenii.*' He finds the key to the meaning of the passage in Psalm lx. 7, '*Ephraim is the strength of my head;*' and the 'covering of the head' is regarded as a 'defence from *evil* angels,' as the tribe of Ephraim was a defence of David in his wars with the Moabites, Edomites, and Philistines.—Mr. Barnes does not appear to have reached the meaning of the apostle, in his exposition of 2 Cor. v. 10, where it is clear from the Greek, that the emphasis lies in the necessity of our receiving '*in the body*' according to our deeds. Again, in the 14th verse, of the same chapter, he fails to bring out the meaning of the word *dead.* So, also, according to our judgment, he loses the precise force and intention of 'workers together,' in 2 Cor. vi. 1.—He has taken too superficial and limited a view of 2 Cor. xi. 6, not perceiving that the 'weapons' referred to include such discipline as the apostle is now enforcing, and that the '*warfare*' is not against the evils of the world only, but also those of the church.

The Epistle to the Galatians is a singular and remarkable composition as a whole; and there are portions of it which have occasioned much hermeneutic difficulty and theological discussion. The peculiar history of these descendants of Gaulish tribes, grafting the rough qualities of Western Europe on the stock of Asia Minor, has been sketched with graphic interest by the Roman historian, Justin. Jerome tells us, that they retained, along with the Greek, their ancient Gaulish language. The evidence of existing imperial medals shews that they were offshoots from at least three separate nations of the Gauls. As in other provinces of Lesser Asia, of which they occupied the centre, many Jews, we learn from the antiquities of Josephus, were scattered over this populous and fertile region, or traded in Ancyra, Tavium, and Pressinus—the only Galatian cities of which we have any record. It might almost escape the notice of the readers of the progress of Barnabas and Paul in their mission from Antioch, that it was after they had gone 'throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia,' that they were directed by a heavenly vision towards Greece; and that having fulfilled that mission, and remained some time at Antioch, Paul went again over 'the country of Galatia and Phrygia, in order, strengthening the disciples.' With these facts so cursorily glanced at by the historian, several expressions used in the epistle should be compared—as for example, when he refers to

'him that called you unto the grace of Christ,' reminds them of former feelings of enthusiastic attachment to himself, and rebukes them for their fickleness and inconsistency with the severity, authority, and tenderness of an aggrieved and anxious father. The entire tenour of the epistle indicates that the same controversy which distracted other churches had, at a very early period in their christian history, troubled the churches of Galatia, and had seduced many of their members from the simplicity of the gospel. A thoughtful and steady consideration of that controversy would be one of the best preparations for understanding the epistle, and indeed, we may add, the whole Bible;—for there is scarcely any part of it which this controversy does not touch. The exposition of this epistle has called forth the powers of the most erudite thinkers in the church, especially since the time of the Reformation. The homilies of Chrysostom on it, delivered to the church at Antioch, have less of method and completeness than his expositions of other books of the New Testament, and they abound with confutations of the heresies of his day, which are chiefly interesting to the student of that department of ecclesiastical history. Nevertheless, the explanation of terms, and of the scope of the apostle's argument, are worthy of the eloquent father.

No single exposition of scripture has produced such an impression as Martin Luther's Commentary on this epistle. Without going into the minutiæ of verbal disquisition, which, with all its advantages, is so tiresome in many of the *later* German writers, —this manly believer and enlightened reformer, pierces to the very core of the book which he explains. He sees the grand aim of the apostle, and grasps it with gigantic power. There is a freshness in his thought, a bold quaintness in his illustrations, a torrent-like impetuousness in his arguments, a stoutness and terribleness in his rebuke of adversaries, and withal a warm-hearted honest affection in his application of the truth to the agonized conscience, which we can scarcely hope to see again. He writes, all along, under the conviction which he expresses, not far from the beginning, 'if we neglect the article of justification, we lose all together. Therefore, most necessary it is, chiefly, and above all things, that we teach and repeat this article continually, like as Moses saith of his law. For *it cannot be beaten into our ears enough or too much.* Yea, though we learn it and understand it well; yet is there none that taketh hold of it perfectly, or believeth it with his whole heart. So frail a thing is our flesh, and disobedient to the spirit.' It is unspeakably refreshing amid the frivolities and baubles of one school, the frigid hermeneutics of another, and the heartless metaphysics of a third, to feel in the very depths of the soul the

strokes of this great master. Germany will not soon disown her debt to Luther for the mighty impulse he gave to the *(entwickelung)* developement of her rich and glorious speech; nor will she soon forget how much, in common with all Europe, she owes him for her intellectual freedom. When will she leave her thin and vapoury theology, and read, in his words of fire, the lessons of eternal life? No human phenomenon would be so startling, and in other respects so like an angel visit, as the rising up of some learned, fearless, but believing man, in the spirit and the power of Luther, to call the millions of that highly intellectual people, as with a voice of thunder, to believe the gospel of the blessed God.—But why speak we of Germany? Would that God, in mercy to our own country, would raise up in the midst of us an ENGLISH LUTHER, uniting the scholarship of the times with the evangelical energy and earnestness which would rapidly diffuse itself throughout the masses of our people! Of Luther's Commentary on the Galatians we are confident in saying what a distinguished essayist has beautifully said of his writings in general: 'Errors no doubt may be gleaned from Luther's writings; but truth is the presiding influence there, and error is the accident. In the writings of Luther, there is conspicuously *one* tendency; in the writings of the best of the fathers, there are several tendencies; nor does the reader well know whither he is going, or on what shoal he shall at last be stranded. There is a want of determining force; there is a want of fulcrum; there is the want of a sovereign principle.*' Now it is this 'determining force,' 'fulcrum,' 'sovereign principle,' that gives character and value to the Commentary. 'My heart,' he says, 'is governed by one ruling article,—belief in the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the subject of all my meditations, both by day and by night, the beginning, the middle, and the end of my thoughts; and though I have spoken so largely on the subject, yet I still find that I have scarcely been able to attain a weak estimation of the depth and breadth of this immeasurable, incomprehensible, and everlasting wisdom; and have only been able to bring to the light of day a few grains of this inexhaustible mine.'

After Luther, we must place the 'Commentary or Exposition upon the first five chapters of the Epistles to the Galatians, penned by the godly, learned, and judicial divine, Mr. W. Perkins, now published for the benefit of the church, and continued with a supplement upon the sixth chapter, by Rodolfe Cudworth, Bachelor of Divinity (1618).' With

* Taylor's Introductory Essay to Williams's Translation of Pfizer's Life of Luther.

none of those flashes of genius which light up the immortal work of Luther, Perkins must ever be held in high regard by the patient student of the scriptures, for the coolness of his judgment, the sobriety of his interpretation, and the admirable order of his method; while in some of the most difficult places he will be found to have wisely garnered the harvest of extensive learning, and to have anticipated the more familiar solutions of later times.

Calvin's Exposition of the Galatians is at least equal to that eminent commentator's other contributions to the cause of biblical learning. Of comparatively modern expositions in Germany and Holland it were perhaps easy to supply a list, but difficult to make a comprehensive synopsis, and tedious to give a particular description; but we may mention Koppe as the best, on the whole, with which we are acquainted. We mention him, because he has *sifted* the greater part of the voluminous commentators who had preceded him, has industriously applied the results of high classical and biblical learning to the brief elucidation of the most difficult passages, and in nine distinct essays has discussed, with much acuteness as well as large information, some topics of great interest, especially the passage 'beset with difficulties,' occurring in the 20th verse of the third chapter.

Of Mr. Barnes's Notes on Galatians, it is only necessary here to say, they are equal to those on the previous epistles, and that he has introduced amongst them a summary of his views on justification.

The volume of the Biblical Cabinet calls for little more from us than our general approbation. Neither Calvin nor Storr was just the man, perhaps, for bringing fully out the peculiarly *pathetic* character of the Epistle to the Philippians; but we could not easily indicate a clearer exposition of its principles than the former, or a more scripturally rich illustration of its phraseology than the latter. Something more than either one or other, or both objects, is required for conveying the spirit of this epistle to the heart of the reader. In no part of the apostle's writings does his meaning turn so greatly on his personal religious feeling; no where do we see so much of his spiritual experience, and of the effect of the gospel on his solemn and deep consideration of his own eternal prospect. The devout and simple-hearted reading of the epistle, with a view to the perception of its internal character, ought to follow the exposition by Storr, and precede that by Calvin; and with a view to this end, the reader's mind will derive advantage from all the knowledge of Philippi to be drawn from classic sources, especially from all the illustrations of the apostle's character, and of the religious history of the Philippians which may be ob-

tained by following out the suggestive incidents related in the Acts.

Busching wrote, in German, an Historico-theological Introduction to the Epistle to the Philippians, to which illustrative notes were appended by Baumgarten. Elsner published, at Berlin, a course of sermons expounding thise pistle. Numerous other works, exemplifying by this book the Pauline method of instruction and the state of the primitive christians, have issued from the industrious divines of Germany and Holland.

None of the apostle's writings abound more in allusions to opinions now obsolete in Europe than his Epistle to the COLOSSIANS. Calvin did not give much time, amid his multifarious engagements, to the elucidation of these obscurities, neither was such a work within the scope of his design. Kypke, Krebs, and Loesner,—somewhat erroneously in our opinion,—represent the term 'philosophy,' as descriptive of the Jewish religion generally. Michaelis, Herrmann, and other German critics collected by Zackary, take nearly the same view, only restricting the description to the Essenes, one of the sects of the Jews. Though there is some portion of truth lying at the foundation of these opinions, we are satisfied that the allusions of the apostle are to a more ancient and general system of philosophical speculation prevailing in the Oriental world from a remote antiquity to the present day. Some of these speculations had been adopted by the later Platonists, and others by the Pythagoreans in Greece, and had obtained a strong hold in Phrygia, long before the introduction of the gospel into that country. The study, to some extent, of these hoary eastern philosophies, will greatly facilitate the intelligent reading of many passages in this epistle, which otherwise must be but dimly and vaguely apprehended. We refer more particularly to such expressions as 'philosophy and vain deceit,' 'traditions of men,' rudiments of the world,' 'voluntary humility and worshipping of angels,' 'intruding,' 'puffed up,' 'neglecting of the body,' 'satisfying of the flesh,' all of which have a specific allusion, although, as in other cases, they touch a broad principle of almost boundless application. That broad principle it behoves us ever to keep in memory:—that all opinions are to be rejected which interfere with the simplicity and earnestness with which we are to keep fast hold of the divine truth graciously revealed by God for our salvation. The purblind speculations of man must be sacrificed for the sure verities of God.

Art. II. *Travels in Kordofan; embracing a description of that province of Egypt, and of some of the Bordering Countries, with a Review of the Present State of Commerce in those Countries, of the Habits and Customs of the Inhabitants, as also an Account of the Slave Hunts taking place under the government of Mehemet Ali.* By Ignatius Pallme. From Notes collected during a Residence of nearly Two Years in Kordofan. 8vo. London: Madden & Co.

THE author of this volume, a Bohemian by birth, undertook a journey to Kordofan in 1837, in the capacity of agent for an Austrian mercantile establishment at Cairo. His object was to obtain commercial information, and more especially to ascertain whether a profitable trade might not be carried on with Central Africa, without the intervention of the numerous agents through whom the traffic of that country had been accustomed to pass. He was well qualified for the mission by a protracted residence in Egypt, his knowledge of the languages spoken, and his previous travels in various parts of the Soudan. His journey occupied a period of nineteen months, during which he travelled through various districts, carefully noting every remarkable circumstance, and evincing a caution, intrepidity, and endurance of fatigue, to which there are few parallels. Little was previously known of the countries which he describes. Few Europeans had visited them, and the sojourn of those who had done so, was so brief, and the means adopted for their security such, as to preclude their obtaining the minute and extensive information collected by our author, who wandered through the province alone, or attended at most, by a solitary servant. 'I have often,' he remarks, 'shared the humble fare of a camel driver in the desert, or conversed with the natives in their damp and obscure Tukkoli; whilst at other times I have enjoyed the opportunity of gaining information from the governor and higher officials, to whose feasts I was frequently invited.'

Such was the object of Mr. Pallme's journey, and such were the means adopted for its attainment. Returning from his travels he laid his memoranda before his friends, at whose suggestion, and more particularly that of the French traveller Antoine d'Abbadie, he prepared them for publication. They are introduced by a modest and sensible preface, in which he disclaims all literary pretensions, and solicits the indulgent candour of his readers. Few will be disposed to reject his appeal, whilst the simplicity of his style, the obvious absence of all pretence, and the air of truthfulness pervading his pages, will secure for him much more than he asks.

Kordofan is one of the most southern provinces of the Viceroy of Egypt, by whom it is divided into five districts, and may

be said to consist mainly of a cluster of large and small oases. The soil is sandy and the country rather flat. It is, however, by no means unfertile; 'for with the commencement of the rainy season, vegetation springs up from the earth as if by magic, and nature there shews herself in her full vigour and pomp; balsamic odours, which act almost intoxicatingly on the senses, are everywhere breathed forth, and the traveller might imagine himself transplanted into the fairy gardens of the Arabian Nights' Tales.' The climate is most insalubrious and makes fearful ravages in consequence amongst European visitors, few of whom escape its destructive power. Mr. Pallme remarks, and his volume supplies numerous confirmations of his statement,

'The climate is very unhealthy, especially during the rainy season; no hut is then, indeed, to be met with in which there are not at least several sick; in the dry season, again, all disease disappears; at this time, however, not only man, but all living creatures, suffer from the extreme heat. The eye then rests with melancholy on the desolate and parched plains,—trophies of the victory of the heat over animated nature,—where nothing is to be seen but bones of men and animals bleached by the burning sun. During the whole of this season, which endures about eight months, the sky is clear and cloudless, and the heat is insupportable, especially in the months of April and May. From eleven o'clock, A.M., to three, P.M., when the thermometer stands in the shade at 38°, or even at 40°, Reaumur (117° to 122° Fahrenheit), it is impossible for any breathing creature to remain in the open air. Every living being, both men and cattle, with equal eagerness seek the shade, to protect themselves from the scorching rays of a fierce sun. Man sits during these hours as if in a vapour-bath, his cheerfulness of disposition declines, and he is almost incapable of thought; listless, and with absence of mind, he stares vacantly before him, searching in vain for a cool spot. The air breathed is hot as if it proceeded from a heated furnace, and acts in so enervating a manner on the animal economy, that it becomes a trouble even to move a limb. All business ceases, everything is wrapped in a sleep of death, until the sun gradually sinks, and the cool air recalls men and animals again into life and activity. The nights, on the other hand, are so sharp, that it is necessary to be more careful in guarding against the effects of cold in this country, than in the northern parts of Europe during the severest winter, for the consequences frequently prove fatal.'—pp. 3, 4.

The second chapter is occupied with the history of the province, and records a melancholy tale. The aborigines were Negroes from Nubia, many of whom are represented as still inhabiting various parts of the country. In 1779 it was subdued by the King of Sennaar, who was expelled a few years afterwards by the Melehs, whose supremacy was maintained till 1821. During this latter period the condition of the coun-

try was prosperous. 'The inhabitants lived in peace, and were not troubled with taxes; the merchants were exempt from all duties, and the tribute paid was a voluntary present to the Sultan of Darfour. . . . The whole population in fact lived free from care and was wealthy; singing and dancing resounded from place to place; in short, this was the golden age of Kordofan.'

This state of things was not of long continuance, for in 1821 Mehemet Ali sent his son-in-law, the brutal Defturdar, with a large military force to subdue the country. The inhabitants bravely defended themselves, but the Egyptian soldiers prevailed, and a terrible scene of rapine and murder ensued. The country was devastated on every hand, its rising commerce was extinguished, and every sign of wealth disappeared. The commander of the Egyptian forces appears to have united the worst qualities of his class, and the people literally groaned beneath his cruelties. He is justly entitled by our author 'a tiger in human shape,' and became such an object of terror and detestation to all, that a bowl of poison was ultimately presented to him by command of his father-in-law. Referring to his government, Mr. Pallme says:

'The Defturdar did all in his power to degrade this country, and his name is, even at the present day, a word of terror to the natives. Terribly, indeed, the tyrant abused his authority in this unhappy country; no pen can describe the cruelties which he perpetrated in the province. Human nature revolts at hearing the inventions of this ruffian, practised upon his unfortunate victims for the mere gratification of his passion of cruelty. I should not have believed every rumour, or have regarded the accounts I heard of the atrocities of this man, for the most part, in the light of fiction, if I had not received corroborating evidence in all the districts of Kordofan, Sennaar and Egypt, through which I travelled; tales the more worthy of credit, inasmuch as many persons are yet living who were not only eye-witnesses of all these deeds of horror, but even themselves sufferers by his cruelty.'—p. 17.

Some advantages have unquestionably followed from the establishment of Egyptian rule, amongst which our author notes the greater security with which the province may be travelled through. Murder, except in the case of negroes, is of very rare occurrence; and robbery, save in a petty form, equally so. The habits of the people are very simple, their wants few, and the amount of labour performed by any of them very limited. The following account of an entertainment given to our author by an eminent resident at Denaglé, will not awaken much desire in our readers to partake of such hospitality.

'If a foreigner visit an influential person in the morning, a pipe and merissa are offered him, and a dish, reckoned a great delicacy, which

requires, however, a stomach differently constituted to that of an European to digest it. I, on one occasion, had the honor of being treated with this dish. I was one day invited by a djelabi at Denaglé to breakfast. Having arrived at the appointed time, I was conducted to a seat on an angareb covered with beautiful carpets, and a pipe and merissa were handed to me. When I observed that no fire was lighted in the fire-place and that no other preparations were being made, I asked, without further ceremony, where the breakfast was, for I knew very well that simple merissa would not be considered sufficient to offer me, and I had not time to remain longer. The djelabi told me that it would be ready immediately, and pointed to a sheep which was running about in the court, adding, that he would not have it slaughtered until I had arrived. I replied, 'It will soon be midday and I have other business to attend to, and cannot wait until the meat is roasted or boiled, especially as you have not even prepared a fire.' My host assured me that the breakfast would be ready immediately, and that I should have ample time to attend to my business. My curiosity was now excited to the utmost to know with what kind of breakfast he intended to honour me, and I kept my eyes continually on the sheep, which was to be sacrificed in honour of my visit; judge, however, of my embarrassment when a slave, on a signal from his master, quickly decapitated the sheep, and without waiting to flay the animal, ripped up its abdomen, took out the stomach, cleaned it, cut it into small pieces, and laying them on a wooden dish, squeezed the gall-bladder of the animal, as we might a lemon, on the fragments, and lastly, strewed a considerable quantity of cayenne pepper over the whole mess. This being done, and, indeed, in an incredibly short space of time, I was pressed to help myself quickly, before the dish became cool; I sighed, however, and thanking my host, begged to be excused, assuring him at the same time that an European stomach could not possibly bear this very exquisite dish, and that I would, therefore, content myself with looking on. He smiled piteously at my fastidiousness, and showed evident symptoms of relishing the delicacy. I afterwards frequently observed that this is a very favourite dish, and was tempted, rather to satisfy my curiosity than my appetite, to partake of it; and really the flavour is not very disagreeable, for the gall in combination with the cayenne takes away the odour and taste of the raw paunch, nevertheless I could never eat a sufficient quantity of it to satisfy the demands of hunger. Not only in Kordofan, but in Sennaar, and Abyssinia, also, this dish is considered, as I have before observed, a great delicacy.'—pp. 57, 58.

The following is more to our mind, and we should be amongst the last to object to the practice described being substituted for the more destructive, but not more honourable, duel prevalent amongst ourselves.

'Among the Dongolavi, I found a very singular custom prevalent for settling their affairs of honour, as they are termed; these are, generally, disputes arising from love, or jealousy, at which the young unmarried men have taken mortal offence; the married, who certainly have better

cause for duelling, never proceed to such extremities; they are far more tolerant on the like occasions, and not very particular about such trifling affairs. The young men, on the other hand, take these things far more to heart; when, therefore, the friends have not been able to adjust the quarrel, a formal challenge is sent. The duel takes place in an open space, in presence of all their friends and comrades, who act as seconds, or rather as umpires. An angareb is placed in the middle of the field of battle: the two combatants strip, and, binding their shirts round their loins, each man places his foot close to the edge of the couch, the breadth of which simply separates them from each other. A whip, made of one solid thong of the hide of the hippopotamus, is handed to each, and attempts to reconcile them are again resumed. If both parties, however, prove obstinate, or their sense of honour be too deeply implicated, for either to yield, the signal of battle is at last given. He who is entitled to the first blow, now inflicts a severe lash on the body of his adversary, who instantly returns the compliment, and thus the conflict is kept up, blow for blow, with great regularity. The head must not be struck. The manner in which they lacerate each other is perfectly frightful; for the blows are dealt with the utmost severity, and the weapon is sufficiently formidable to cause an immense ecchymosis with the very first stripe,—with the third or fourth blow, the blood begins to flow most copiously. Not the slightest expression of pain is uttered by either party, and the umpires remain cool spectators of the scene. Thus the duellists persevere with their barbarous cruelty, until the one or the other, overcome with pain, or exhausted with fatigue, throws down his whip, whereupon the victor does the same, and both shake hands, in sign of mutual satisfaction. Their comrades now rend the air with their exclamations of joy, and congratulate them on their reconciliation; their lacerated backs are washed with water, and the affair terminates with a copious libation of merissa, sundry jugs of which had been provided beforehand for the occasion.'—pp. 60—62.

The natives of Kordofan are good-tempered and hospitable, and the traveller who arrives amongst them without suspicion of being in the service of their despoilers, is sure of a kind reception. The inhabitants immediately surrender to his use any hut which he selects, the inmates of which are quartered on their neighbours, or remain in the open air if the weather permit. 'If he do not despise their fare, he will not have a sou of outlay, neither for himself, his servant, nor for his camels, who will find their food close to the village.' During a severe attack of fever, which threatened his life, Mr. Pallme was attended by them with all the solicitude and tenderness generated by home affections. His life was saved by their kindness, which left no means untried, that promised to arrest his perilous malady. 'I could not,' he remarks, 'have expected better treatment in my own country from my nearest relations.'

The villages lying on the borders form an exception, and should be carefully avoided by the traveller who has anything to

lose. Various tribes occupy distinct portions of the country whose characteristics greatly vary. These should be carefully noted by the traveller, as the conduct adopted in one case would not be appropriate in another, and might provoke a result the very opposite of that which was desired. Our author is specially urgent in enforcing this point, and relates in support of his views the following incident, which nearly cost the lives of himself and his servant. It occurred on the borders of the Shilluk's country, on the White Nile, and illustrates qualities both good and bad in the negro character.

'With my knowledge of the character of the people, and by humouring them, and thus gaining on their weak points, I was alone able to help myself out of this embarrassment. I pitched my tent, namely, on the shore of the Nile, and sent my servant out in search of the wood requisite for our consumption during the night; for it is necessary in these regions, when encamped in the open air on the banks of the river, to keep up a fire all night long, partly on account of the crocodiles, which swarm in these localities and are very dangerous, partly on account of the hippopotami; for, although the latter never do any injury, yet they are by no means an agreeable acquaintance. Lions, moreover, and other beasts of prey, might pay a very disagreeable visit in the dark, and they are only to be kept at a respectful distance by maintaining a fire throughout the night. Just as my servant was about to sally forth in quest of fuel, a boat, laden with wood, and rowed by a negro, crossed the river, and landed near my tent. My servant immediately walked up to the negro, and demanded a quantity of wood, as he could find none in the neighbourhood. The good-tempered black instantly gave him the half of his store; but, as soon as I had turned my back, my avaricious servant asked for more, which the negro flatly refused; the former, hereupon, became abusive, and his opponent by no means remained mute, until from words they fell to blows, and finally, began to fight in real earnest. The negro, who was the better man of the two, gave my servant a sound beating, and did not cease, until he roared out most lustily for mercy. I observed the scuffle from the distance; but, unacquainted with what had transpired, and merely seeing that my servant was getting the worst of the affray, I took my double-barrelled gun, presented it at the negro, and commanded him to desist. He instantly sprang on his feet, seized his spear, and threw it at me, before I was even aware of his intention; the missile, fortunately, only grazed my wide papooshes. He was now disarmed, and I again presented at him. The negro remained perfectly cool, and merely said: 'Shoot on! I die; and what of that!' I now saw that nothing was to be effected by intimidation, laid my gun aside, and, walking up to him, enquired into all the circumstances of the case, which he faithfully related. Convinced of the injustice of my servant, I endeavoured to pacify the negro, and assured him that I would punish the former. All my persuasion was, however, in vain; he foamed with rage, and replied, that we should both suffer for this act. Seeing that he was too weak to offer battle

to us both, he ran away in an instant, loudly uttering his war-cry of 'Lu, lu, lu!'* This was an ill omen for us, and put us both in no slight degree of fear. Flight was out of the question, we had no chance of thus escaping. I, therefore, set my wits to work to devise a remedy, to avert at least the first outbreak of our enemies rage. I bound my servant hand and foot with a cord, and taking up the branch of a tree which lay near me pretended to beat him most unmercifully; he played his part remarkably well, and screamed as if he were being impaled, whenever I made the slightest movement with my hand; for we already descried a crowd of natives at the distance, running towards us, their lances glittering in the evening sun, and the shouts of the women, who followed in the wake of the men, boded us no good; but the nearer they approached the better we played our parts; and my servant continued his screams until he was fairly out of breath. Those of our enemies, who were nearest, called out to me to desist; and when I obeyed, my servant rolled himself about in the sand like a madman. The negro who had been the cause of the whole scene now walked up to me, took my hand, and said, 'Have no fear, you shall not be hurt, because you have acknowledged the injury your servant has done me, and have punished him for it." An old man now untied the cord which bound the hands and feet of the culprit, and approached me, to be informed of the whole affair. They proved to be Bakkara.† I invited the old man and the negro, of whom I have before spoken, into my tent, where I entertained them with coffee, and gave them my pipe to smoke. Harmony was immediately restored, and every one conciliated. They asked me whence I came, and where I was travelling to, and then the conversation turned on other topics. When the night closed in, they all gradually retired, with the exception of five men, who remained with me all night as a guard, emptied several pots of merissa together, and kept up the fire, thus consuming the whole of the wood which had been the *belli teterrima causa*. When they took their leave of me in the morning, they presented me with a young gazelle, as provision for my further journey.'—pp. 100—103.

A less favourable account is given of the merchant class than of some others, at which we are not much surprized, their position and the numerous dangers to which their wealth exposes them leading to artifice and deceit as their only apparent means of security. Mr. Pallme, referring to the Dongolavi, who under various denominations are scattered over a great part of Africa, says:

'The Dongolavi are the most opulent inhabitants of Kordofan, and nearly the whole of the export trade by caravan is in their hands. They, also, carry on the less important home trade with the negroes in the hills, with whom they barter for slaves, ivory, etc. They have immi-

* *Lu, lu, lu!* This cry has a triple signification. It expresses joy, grief, and danger, and serves also as an encouragement in battle. The intonation of these sounds determines the difference of their import. It may be readily recognised when it has frequently been heard, but cannot be described.

† Bakkara are a race of Arabs, who occupy themselves with breeding cattle.

grated from Dongola into Kordofan, and are to be met with in other negro states, where they have become residents chiefly for the sake of the trade. The Dongolavi have frequently, also, been obliged to fly and settle in different places, on account of debt or other offences; they are of very cheerful disposition, but shun all manner of work. They are the greatest liars on the face of the earth, for truth never proceeds from their mouths; they will, indeed, rather allow themselves to be murdered than speak the truth, especially if their interests be concerned. In trading with them, they should never be trusted with cash, which would be irrecoverably lost, for they will part with their wives and children rather than with money. They know no gratitude, and understand merely how to flatter. If a person accept anything of them, he may rest assured that they will demand, at least, twice as much as it is worth, on the following day. Their women are very frivolous. Servants of this tribe should be carefully avoided; and I advise, indeed, every European about to travel in Kordofan to hire his servant at Cairo.'—pp. 116, 117.

Interesting information illustrative of the habits of various animals and of the means adopted for their capture is furnished. The elephant, lion, giraffe, and numerous other wild animals abound in the region through which the author travelled, and their tusks and skins constitute a considerable portion of the wealth of the inhabitants. Foreign merchants repair to their markets to exchange the manufactures of more cultivated lands for these products of the forest, and constitute the outlets through which their limited commerce flows. The emigration of the elephant, which is usually a solitary animal, is thus described, and the passage is illustrative of an interesting feature in its habits.

'There are many elephants in the country wandering about in herds of several hundreds each; they are, however, met with singly, during the greater portion of the year. It is only at a certain period—generally before the rain sets in—that they collect together in herds, and then they cross the White Nile in the direction of Fazoglo. An old female elephant is always the leader, and determines on the spot for crossing the stream. This movement is effected with a fearful noise, as may be easily imagined when so large a number of these moving mountains are known to be swimming in the river at the same time. They draw up a quantity of water in their proboscis, and spurt it forth again like a fountain, thus appearing to convert a large extent of the water in which they carry on their pranks into a sort of whirlpool. Notwithstanding their immense weight they swim with incredible facility, and I have been assured that when these animals cross the river singly, the water remains frequently undisturbed, so that the unwieldy mass appears to be moved by some invisible power. Whilst on their journey, the emigrants observe the strictest order; their leader, a female, turns frequently round and raises a cry if an elephant stray, to recall him to the ranks again. A herd frequently takes its route directly through a village, without doing the slightest injury to the huts, or to the inhabitants;

singly they never do any harm. Several of these elephants always remain behind their companions; for they feel a presentiment of their approaching end, and then choose a solitary valley in the neighbourhood of the river, where they patiently await their death, which generally takes place before the large herds return from their migrations. No one ever disturbs them, for death generally overtakes them in a short time, and then they fall a certain prey to the negroes. Hunting expeditions are, indeed, occasionally instituted against these animals, but only whilst they are to be met with singly, and dispersed over the country; for when they have collected together in herd it would be attended with great danger to attack them. Ivory is the only commodity of trade in these regions.'—pp. 152, 153.

The mode adopted of destroying lions is singular, and illustrates the ingenuity with which the human being adapts himself to his peculiar circumstances. Fire-arms are not used in the district, and resource is, therefore, had to artifice, the simplicity of which will probably surprize our readers.

'They trace out the lair where one of these animals generally takes its noonday repose; but the nature of the ground must be such, that the tree under which it sleeps is isolated, or at least somewhat distant from the other trees. If the ground be advantageous, the negro betakes himself to the scene of action four hours before mid-day, and climbs the tree opposite to that under which the animal takes its nap. During this time he knows the lion to be out in search of prey, and is sure that he will return to indulge in his *siesta* when the heat increases, between ten and eleven o'clock. The lion does not trouble himself about the business of the man on the tree, even if he should happen to see him; and his adversary remains perfectly quiet till between twelve and one. The huntsman is furnished with a sackfull of small stones, and a few sharp spears. When the sand on the ground is burning hot, so that animals even cannot walk about, the hunter begins to pelt the lion with stones, always aiming at his head, and the negroes are very expert marksmen. The proud king of the beasts utterly disregards the first three or four stones, and does not consider it even worth his while to rise; but the blows upon his head thickening, and being, perhaps, hit in the eye, the audacity appears too great to be borne with patience, and he sets up a frightful roar as a signal of revenge. With one leap he is at the foot of the tree on which the disturber of his rest is perched, but receives a lance in his body; his roar now becomes more terrific, not that the wound is so irritating to him at this moment as the burning sand painful to his feet, and he retires once more to his lair. Another stone hits him, he becomes furious, makes a second charge at the tree, and is welcomed by one, two, or more spears. He now takes to flight, yelling and howling with pain; but the loss of blood soon exhausts his strength, and the huntsman, who keeps him in sight from the tree, has, in a very short time, the pleasure of seeing the royal beast stretch its carcase on the plains.'—pp. 173—175.

One more extract and we must leave this interesting portion

of our author's volume. It relates to the capture of the giraffe, whose graceful form is only occasionally to be seen in European collections. Until recently this beautiful animal was but little known in our country, its timidity and fleetness keeping it at a vast distance from its human pursuer. The increased intercourse, however, of Europe with Africa has greatly contributed to our knowledge of its habits, while the high value set upon it in the market of the North, has stimulated African ingenuity to devise modes for its capture. Mr. Pallme thus describes the measures adopted by the natives—

'The giraffe, one of the most beautiful animals of Africa, is frequently seen in Kordofan, and nearly all the specimens of this animal sent by way of Egypt to Europe and America, have been caught in the plains of Kordofan. During the rainy season they are not to be met with, for they are supposed to travel into countries situate at a great distance from this province. The natives believe them to betake themselves to parts where very little rain falls, as of all the wild beasts of the torrid zone, none is so sensitive to climate as the giraffe. In captivity they require the greatest care and attention to keep them alive; in Egypt even they must be guarded during the winter months against cold, and their diet, moreover, demands the strictest attention, for instances are known of giraffes dying very soon, in consequence of a trifling neglect on the part of their keepers. As soon as the dry season commences, the giraffes return to the neighbourhood of Kordofan; they are not gregarious in their habits like the antelopes, and are only to be seen separately, or at the most in pairs. These beautiful creatures are caught by men on horseback, but merely the young animals are taken alive, as it would almost amount to an impossibility to catch an old beast, who would overthrow both horse and rider, and use them very roughly. The latter are, therefore, slain with the sword, merely for the sake of their skins, which form an article of trade. The flesh is eaten, and has not exactly a disagreeable flavour. In order to be allowed to hunt giraffes for a menagerie, it is necessary first to obtain a firman from the minister of the interior, and it is indeed the best plan to apply at once to the Sheikh Abdel Had at Haraza; he will immediately give an order to his people who occupy themselves with this sport, for it requires not only a very expert horseman, but a very perfect horse, and more especially experience in this species of hunting. Generally speaking, two horsemen provided with one or two camels laden with a supply of provender and water sufficient for a few days, proceed into the desert frequented by the giraffes. The camels are left at an appropriate place, whilst the riders reconnoitre the country until they come upon the track of an animal. Great experience is now requisite to distinguish whether the trace be of to-day or yesterday, or of a yet older date. If it be recent, and that of a young animal, it is immediately followed up, and the huntsmen may make sure of gaining a sight of their prey in a few hours. As soon as the giraffe is in view, the run instantly takes place; for the animal, very timid by nature, seeks refuge in flight, and indeed with extraordinary

fleetness. Everything now depends on the dexterity of the rider, and activity of his horse. They must do all in their power to gain upon the game they have started, an endeavour which is the more readily to be effected, as the giraffe never takes a straight course, but by nature timid, doubles, in the fear of its life, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, and is thus quickly overtaken by the horsemen. Having come up with the young animal pursued, the rider casts a lasso over its head; his throw but seldom fails, and in the worst case must be repeated. He then attaches the end of the rope to his saddle, drags the animal as closely as he can to his horse, and thus the capture is effected. But now a steady and patient horse, well broken to its work, is again necessary for the further transport; for the horse must resist the animal's efforts, or give way to them (for it pulls and jumps in all directions), in conveying it to the nearest village, which the huntsmen endeavour to reach as quickly as they possibly can. A she-camel should stand in readiness there to give the young giraffe milk, with which it is fed before being weaned to grass or hay. This treatment must be subsequently followed, and even full grown giraffes should receive milk daily as drink, if it be in any way possible.

'When the young animal has rested for some time, it is furthered, without delay, to Dongola, but on this occasion great attention is again required. A kind of head-stall is put on the animal's head, to which four stout cords are fastened. Two men, each holding the end of one of the ropes in his hand, walk in front, and two follow, to keep its gait steady, a task requiring during the first few days extraordinary exertion. A she-camel must accompany the young giraffe to give it the necessary nourishment on the road. Arrived at Dongola, a certain time is again devoted to rest, and the animal is here accustomed to the milk of the cow and to grass. It is incredible what difficulties the Arabs have to contend with in preserving a giraffe alive, and it is, consequently, not to be wondered at that their price is so enormous. In Egypt, for example, at Cairo or Alexandria, a living specimen always costs from five to six hundred dollars.'—pp. 239—243.

The curse of slavery is stamped upon the whole country, and goes far to account for the poverty and wretchedness which prevail. It destroys the security of social life, and spreads its poison through every department of the government. Dr. Madden has recently made us acquainted with the slave hunts of the Egyptian Viceroy, from information furnished by Mr. Pallme, and we need not, therefore, dwell on the horrifying details given in the latter part of this volume. It would be difficult to imagine a scene of greater crime and wretchedness than these slave hunts furnish, and we regret to learn that Mehemet Ali is again resorting to so inhuman and barbarous a method of paying his soldiers.

The following narrative of the capture and sale of two young girls, one of whom was seen at Cairo by our author, contains more of real romance than many modern novels. The story

illustrates the manner in which the blacks are generally treated, and the subtlety and cunning induced by their wretched circumstances.

'A slave, who had been stolen in Takele, bought by a Turk in Khartoom, and liberated on the death of his master, as is frequently the case, returned to his home. The sheikh of the place, a native of Abyssinia, who had come to settle in those parts at an early age, and had adopted the Mahommedan religion from love for a negro girl, received this slave hospitably into his house, and completely provided for him, for his parents were dead, and he had no other relations living. He remained, during several months, in the sheikh's house, where he ingratiated himself, by his pleasing manners, so much with all the inhabitants, but more especially with the children, that he was not treated like a stranger, but regarded as a member of the family. One day he was left alone with the children at home, the sheikh's wife being called away to visit a sick friend in a hut that was rather distant, while the sheikh himself was at work in the fields. He amused the children, for some time, with a variety of games, then left them for a short interval, and on his return, invited the eldest daughter, a girl of eleven years of age, and her sister, who was rather younger, to accompany him to fetch their mother. The children, not suspecting any harm, acceded, with delight, to his proposition, and left the house in his company. He immediately led them out of the village, pretending to shew them a nearer way to the hut of their mother's friend. On the road, he endeavoured to divert the attention of the girls, by relating stories, shewing them flowers, and plucking fruit for them, in order that they might not observe that he was leading them on an unbeaten track. After several hours, passed with many consolatory assurances, they arrived in an open country, at a forest, where several men lay hidden among the bushes, and were feeding their horses. The ungrateful villain now again assured the children that he would soon conduct them to their parent in the company of all these men, and gave them some refreshments. When the night closed in, more horsemen arrived, and they all immediately set out on their march. The robber took the two girls on his horse, the youngest in front of him, and the eldest behind, again protesting that he would very soon bring them to their mother, who was already waiting for them. The whole night through they rode in the forest; and to prevent the girls, who, overcome with fatigue, had fallen asleep, from slipping off his horse, he bound them both with a rope to his body. The younger girl still believed they were going to their home, but the elder began to scream and cry, and complained bitterly that she knew they had both been stolen and were to be sold as slaves. The barbarian now changed his conduct; he beat the poor girls about the head and face, and threatened to murder them, if they uttered another note. Thus they travelled on during four nights, for by day these Bakkara robbers—such they proved to be—were obliged to hide in the woods, or other desolate places, to avoid being seen and attacked by the natives. At last they reached an encampment of Egyptian troops. The kidnapper now led the two girls to the commanding officer, and made him a present of them, of course against a present of equal worth. The officer, moved to pity by the tears of these

two children, endeavoured to pacify them, offered them refreshment, and asked them whence they came.

'When they had told the Turk the name of their father, and their place of residence, and at the same time related the manner in which this ungrateful wretch had stolen them from their paternal roof, he became enraged, and ordered the robber a *bastinado* of several hundred stripes. He quieted the sobs of the children, and promised to send them home again, and told them their father had arrived the day before in the camp, but hastened back home again, to seek them elsewhere, as he had not found them there. It so happened that the Egyptian officer was a friend of their father's, who had done him a great service some few years before. He immediately summoned a subaltern into his presence, and put the two girls under his care, with orders to take them back to their father, and give him notice of his arrival at the borders. The subordinate mounted a camel, took charge of the girls, and delighted them with the assurance that they should reach the borders of Takele in two days, and that he would there find some safe opportunity of sending them to their parents; but how were they deceived on their arrival at Khartoom, after ten days, when they observed a town totally unknown to them, and when this second robber showed himself in his true colours! He hastened immediately to the blue Nile, and hired a boat for the remainder of his journey to Cairo; but he was here arrested and carried before the governor. On being questioned whence he came, and by whose authority he was escorting those slaves, he pretended to have received orders from the officer commanding the troops of the borders to convey the girls to Cairo. The governor demanded a proof in writing, but the corporal pretended to have lost his passport. This circumstance, and the assertion of the twice-stolen girls, corroborating the suspicion that he had kidnapped them, and deserted from the ranks, he received the punishment he richly deserved. The girls were now given in charge to a serjeant's wife, and told they should be sent with the next transport back to their father's friend, the commanding officer of the Egyptian troops on the borders, who would then see them forwarded to their parents; but this good fortune was not their fate. The serjeant, to whose care they were entrusted, happened to meet a Djelabi one evening in a certain house, he waked the girls out of their sleep at night, told them to prepare for their journey home, and led them to the banks of the blue Nile, where they were ferried across, and immediately mounted on a camel standing in readiness to receive them. Early the next day they were delivered over to a second slave merchant, who sold them to a Turk at Cairo, of whom the European, at whose house I met the elder girl, had bought her. Thus we see, that a hard fate attends these poor blacks everywhere, and that slavery, without the possibility of escape, is almost their certain lot.'—pp. 179—183.

The extracts given will sufficiently inform our readers of the character of Mr. Pallme's volume, which we cordially recommend to their early perusal. It is full of interesting and valuable information, conveyed in an unambitious style; and is distinguished throughout by an air of veracity which wins the confidence of the reader.

Art. III. *The Discovery of the Science of Languages.* By Morgan Kavanagh. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Longman & Co. 1844.

In every branch of human thought, each generation builds on that which preceded it, and is indebted, for better or worse, to previous speculation. Nevertheless, there is a great difference between those studies in which this dependence on our predecessors is unavoidably manifest, and those in which we may be unaware of the fact. The possessor of a cultivated tongue is little aware of the facility which his memory derives from it of retaining perpetually the refined classifications which the activity of other minds first devised; and the immense power of conducting argument which he hence enjoys. Equally is he often unconscious of the false reasonings and prejudices into which he is led by the imperfection of that same most necessary instrument, language. So again, in morals, and we may add, in the abstract properties of numbers, men are often prone to forget their dependence on those who lived before them, because they seem to themselves able to *think out* from the first principles all that they believe on these subjects. On the contrary, in physical science, and all that is beyond the elements of mathematics, it is always a glaring fact, and generally within historical record, how much each age is indebted to the preceding. Consequently, there is never danger of any one, in the latter topics, undervaluing the necessity of acquainting himself with the labours of others; and few, who can afford books, waste their time in fruitless efforts at preposterous originality.

Unfortunately, this cannot be said of the other branches. Crude systems of metaphysics and morals are too often obtruded on the public as great discoveries, when in fact they are nothing but stale errors which have again and again vanished, by their inherent inability to stand their ground. The newspapers periodically tell us of clever lads, who have discovered the secret 'how to square the circle;' and people are found to believe, that envy alone excites professed mathematicians to declare that there is no problem at all to be solved, and that the imagined discovery is a mare's nest. In grammar, however, and etymology, these fancied new lights have been most vexatious. Past centuries teemed with etymologists who turned the science itself to ridicule by their extravagancies; especially those who had got a smattering of some language less generally known, as Hebrew, Welsh, or it may be Irish. In more recent days the imbecility of Colonel Vallancy and Sir W. Betham have inflicted a fresh stigma on our country; and we are a laughing-stock alike on the Continent and in America. Even extensive erudition has proved no guarantee for the possession of ordi-

nary soundness of mind; as may appear from the single example of the truly learned Dr. Murray, who nevertheless declared that all the European languages had been formed from the monosyllables *ag, wag, hwag, bag, bwag, dwag, cwag, lag, mag, nag, rag, swag;* and believed himself by this discovery to have built a temple of ever-enduring fame. Frenzy of this kind has more than once united itself with religious speculations. Not very different, perhaps, were the mystical properties of numbers in the Pythagorean school, and the Cabbala of the Jews. In the well-known Hebrew scholar Parkhurst, a man, whose works attained a great circulation in this country solely through the profound neglect of Hebrew at our universities, and the little connexion which we then kept up with the literature of Germany, we have a more recent instance of equal extravagance. Still more respectable examples of kindred hallucinations can be found in the last-named country: such as Caspar Neumann of Breslaw, at the end of the seventeenth century, a Hebrew teacher, who endeavoured to give every syllable of Hebrew words a separate signification. Thus *bara* (to create) was, according to him, from *bar* (to bring to light) and *ra* (to see): *kanaf* (a wing) from *kaf* (to curve) and *naf* (to agitate). He is described by Hetzel as 'a strange intellect, who gained no small reputation by the singular weavings of his brain.' Nor is the age of mistiness and pseudo-mysticism yet past. We have before us a learned German book (Leipzig, 1834), entitled: *Our Alphabet an imitation of the Zodiac, with the constellation of the seven planets on the 7th September, B.C.* 1336, *probably in accordance with Noah's personal observations. First foundation for a true chronology and a history of the culture of all nations.* From this we shall extract nothing but his translation of the Hebrew alphabet.

אב	גד	הו	זה	חח	טי	כל	מם
Aba	gad	hu	se	ech	d	kol	maim
Genitura	terra	hocce	est	dum	recessit	omnes	aquarum

סע	פצ	קר	שת
sog	paza	kara	schath.
post	finem	vastationis	terræ.

So writes the ingenious and fanciful G. Seyffarth; a man whose learning and acuteness we regret to see thus wasted. Differing from him, perhaps as England is likely to differ from Germany in her erratic speculations, is the ignis fatuus, whose book is the title to this article. Mr. Kavanagh is no doubt an amiable gentleman, and one of whom we must wish to speak with temper and respect; and we hope that it will be seen to be no want of urbanity, but a necessity of our position, if we treat his book as not merely worthless, but as indicative of a mind that could not possibly be made to understand *why* we

thus judge. To prove to him that he is wrong, would be a futile attempt; because we hold all his principles of reasoning to be themselves glaringly false: because, moreover, he himself often quotes what is obviously true, side by side with his own as obviously false notions, and yet cannot discern his own absurdity. He unceremoniously sets aside plain historical fact concerning the transmission of words, even when he is acquainted with it, in order to make way for his own unbridled inventions. Thus he says (vol. i. pp. 268—70), that the French verbs *voir, recevoir, devoir, etc.*, do not come from the Latin *videre, recipere, debere, etc.*, but are contracted from *vu avoir, reçu avoir, du avoir.* In p. 284, he speaks thus feelingly of man's ignorance of the derivation of *sagesse* from *esse sage,* or *ire sage.*

'All this appears so evident and simple, that the reader may well ask, with surprise, if the learned have hitherto had no knowledge of it. Nothing of this, however, has been known. The greatest lexicographers have not even suspected that *sagesse* was for *sage-esse* (sage être); *so short-sighted is man without the light of science!* Then much less did they suspect that for *to be* and *to go* there was, whilst languages were in their infancy, but one word, etc., etc.'

In a like spirit he coolly informs us, p. 360, that Spirit and Priest are a modification of the same phrase, *être père,* to be Father.

'Both these words mean, when analyzed, *the being father,* or, more correctly, *the eternal Father;* for the word implying existence is here expressed twice, and it hence implies *all existence.* . . . . . The words Esprit and Spirit mean also (when thus analyzed, *it is ip ir*), *it is in the air;* that is, it is a being in the air.'

False facts like these admit no other refutation than simple denial. By mixing together all the languages accessible to him, without regard to chronology or geography; avowedly setting aside the *history of words* (p. 6) as not worthy to guide our reasonings in language; and by inventing words of his own, and meanings for them, when other machines fail, Mr. Kavanagh finds extreme ease in explaining or proving whatever he chooses. We will here annex his translation of the Alphabet, as a set-off to that of Herr G. Seyffarth.

'I beg here to give the contents of the analysis of the English alphabet, *collectively* considered:—

A B C D E F G H I (or J) K L M N O P Q R S T U (or V) W X Y Z;

of which the literal meaning in modern English is—*This first book is had of the Jews; it opens the mind, and is good breeding and wisdom.*'—Vol. i. p. 10.

In his second volume, he is pleased to inform us that *Alpha* is derived from *All-iv-a*, that is (says he!) *all the a*, which (adds he) is identical with *all of a*. *Beta and Eta* (p. 117) are the Latin word, Vita, life. '*Delta* means *head life it is*, because *Δ* is another name for life or woman, since it becomes a *ν* when turned up. *Delta* also means *God (to) hell he is*, because λ is another name for *life*, and the English word *hell* simply means *the life*, or which is the same, 'life, life,' and this is equal to eternity.' Page upon page is filled with discoveries as important as are contained in this passage; and if our reader is allured by the specimen, he will consult the book itself. To speak generally, the author's first half volume is such, that we decline to call it by its right name; the latter half is equally false, but more ingenious, and not without indications of an active and subtle mind. But he gradually works himself, it might seem, into a religious frenzy, and the reader finds *God, life, being*, &c., to recur oftener and oftener. The second volume is semimaniacal: every second word with him means *God;* and the 'Trinity' now and then is pressed into his service. Alpha (which also meant *all of a!*) is explained (p. 89) as, *the first whole life*, or *all high life it*, or *all high life*, or *the Most High*, names (says he) for the Divinity. Beta (p. 114, 116) means '*being, life, all existence*, in other words, the Divinity.' Gamma (p. 174) 'means *the head*, and is another name for the Divinity,' &c., &c. He even alledges the English nouns *hat* and *wig*, to have the same sacred meaning, and declares that he has no doubt that the same will be found true of *wig* in all languages.—vol. ii. p. 294.

Of his excursions into metaphysics and physiology, as his proof that the mind is material, and the soul immaterial, we can here take no notice: but the reader will be startled, to Mr. Kavanagh's heart's content, by the following remarkable discovery in mathematics—vol. ii. p. 342. 'The petty mathematician will of course see little or nothing in what I have discovered respecting the point, the circle, and the straight line; *which three I have proved to be all one and the same figure;* and he must be equally embarrassed to conceive what advantage can be derived from our knowing, that *in all numbers there is only one:* but were such a man as Newton now living, *he* could perceive,' &c., &c. We might fill many pages with extracts of his high sounding boasts: but laughable as they are, it is a melancholy and fruitless work. To justify our own statement, we will give one specimen, and by no means the worst:—

'Had this work gone no farther than the substantive and the adjective, this were surely sufficient matter, with numerous quotations, for two large quarto volumes, and more than enough, in our days, to fill a mind of great capacity: but the discovery of the real nature of these

two words will also, notwithstanding its importance, be soon lost sight of by nine readers out of ten, in the many other discoveries, equally important, by which it is still followed. The same may be said of the contents of almost every page in the whole of this work: each new discovery being, through its importance, calculated to banish the recollection of all that went before.'—vol. ii., p. 351.

We take leave of this well-meant book, with satisfaction at having discharged an irksome duty; and with a lamentable conviction that there is no other country in the world where a man of attainments so extensive as Mr. Kavanagh, could undertake such a task, with a mind so singularly incapable of appreciating any one side of his subject.

Art. IV. *Petri Lombardi Sententiarum Libri Quatuor; necnon Divi Thomæ Aquinatis Summa Theologica, &c.* Peter Lombard's Four Books of Principles, and the Sum of Theology, by St. Thomas Aquinas. 4 vols. quarto. Paris: Printed by Migne. 1841.

THIS is one of a series of books now in course of publication at the catholic library of Migne, Rue d'Amboise, at Paris. The series is designed to contain a complete course of Roman Catholic theology, comprising the chief works of the fathers of the church, and of its ancient advocates and defenders, together with those modern treatises which may be judged most worthy of forming a part of what may be considered a great national undertaking. The enterprise has not been entered upon without due care, long preparation, and the sanction of the highest authorities. Equal diligence and skill have been employed in rendering the several works worthy of the public patronage. Whatever learning, diligence, and zeal could enable editors to effect, has been achieved in the portions of this comprehensive work which have come under our notice. And as the aim of those who direct the publication is the general diffusion of the books, intending and hoping as they do, to place one or more of the series in the library of every catholic clergyman, a regard has been had to economy and lowness of price, to such an extent as to involve some loss of appearance in the outward and material workmanship of the volumes. This drawback, however, we consider more than compensated by the great facility thus afforded to ministers of small means, of getting possession of works, which, whatever may be thought of some opinions they contain, must be allowed to be masterpieces in their kind, an acquaintance with which is desirable for all who aim at any thing like that general culture of mind, and that comprehensiveness of knowledge, which only can assure a

theologian that he is on safe ground in the opinions he espouses, and the aims and desires which occupy his heart. Nor can we omit to recommend our protestant ministers to avail themselves of the opportunity thus presented, for becoming familiar with works which the church of Rome puts forth as her bulwarks, if only that they may be prepared to meet the enemy on his own ground. Did our space, indeed, permit, we should go on to show that there are other than merely polemical considerations, which at the present day especially, recommend the study of the giant works of the olden time; this at least may be said—that these were by men not only of renown, but mighty strength, the extent of whose learning, and the subtlety of whose logical skill, may probably have been equalled, yet certainly have not been surpassed, even after the lapse of centuries, and all the intellectual excitements of modern times.

It is, in truth, a little surprising to see these old schoolmen thus rise from the dead. What is their errand? What their message? After having been in the tomb some seven hundred years, here they are on this earth, not in bodily presence, but in spirit. Four huge tomes, of some fifteen hundred quarto pages each, must have some grave work to perform. And yet this is one only of a long series of publications, a few much older, some of the present hour, but all breathing one spirit, and having a similar tendency. What has suggested this enterprise? How has the publisher, how has the printer dared to venture on it—to say nothing of literary co-operators? A vast outlay of money is implied—a large sale is imperatively required. How is it?

The editor has, in a few words, let the reader into the secret. Peter Lombard, he says, ruled Europe for one hundred and fifty years, being the spiritual father of Thomas Aquinas, who, surpassing his predecessor in influence, ruled Europe for five hundred years. Yes, these mighty rulers are called up *to rule* once more. Their power is invoked in order to put a bit into the mouth, and a bridle upon the neck of the present too free generation. Catholicism is bringing forth her mighty men of war, that she may regain her lost dominions. A new intellectual tyranny is intended, founded on the exhumed principles of the middle ages, and wielded by the high-church doctors of the papal see. Nor is the intent without support. The mere undertaking on the part of men of business of so extensive and costly a series of books, shows that there is a demand for works of the kind, and a response in the public mind to the wishes of the hierarchy. In truth, this and other publications are tokens of a condition of the public feeling in Europe, of which protestants ought not to be ignorant, yet to which their attention has little, if at all, been drawn in this country.

Since the time when protestantism first obtained firm foothold on the earth, there never was perhaps a period when it behoved its enlightened friends to be more on the alert than at the present hour; for the elements are gathering on every side for a collision between it and its antagonists—the principles and power of Rome, which seems likely to exceed all previous struggles, in the energy and determination of the conflict, and in the magnitude of the results. Those of our readers whose sphere of observation is confined within the borders of this island, may by this remark have their minds carried to the catholic hierarchy of Ireland, and the hostile position in which it stands to the governing powers of Great Britain. But we advert, in the main, to foreign lands, and especially to France; proposing to enumerate some facts and considerations which will serve to show that Rome is making preparation for a fresh and vigorous onset on protestantism.

Before, however, we enter on the subject, we think it well to guard against misapprehension. Our remarks are not dictated by fear. That there is no danger, we do not affirm, for the fortune of war is proverbially uncertain, and even in a war of principles no one can predict the immediate result. If, however, there is any peril, it can be only in regard to the immediate result. The enlightenment of the day is too ample, and too widely spread to allow the slavish principles of Romanism to gain the mastery of the world. And even in relation to the immediate consequences of the rapidly approaching collision, there can be no danger, as there ought to be no distrust, if only protestants are faithful to their principles, and will assert and maintain them, charitably indeed, but also manfully. The collision of the antagonist principles will only serve to make their separate characteristics more fully known, and give truth the better chance for victory and dominion.

With this confidence we are not to be understood in the ensuing observations, to intimate a desire for the intervention between the combatants of any material influences whatever. We invoke no power but that of right reason and holy writ; we repudiate all state interference; we eschew all resort to coercion; we deprecate all harsh words. It is a religious issue that has to be tried; let the sole appeal be to spiritual instrumentalities. In defending the rights and liberties of the human mind, we hold and assert principles which are applicable to ourselves, only so far as they are applicable to other men, and therefore as we cannot consent to wear, so we must not attempt to impose the lightest shackle on any.

But this general and impartial regard to intellectual rights does not require from us the tolerance of what we deem error.

Charity does not exact indifference. We may be gentle, and yet honest. At all events a regard for truth must be supreme with every follower of the Lord Jesus. And a regard for truth sometimes requires strong and bold, if not severe language in setting forth and convicting what is considered error. Indeed the highest and purest benevolence not seldom demands a severity, which is the truest expression of its spirit, albeit it may shed tears over the means which its own divine purposes compel it to employ.

In referring to the movement which is going on throughout Europe back towards the past, we cannot fail to advert to the divines of the Oxford school. In truth, Puseyism is only one phase of a very widely spread state of mind, and the efforts which it makes are only one striving among many after a certain achievement. Within our own borders there is a kindred movement. 'Young England' and Puseyism move in nearly parallel lines. They differ chiefly in their means. What the one seeks in religion, the other seeks in politics. Their great point of agreement is, that they both look backward, in order to find power for influencing the present and shaping the future. The Janus of the old Romans is an embodiment of their characteristic principle. They have at once before them that which was, and that which may be. But their regards are not equal; they think of the future and love the past. Reverence for antiquity is the god of their idolatry. Our present ills are to be remedied, and our coming condition made happy and prosperous by infusing the past into the present.

The men to whom we refer have, we believe, been thrown back to days gone by, and institutions which have faded and vanished, mainly by a certain amiable dissatisfaction with the actual condition of the people at large, and the appliances which have been used for their improvement. That condition they know to be unsatisfactory, those appliances they consider insufficient. The evils under which the people suffer, result from a disproportionate development of the material and the moral interests of the nation. In our haste to be rich, we have almost ceased to be just, and lost much of the true spirit of religion. We have learnt to create, but know not how to distribute wealth. We are therefore suffering under the two extremes of plethora and inanition. We starve one member of the social frame to pamper another. And we have carried the love and the use of machinery to such an extent, that we regard even our fellowmen only as instruments for making money. Society is, in consequence, materialized in nearly all its parts. The rich want human hearts, the poor want human culture.

That culture is not to be afforded by the instrumentality of which Mechanics' Institutions may be considered as the repre-

sentative. The experiment has been tried. The Diffusion of Knowledge Society's books are scarcely more than so much learned lumber. Neither history nor algebra will make a poor (no, nor a rich) man good and happy. We verily believe that the chief of the small amount of good which the labouring population have got for themselves, within the last half century, has come not from our philosophic philanthropists, but from the Bible, and from religious ministrations, and from the solid and nutritious food supplied by our old English classics.

A widely spread and deeply seated feeling is finding utterance in society, that a very different, a far more spiritual influence must be brought to bear on the British people, and principally on our hand labourers, ere this nation can be in any thing like a satisfactory state. In truth, 'the condition of England question' is rapidly passing into every other great question, and will, ere long, find its instruments (would that it may find its solution also) in religion and morals still more than in politics, or if in the latter mainly, yet derivatively from the former.

This general dissatisfaction with our actual social condition and instrumentalities is felt with special strength by the benevolent and enlightened (if somewhat visionary) men who form the two-fold party to which we have referred. The peculiar religious and political feelings in which they have been educated, lead them to look with special intensity, and probably undue confidence, not so much to religion in general as to the religion of by-gone days. 'The ages of faith' they find in periods before protestantism was known, or the intellect had been deified. And so they are on the point of preferring Rome to Lambeth, and would rather see chivalry revived than the Reform Act continued.

Not essentially dissimilar influences and considerations are at work in the United States of America, and on the continent of Europe, to make men look with favour on the once exploded principles of implicit faith and deference to authority; and to seek a remedy for present disorders, in reviving the spirit which animated society centuries ago. French philosophy also has brought a reaction, of which we are just beginning to witness the commencement. Its inanity has been proved. Men are growing as much ashamed of, as they are dissatisfied with its scornful negations. They feel they have been cheated with a dark empty dream, when they expected to receive the solid nutriment of truth. And therefore they are favourably disposed towards religion, and in the absence of any other communion, are prepared to throw themselves into the arms of Rome, some with tears of contrition, and all the warmth of a former love.

There is thus in society a general current which flows freshly

and strongly towards the past, of which Rome is the professed and in fact the acknowledged representative. Another current indeed there is. The protestant principle is not inert. Strong in its own essential vigour, strong in that strongest of earthly things, a good cause; strong in the divine support and blessing, it is strong, also, in certain great social tendencies, most of which are, and all of which may become good and benign. These, however, we cannot stop to describe, as our aim is to awaken attention to the opposite movement.

Of the state of feeling of which we have spoken, Rome is well informed. She knows that the hearts of many who were once her enemies are turned favourably towards her. Her sources of information reach to the utmost extremity of the social frame. The Jesuits, if generally under a social ban, are not extinct, if quiet they are not the less watchful; and the detrusion of their activity from the surface of society, serves only to make it more intense and effective, beneath and within. Rome, therefore, has a species of omnipresence. She can feel the social pulse in every part. She knows its actual condition. She numbers every convert. She measures every tendency. And certain it is that she lets no opportunity escape her, but, on the contrary, sets every spring in motion that offers a fair probability of furthering her views and advancing her principles.

Not least among the attempts which she is making is directed to the revival, in all its primitive force, of that spiritual militia, the Jesuits, which she called into existence expressly for the purpose of withstanding the principles and arresting the spread of the Reformation. Loyola was matched against Luther by Rome herself.

In this country, of course, no such indiscreet step would be taken as an attempt to procure the recognition of the Jesuits. Yet members of the body are found in England, living in more instances than one in community, engaged in training and forming the minds of the youthful catholic aristocracy, while they convert the peasantry of the neighbourhood to catholic principles, and materially aid, if they do not superintend, the general efforts made here for the promotion of Romanism. It is equally true, and not less important, that wherever Jesuits are, they are parts of a great whole, radii leading to a grand centre. The order of Ignatius Loyola exists, though it may be by connivance—it exists, and consequently there is a body of learned men, a body of religious professors, spread throughout the civilized world, who have but one object—the advancement of the papacy, who pursue that object as with the will of one man, who are bound by the most solemn obligations to make that object their supreme law and their constant aim. Such a

body of men—organised and compact, each of whom is bound to render to his superior in every grade the most implicit obedience, and make all things bend to the good of his order, and the good of his order bend to the aggrandizement of the Roman pontiff—such a body of men, bound together by living joints and bands, so bound together that the slightest pulsation at the extremities is instantly felt at the centre of this system of spiritual life, must possess immense power, whether for good or for ill, and exert immense influence on the destinies of nations and the fate of individuals; the abuse of which gigantic strength caused it to be condemned and prohibited in every civilized country of Europe. That ban, with the exception of some one petty continental state, still endures. Its removal, however, the body is eagerly pursuing. In one sense, the restoration of the Jesuits may be said to be the sole object of Rome at the present day, for fully convinced she is that the restoration of their power would go far to realise her fondest wishes. For years past, therefore, there has been an unusual activity in order to increase the influence of the Jesuits, and to bring about the public restoration of the order. In every catholic country of Europe has this aim been sought, with more or less secrecy, openness, and diligence, according as consummate prudence seemed to suggest.

There is no catholic state where it is so important for the papacy to gain an undisputed ascendancy as in France, so great is the influence of that country over the civilised world. And certainly now, for a long period, there has been in France a spontaneous and therefore natural growth of religious, that is, for the most part, catholic feeling which, if duly nurtured, may greatly promote the purposes of Rome. There are, however, three generic influences which more or less powerfully oppose and withstand the progress of papal views. There is, first, the leaven of infidelity; this, which is the faint echo of the encyclopædism of the last century, prevails extensively over the generation that is about to pass into the grave. The superficial, too, and the frivolous of all ages, and in all classes walk in its darkness and declare that they see. But thinking men have got into deeper water. The eclecticism of the French philosophical school of the present day has at least made men earnest. It has taught the possibility of there being something good and true out of the 'Philosophical Dictionary.' It has turned attention to the works and conclusions of the great German thinkers. It has dethroned Voltaire, and found seats in a hall of philosophy for Kant, Fichte, and Hegel. In consequence, there is a predilection for what is positive. The former void begins to fill, though the materials may be somewhat heterogeneous. Pure negations, however, are no longer à la mode. Scorn is itself

scorned. Infidelity, we mean that poor lifeless thing which believes in nothing but its own infallibility, is rapidly on the wane.

The second is a more formidable antagonist. It is this very eclecticism itself to which we have referred, not so much as a well defined and zealously supported system of philosophical truth, as a general spirit and tendency in the minds of accomplished and influential men, which being embodied in social institutions, the offspring of the political changes through which France has passed in the last fifty years, presents to Jesuitism and the papacy an unfriendly countenance. This really great influence finds its representatives in such men as Guizot, Cousin, Thiers, Quinet.

The ground which has been chosen by the Romanists on which to assert their claims, is the higher education and the university of Paris which is its recognised organ and special minister. Into the details of this dispute we do not enter; our readers would feel little interest in them. The great question at issue, however, must be well understood. That question in brief is, Shall the state or the priest educate France? Let it be remarked, that the differences between catholicism and protestantism do not here come into play. Both parties are avowedly catholic. It is only in hue and complexion that they differ. Yet is that point of diversity one of the greatest moment. If the state retains its actual influence, progress is not only possible but certain. If the formation of the first minds of the nation is handed over to Jesuitism, progress there cannot be; the wheels of society will be rolled back, mental bondage is a necessary result, and the enslavement of catholics would prepare the way for suppressing French protestantism. The aim of the priesthood is not merely to regain their ancient power. They have a yet higher purpose. Convinced that their truth is the only way to heaven, they are wishful for power in order that, by the propagation of their creed, they may save thousands of souls now on the verge of perdition. Their aims have thus a highly benevolent aspect. Christian charity prompts their efforts and covers their faults. Under these circumstances they regard the philosophy of the German or any other school with mortal hatred, and can never be satisfied till they have stamped an image of their own mind on the mind of their fellow countrymen and their fellow creatures. Accordingly, the philosophy of the University of Paris is bitterly and perseveringly assailed. It is, if we believe these ghostly aggressors, a system of unqualified pantheism, whose aim and tendency is to undermine religion, and rob the youthful mind of France of the last vestiges of a God. Thus have they, however, made it clear to the world, that the alternative which lies before France

is, philosophy or Jesuitism. If they triumph, philosophy is banished. If the university gains the day, Jesuitism is discomfited. Compromise is out of the question. 'All or none!' is their characteristic war-cry. A modified philosophy they will no more suffer, than that which now prevails. The curtailment of the power of the university over education, will not satisfy them. They demand its suppression. France cannot endure two Cæsars. The point from which they start is of a nature to allow no rival near their throne. Education is the work and the duty of the clergy:—this, their fundamental principle, if successfully asserted and faithfully applied, places the mind of the nation in their hands, to be moulded and coloured as they will. Hence it will be seen that this question between the university and the priesthood, is only the old question over again—Which shall be supreme in a state, the civil or the spiritual power? It is with a loud voice that history speaks on the point. Let the priest become predominant, and civil liberty as well as religious is at an end; nor would the tenure of Louis Phillipe be then worth many years' purchase.

Yet it is no little amusing that the arbitrary principle, as espoused by ultra-montanism in France, has hoisted the recognised colours of mental liberty. 'Liberty of teaching' is the demand of the clergy. Under this banner they assail the university, putting forth eloquent pleadings on behalf of that which they least of all men understand. They speak of liberty, but seek an exclusive despotism for themselves. Should they succeed, and come into possession of power, their love of liberty would prove so great, that they would part with not the smallest portion of it to others. Under the plea of religious liberty, the same party demand the restoration of the Jesuits. How, they ask, can France be so unjust and so inconsistent as to disallow the society of the sainted Loyola? France, the child and the patron of liberty, which has recognised, by an express enactment, the indefeasible rights of religious liberty? And, as if conscious that their logic here was none of the soundest, they hurry away to chant the praises of Loyola and his band. What a noble army of martyrs! What profound and varied learning! When did the world possess such a body of educators? And then for piety, holiness and spirituality, these men are patterns of excellence, and blessings to the human kind! Meanwhile, their faults are all imaginary; their crimes malicious and groundless imputations. Indeed, so full and loud are the notes of their praise, that the reader is for a moment half tempted to conclude, that the civilized nations of Europe committed an act of suicidal folly in universally suppressing the order. And certainly, strange things as we have

seen and read in this strange and changeful world, we never expected to find a Jesuit pleading on behalf of religious liberty, still less claiming on that sacred ground for the restoration of his ill-used power.

We do not by these remarks intend to say, that a regard to the great principles of religious liberty might not require the removal of the disqualifications under which the disciples of Ignatius lie. Our business is, to unmask the false friend of mental liberty. In using these sacred words, a Jesuit cannot mean what they import. He would cease to be a Jesuit if he did so. Religious liberty is incompatible with Jesuitism. The two cannot live in the same sphere. Religious liberty may be summed up in two words—'Think and let think;' Jesuitism has for its essence the slavish principle,—'Think as I think, else eternal perdition awaits you in futurity, and the penalties of the church in time.' Therefore we should be sorry that the papacy should increase in power. Nothing could so much endanger the liberty of the world as its predominance.

The issue of the contest between the university and the priesthood in France, lies yet in darkness. We are, indeed, not without a pretty confident hope that the scale will turn finally in favour of the better cause. But we equally know that there are possible social changes, which would tend to give the upper hand to the priests, at least for a while. Meantime, the government shows little firmness; the university itself seems to vacillate, and recent debates in the two chambers give the clergy indirect encouragement. A powerful voice was, indeed, not long since uttered. Thiers has spoken in a manner worthy of himself and of the cause which he espouses, in his report of the committee of the Chamber of Deputies, placing facts in their true light, enunciating correct and noble principles, and indicating the proper course to be pursued. The best proof of the merit of this report is found in the loud outcry which it has called forth from the clergy. No effort, however, will be left untried by the Romanists in order to compass their ends. Like the elder Bourbons, with whom they are allied in spirit, if not in affection too, the French catholic clergy have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. The old spirit remains in full force, the grasping, exclusive, despotical spirit of a priesthood who hold that out of their pale, there is no salvation. And this spirit has animated and still animates them, from the highest members of the hierarchy, downwards to the petty curé, urging them to annihilate philosophy, and bring the university under their feet. They have just achieved an important purpose, and struck a great blow, having ventured to make the pope declare himself on their side. The papal nuncio at Paris,

Monseigneur Garibaldi, recently said mass in the Temple des Petits-Pères, to invoke the aid of heaven in favour of 'the oppressed church' of France. Many members of both chambers were present on the occasion, having been honoured with special invitations. It is understood that the papal nuncio received from Rome formal authority to make known by this public demonstration to the catholic clergy, that the holy see approves the conduct of the bishops in the struggle against the university, and that it considers the complaints of the church well founded.

The kind of religious liberty which papal supremacy would leave the world in possession of, may be inferred from an important fact little known as yet in this country. The present pope, Gregory the Sixteenth, has recently issued a bull against Bible Societies, dated, 'Saint Peter's at Rome, May 7th, 1844.' This bull ought, as being addressed generally to 'the patriarchs, primates, archbishops and bishops' of the catholic church, to be published in England, and *à fortiori*, in Ireland; but we are well assured that the Romanists will spare no pains to keep the matter secret here. Catholicism, as it is allowed to appear in these protestant lands, is a very different thing from the essential type of it which is found where it is indigenous and alone. But what it is abroad, that would it be here, were opportunity given. Its essential qualities will display themselves, and take effect wherever outward pressure is removed. Most needful, then, is it, that the English public should know what those qualities are. We shall find some of them in this Encyclical Letter, of which, regretting that our space does not allow us to print it entire, we shall give in its own words, two or three of the more important parts. It thus begins:—

'Among the principal machinations by which in our days, those who are not catholics endeavour to lay snares for the faithful servants of catholic truth, and to turn away their minds from the holy faith, by no means the lowest rank is held by Bible Societies, originated in England, and thence spread to distant parts, forming a sort of army, and all aiming at a common object, namely, the publication in countless numbers of copies of the sacred Scriptures, translated into all the vernacular tongues, so as to bring about their indiscriminate dissemination, among infidels as well as christians, in order to lead each one to study them without interpreter and without guide. Thus they give up the Scriptures to the chatter of old women, to the drivelling of the decrepid old man, and to the loquacity of the sophist,—to all of every condition, provided they can read, and, what is still more absurd, and almost unheard-of, they do not refuse them to unbelieving nations.'

Having remarked that it was an old trick of heretics to alter the Scriptures and corrupt their meaning, the pope continues:

'It is not then surprising, if, in the versions multiplied by the Bible Societies, the gravest errors have been inserted, through either the want of skill or the want of honesty on the part of so many interpreters—errors which the multitude, and the diversity of the translations long kept hidden to the ruin of many. But what does it matter to these Bible Societies, if those who are to read their translations fall into this or that error, provided people become insensibly accustomed to make their own free interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, to despise the divine traditions of the Fathers preserved in the catholic church, and even to repudiate the authority which that church possesses, as an instructress?'

There ensues an attempt to justify the papal see in her conduct touching the sacred books. Then instances are given in which the diffusion of the Bible has in past times, and especially when the 'audacious' efforts of Luther began to take effect, been vigorously resisted and hindered by the pope and his co-operators. But at length Bible societies were instituted. When 'Pius the Seventh, our predecessor of happy memory, saw these societies come into existence, and grow as they spread, he did not cease to withstand their efforts. Leo the Twelfth exposed the manœuvres of the Bible societies in his encyclical letter of the fifth of May, 1824. We also have not forgotten that the same evils claim our pastoral care.' The pope proceeds to thank his venerable brethren, that under the influence of piety and wisdom they have been zealous in putting their flocks on their guard against the enemy. He then reproves the energy with which the agents of the Bible societies carry forward their work, even forcing the Bible on those who are unwilling to receive it, and hindering, in heathen countries, the operations of catholic missionaries. And notwithstanding the immense sums lavished to no purpose in these endeavours, new efforts have recently been begun, particularly in the establishment in New York, (U. S.) of a society, denominated the Christian Alliance, whose object is to carry on the destructive work even in Italy and Rome itself. Yet Rome is the centre of all that is good and great. Her eminence, however, only embitters the animosity of these her enemies, who, not content with forcing corrupted Bibles into the hands of some, and smuggling them into the hands of others, distribute also in the very centre of Rome, 'the most detestable books,' such as 'the History of the Reformation by Merle d'Aubigné, and 'Memoirs touching the Reformation in Italy, by M'Crie.'

Accordingly, 'several Cardinals of the holy church have

assembled in council, and the whole business having been gravely and carefully considered, we have, under their advice, resolved to address to you all, venerable brothers, this letter, by which we, in virtue of our apostolical authority, again condemn all the aforesaid Bible societies. Let it then be known by all, that those will be before God and before the church guilty of a very serious crime, who shall dare to give their name or lend their aid to any of those societies. And we strongly enjoin you, venerable brethren, to announce and explain, as place and time allow, *(pro loco et tempore)* to the people confided to your pastoral care, this apostolical decree, and our present commands; accordingly it will be your duty to remove from the hands of the faithful all Bibles translated into the vulgar tongue, and published, contrary to our directions; and to take care that being admonished by your authority they may be taught what pastures are salutary, what noxious and deadly.'

The whole concludes by an appeal to physical power—'Your efforts and ours will without doubt have the support of the civil authorities, and particularly of the very high and very powerful princes of Italy, either in consequence of their zeal for the conservation of the catholic religion, or because their wisdom will not fail to see that the public good is concerned in causing these projects of the sectaries to fail. It is, in fact, certain, proved only too well by the experience of the past, that indifference in regard to religion propagated by the sectaries under the name of religious liberty, is the surest way to withdraw nations from the fidelity and the obedience which they owe to princes.'

Such is the bolt which the pope has hurled against Bible Societies. *Habeo confitentem reum.* The criminal has himself betrayed his criminality. Here is his confession published by himself, put forth under his own name. What does he mean by liberty? by instruction? See the answer in his Bull against that institution which more than all others has enlightened the mind, emancipated the heart, and saved the soul; and which by its purely christian aim and philanthropic spirit, has united and cemented together men of dissimilar communions, of the most diverse aims, and of widely separated countries. The Bible is not only the sun for diffusing religious light and heat, but the great charter of christian, nay, generally of mental freedom; and the pope, in putting his ban on the Bible, has avowed himself the enemy of gospel light, and the patron of ecclesiastical despotism. In one view, however, this declaration of war against the Bible is not to be regretted. Here the two great principles of ecclesiastical authority and mental independence are forced into broad contrast and mortal collision. Their real nature, their true bearings will now be better seen. Who is for the

Lord? for christian truth and christian liberty? for the word of truth, for the Bible? The alternative is, the Bible or the pope?

If anything were needed to decide the lover of truth and holiness, it would be abundantly found, we regret to add, in the kind of teaching which the papacy substitutes for the salutary nutriment afforded by the sacred volume. We are not about to exhibit this teaching in detail. We call attention to one single point.

A letter* has recently been addressed by a French protestant minister to the archbishop of Lyons, which exposes the nature of some of this teaching. This letter has excited great attention in France, and has, within a few months, run through several editions. We make from it the following extracts, given for the assurance of our readers, in the words of the reverend author:—

'We have before our eyes at this moment a work, entitled *Collationes practicæ in sextum et nonum decalogi præceptum necnon conjugatorum officia, &c;* that is, 'Practical Conferences on the sixth and ninth command of the Decalogue, and the duties of married persons. Published by the order of the most illustrious and very reverend E. de Gualy, D.D., Bishop of Saint Flour, and adopted by his seminary; Lyons, Guyot. 1833.' The work is divided into two parts; the first consists of conferences, properly so called; the second is an abridgement of the sacred embryology, or treatise on the duties of priests, physicians, surgeons, midwives, towards infants *before their birth*, by the Abbé Dinouart. The conferences also are divided into two parts, of which the first relates to the observance of the 6th and of the 9th commandment, and the second, to the duties of married persons. A short preface states that the work is intended only for priests and deacons; that a knowledge of the things treated of in the volume is very necessary for directors of consciences; that the rules laid down are drawn from the best theologians; and that they refer to the daily duties of the confessional. The treatise is put into the hands of students for the ministry, who are exhorted to read it 'with a mind raised towards God, and in the intention of becoming more fit to purify men from that leprosy which defiles so many christians, and hurries them into hell fire.' Well, what are the contents of this volume? They cannot be published. The work is 'a complete treatise of all kinds of immodesty and lust, possible and impossible;—a treatise which admits even fabulous abominations, abominations unheard of; refinements of impurity, the horror of which revolts the most practised debauchees. All that the sacredness of the marriage state conceals, is laid open in a series of suppositions and revolting questions; the luxuriousness of imagination employed in conjugal conjectures, is incredible, and beyond

* 'Lettre a Monseigneur l'Archevêque de Lyon.' Cherbuliez and Co., Paris. Cinquième Edit. This author is that accomplished man, distinguished theologian, and eloquent preacher, Pasteur A. Coquerel, of l'Oratoire, at Paris.

a doubt never has a book been written in the design of preventing or correcting evil which suggests the idea of it with more force, or presents the image of it with more liveliness.'

'The conferences are concluded by a chapter entitled, 'On the duties of the confessor towards those who are and those who are about to be married.' The first section contains a short address, which the confessor is to deliver to the bride and bridegroom before their union. He is to require them to appear in the confessional shortly after the consummation of their marriage, and the second section presents, under eleven heads, the instructions and questions which he is to address to them. 'Here,' says the author, 'the pen falls from my hand.''

Yet this book is intended for persons about to take holy orders, persons who have vowed to live a life of celibacy. And these instructions and these questions addressed to the virgin and the young wife, from whose lips do they come—a mother's in the secresy of home? No! From a man's—it may be a young man's, in the solitude of the confessional; the same man whom she has met in the intercourses of society, and is about, perhaps, to sit opposite to at table! 'If,' says our authority, 'this work was read, we declare, in the presence of God, that there is not a mother who would allow her daughter to kneel before a priest; there is not a husband who would allow his wife to go again to confess; there is not a man, about to enter into wedlock, who would not lay it down as a condition that his future wife should not carry to this altar the modest first-fruits of her loving confidence.'

The second part of the book we must leave to be conceived of by our readers. The subject speaks for itself.

Let it be observed that this is no slight matter. Confession is an imperative and indispensable duty in the church of Rome. From childhood to the dying hour, confession is a duty which all and each must observe. All then, whatever the sex, all, after a certain age, are liable to be brought under the influence of this shocking book; all minds may be corrupted, all hearts may be polluted; the sanctities of home and of the marriage bond are sanctities no longer. There are flowers so delicate as to lose their beauty if you but breathe on them. It is the same with our purest and deepest affections. One word would blight and defile them. Yet these are the emotions which are most precious and also most elevating of all mere earthly influences.

No! we must not surrender the minds of our wives, our daughters, our sons, into the impure hands of papistical confessors. We love the Bible the more when we see by whom it is assailed. And if France is wise, it will decide in favour of the university, leaving the priesthood to their own principles, and

the fate which, sooner or later is, we verily believe, inevitable. The pope of Rome may send forth his bulls, and the clergy may 'rage' in their zeal to second his efforts, but the Bible will prove too strong for them all; liberty will not be given up; education will not be handed over to ecclesiastical despotism, and the impurities of the confessional; the eyes of men have been opened, the sacred scriptures have been read, are known, are loved; and the issue, though it may possibly be delayed, cannot be warded off. Meanwhile the contest proceeds, with 'submission' for the motto on the one side, and on the other 'Dieu et mon droit,' 'God and my right.' And on behalf of the young in France, and every where else, we claim the right that their minds shall be allowed to think in freedom and their hearts to beat in purity. Well has the alternative which now lies before the French nation been put by M. Thiers, in a speech recently delivered in the chamber of deputies:—

'If I had the gift of faith in my hands, I would open them to my country, always on condition that to faith should be united toleration and liberty of thought, without which no enlightened man would at this day wish to live. But do you consider what you will render the rising generation by giving them over to the clergy? I do not think that you do, and I will cite a striking example. The 18th century—that century so renowned for incredulity—from whose hands did it come forth? From the hands of educational corporations; and the present generation, you will at least allow, is more inclined to religious ideas than that which preceded it. You will allow, that if it is not believing, it is, at least, decent and respectful towards religion.

'Well, *it* sprang from the university.—How comes it that the university produces men more pious, or, at least, more respectful than the Oratoriers and the Jesuits? It arises from a single cause—it has not wished to force the growth of youth—the government, the university, in giving to the young religious instruction, have in some sort respected their liberty. But give me the professors of Fribourg, in all France, and I promise you a Voltaire.'

The third antagonist influence to which we alluded, is protestantism—the protestant church of France. And here we come to the chief object, as of the clergy's fear so of their assaults. This church, it is true, is but small. In numbers it is comparatively inconsiderable. It does not abound in great men, though it has noble and heart-stirring reminiscences in its history. In learning it is indeed more in advance than its catholic rival, yet, at the best, it only reproduces the thoughts that have been matured along and beyond the Rhine. Still it is feared, it is dreaded—the reason is, it embodies a great principle—the very antagonism of Rome and Loyola. Thus, it embodies, represents, and vindicates a principle which admits sound philosophy to an alliance with itself, and, indeed, gathers around it as by a

natural affinity, all influences which conduce to the enlightenment of the human mind, to the emancipation of the human heart, to the elevation of our nature, and generally to social progress. Protestantism, therefore, is the Mordecai, sitting at the king's gate, to the haughty and self-seeking Haman of Gallic orthodoxy. So regarded, it is ceaselessly assailed.

One mode of crippling the French protestant church, has been to abridge the civil rights of its members. With this view, the imperfections of the law were made the most of. Instigated by the clergy, mayors, and other petty officials, commenced a series of annoyances against protestants, which, in some instances, led to an open invasion of their social liberty. Under the pretext of suppressing sedition, and breaking up unlawful assemblies, congregations have been disturbed in the midst of their devotions, by the sudden intrusion of armed men, and either rudely dismissed, or still more rudely hurried away to prison. This serious grievance, with others, roused the protestant church. An appeal was made to the government. Petitions were poured into the legislature—private influence was set in motion. For a long time these efforts were vain. The state lent a deaf ear to the cry of these its injured children. Rome stood and watched, well pleased that the cry for redress availed nothing, and secretly applauding the inexorableness of the governing powers. Justice, however, prevailed at length: one step in the right direction has just been taken. The persecution had been directed against rural congregations, seated in the midst of catholic populations, whom the state had not recognised, and who generally worshipped under the guidance of an elder or of a minister, paid in each case by the members of the society. A full measure of justice would have put these communities in the same condition as that of the great bulk of protestant congregations, uniting them for the sake of organization to the nearest consistory. A letter signed by the minister, 'de la justice et des cultes,' dated Paris, the 28th of February, 1844, confined itself to declaring that 'the principle of religious liberty ought to be liberally interpreted,' and to requiring from municipal and parochial authorities favourable dispositions towards those protestants who might assemble for prayer in private houses; and a constant watchfulness, in order to prevent the members of one communion from interfering with the worship of members of the other.

A more painful as well as more effective species of aggression has to be mentioned. We allude to the hot proselyting zeal which has now for years harassed the French protestants, and which shows but too plainly that the spirit which caused and animated the dragonades of the days of Louis the Four-

teenth, is still in active existence, and may, if not withstood, break forth in similarly deplorable results. Of course, we have no word of blame for fair and temperate efforts on the part of any church to convert dissidents. Zeal for the spread of opinions encourages discussion, and discussion is the parent of truth. But when one religious community proceeds to domineer over another, and being the more numerous and the more powerful, spares no pains to heap obloquy on her 'little sister,' and even goes to the extreme of invading the privacy of home, and setting at nought the rights of parents, then we must raise our voice in condemnation; and every one, we are sure, who understands and feels the spirit of christianity, will join in our protest.

It would be a long catalogue were we to attempt to enumerate the several invasions of the private rights of protestants, of which the clergy of the dominant church have been of late guilty. We find some of them thus enumerated, on an authority which we know to be honest and trustworthy, as well as highly accomplished. * 'In a protestant temple, tombs have been profaned by a catholic priest; on different occasions common burial-grounds have been closed, so far as the priests could succeed, against the mortal remains of our fellow believers; attempts have been made by priests or their partisans to shut up schools intended for our children; efforts have been undertaken in order to exclude our religious books from mixed schools of catholic and protestant children; in parishes where protestants form two-thirds of the population, local authorities, lending themselves to the wishes of the catholic clergy, have refused to needy parishioners the aid which they had a right to claim; all these assertions it is in our power to establish by numerous and incontestible facts, and if we wished to add others to these griefs, we should not fail in instances to justify our complaints. We know a father, whom his position in a place distant from any protestant minister and worship; his narrow circumstances; the wants of a numerous family; promises, which however, were not realized; finally, ceaseless importunities, at length prevailed with, to send two of his children into a catholic school: we have seen a poor woman eighty-four years of age, ask in vain, when on her death-bed, for her pastor, against whom the door had been rigorously closed: we have seen in poor houses sick persons and children beset by importunities of every kind, and deprived of the services of ministers of their religion: we were witness to a clandestine abjuration extorted from one of our sick sisters; restoration to health by the intervention of the Virgin Mary having been promised her, on condition that she turned catholic. More

* Le Lien, 11 Serie, No. 5.

recently, at Sommières, a young girl of thirteen years of age was carried off from her father, at the moment when he was about to commence her religious education. The unhappy parent in vain appealed to the guardians of the land. In another part of the south of France, a girl about the same age disappeared from her paternal abode, and the researches of the magistrates have not yet (March 2nd, 1844) succeeded in discovering her. At Sommières, an aunt devoted to the priests carried off the child by night; at Bessonnié, a school mistress, in concert with a priest, persuaded the child to quit her father and mother, and sent her one knows not whither, but doubtless into some catholic establishment.'

The name of the last mentioned child is Alby. She has since been discovered. We again translate from the same authority—'On the 24th of last month (March) in the evening, a magistrate saw a young girl enter his house, of an intelligent countenance and superior manners, who announced herself as Eugénie Alby. She came unaccompanied, and refused to say who had carried her off, or directed her actions. An express was immediately dispatched for her father, who arrived early the next day, when his daughter was subjected to a secret examination, in which she obstinately refused to make any disclosure, firmly declaring that she would rather lose her life. She has, as appears, been well trained. As soon as she saw her father, she threw herself into his arms, sobbing out, 'Take me, carry me away.' Two hours after she set out with her parent, accompanied by a constable, in order to replace her safely in her paternal home. But after what an interval! During three months of anguish, the health of her parents had severely suffered, and her mother at last had nearly lost her reason. She was constantly pursued by the notion that her child had drowned herself in a reservoir situated near the house; and for some days she caused it constantly to be emptied, forgetting from one hour to another that she had found nothing in it. It is shocking to think that persons can, in the name of religion, thus waste the existence of a father and a mother; it would be more shocking still to see fanaticism escape from the hands of justice, and remain free to pursue its odious work, without fear.'

The law, indeed, is sufficiently distinct and emphatic; but in a population mainly catholic, where the priests have full vogue and every opportunity to use their influence, and where, by reason of that influence, hundreds are willing to lend aid in what they consider a work of religion and charity, the law which sternly forbids, under severe penalties, the carrying off of any child under sixteen years of age (Art. 355 of the penal code),

may easily be evaded, and parents be robbed of their children with almost certain impunity. And so it happens, that these abductions are any thing but rare. About the end of March last, in the neighbourhood of Castres, another girl of about fifteen years of age, was on the point of quitting her home, a place having been provided for her in a convent, when her parents were put into possession of the secret and the plot was frustrated.

Before we pass on, we must state that fanaticism fully wrought its work in the mind of Mademoiselle Alby. Her return appears to have been necessitated by circumstances. No disclosures could she be induced to make; indeed, she had become thoroughly catholic and fanatical, as the language she held in the bosom of her family too plainly showed. She one day said to her elder brother, 'In hell the devil will tear you to pieces, part after part, and then cast you into a flaming fire.' It has been judged prudent by her parents to send her away from a neighbourhood where she had been the object of so injurious a seduction, and where an excited curiosity could not fail to add evil to evil. The child who was stolen at Sommières is named Marie Vedel. Her father, we learn, after much hesitation, has determined to prosecute the guilty aunt. He has lost all traces of his daughter, and is inconsolable at her loss, being perpetually haunted by the fear that she will be taught to hate him.

A similar act of proselytism was lately perpetrated near Geneva: Mademoiselle P .Genevoise, a protestant, and an orphan, disappeared from Carouge, with her grandmother, without her uncle and guardian knowing what had become of his relatives. After some time spent in researches, it was ascertained that they were at Collonge sous-Salève, where they received the visits of a Genevese priest who lived in the neighbourhood. It appears that the young lady, though a minor, not being more than sixteen years of age, having taken the communion at Easter, the year before, and having on that occasion given entire satisfaction to her pastor, had been, contrary to the will of her guardian, carried off to Collonge, where, in the space of a fortnight, she had been re-baptized, indoctrinated, received into the catholic church, and finally married to a young catholic, scarcely twenty years old, and that without the guardian's authority, without any of the legal pre-requisites, without regular documents, in Lent,—that is, in opposition to all the civil and canonical laws. It is said that priests of note took part in the ceremony.

Every day adds facts, which serve to show that the spirit of Rome is still as persecuting as when it originated and sustained the inquisition. In the kingdom of Sardinia, where the pope is

supreme, two disgraceful events have recently occurred. One is a law suit intended to exclude from their patrimonial rights certain Israelites, on the ground that the devisor having been converted to catholicism, the bonds which existed between him and his heirs were dissolved by baptism. The other fact is the abduction of the young daughter of M. Heldevier, formerly ambassador of the King of Holland at the court of Sardinia. The girl fled from her home under the protection and with the aid of the Archbishop of Turin, and was received into the convent of the nuns of Sainte-Croix. Some mystification has been attempted in regard to the part taken by the archbishop. This dignitary has indeed been too prudent to put his hand to paper on the occasion, for 'litera scripta manet,' but we learn that he did that which answered the end designed equally well. In order to secure admission for the girl at the convent, a piece of paper was sent to the superior cut in a peculiar form, and a corresponding piece supplied to Miss Heldevier, who, on presenting the token, was at once admitted.

Tricks of a truly Italian character are not seldom employed on these occasions. An eminent French protestant family has just had one of its numbers turned aside from the faith of her fathers. Fabricated letters were employed as from a female friend, who it was declared had espoused catholicism. The pious fraud was, however, discovered. The lady who was stated to have abjured her faith, had never once thought of quitting the protestant church.

The last instance of abduction which we shall relate is also very recent. It has taken place in Lyons. A protestant family had left a daughter, aged thirteen years, in that city. The person to whose care she was entrusted, placed her in a convent without her father's knowledge. He has in vain demanded that she should be restored. The authorities of the place assure him that every care is taken of the child, and that he need not disquiet himself on her account?

That the circumstances which have now been laid before the reader are substantially true there can be no question. What a lamentable picture, then, do they present! And is it not high time that the indignant voice of protestants in this country should be raised to brand these shameful proceedings of false and inflamed zeal, and to aid their fellow-believers by the expression of their warm and generous sympathy?

Art. V. *German Experiences: addressed to the English; both stayers at home, and goers abroad.* By William Howitt, author of the 'Rural and Social Life of Germany,' &c. London: 1844. Crown 8vo. pp. viii., 352.

In this work we have the result of Mr. Howitt's reflections upon some parts of the social system of Germany, which he had passed over in his previous publications. We were, we must confess, not quite prepared, by the title of the volume, for the principal portion of its contents. It is divided into two unequal parts. The former of these, comprising ninety-two pages, communicates, in seven chapters, those 'German Experiences,' which may be presumed to possess a special interest for persons intending to settle with their families in that country, or to send their children thither for their education. The latter part, containing two hundred and sixty pages, is not, strictly speaking, matter of experience at all, as far as Mr. Howitt is concerned: but rather, as we have intimated, the result of his studies and reflections concerning certain portions of the social system of the country in which he was for some time a resident. The work, as a whole, is not devoid of interest; though we are not able to speak of it as possessing equal merit with several of the author's other publications on Germany.

The principal topics of the first part of the work are:—Cautions necessary in travelling—choice of a place of residence—arrangements connected with settling in a house or lodgings—advice respecting servants and tradesmen—and education, considered in reference to economy. From our own experience, during a long-continued residence in Germany, we are able to attest the soundness of the advice which Mr. Howitt gives on all or most of these matters; we did not, it is true, fall into quite such bad hands as he appears to have done, but we felt a little, and heard from friends abroad at the same time of much more, which justifies generally the cautions he has given. We consider, however, that his complaints are in some points exaggerated, and we should strongly protest against our readers forming their notions of German society, particularly in university towns, from his too partial representations. To be alive to every precaution which is necessary to secure comfort during a residence abroad, it is by no means necessary to set out with the idea that every body with whom we shall have to do is systematically prepared to cheat us. This is, however, too much the principle of this part of the book. For ourselves, we must assert, that having lodged for brief periods in several capitals, and lived the year together in a university town, we found the instances of rectitude and friendliness far outnumber the opposite instances of

deceit and imposition. Some of Mr. Howitt's experiences at Heidelberg were certainly sufficiently annoying, and may extenuate the harshness which he uniformly expresses. We could quote in his defence his account of his lady-lodging keeper (pp. 52—59), but it is too long for our pages. Our readers may, however, like to know how he fared with some of his tradesmen.

'During the three years that we resided in Heidelberg, I bought, frequently, a great quantity of books from one Mohr. The father, who has always borne an honourable character amongst the trade houses, had given over his business to his son, who, to all the old-fashioned slowness of the old school, added the sullen closeness, and want of truth of too many of the present generation. Two years before I left, I purchased of this man an edition of Goethe, in forty volumes; these he proposed to get bound, making that part of his business. When the books were sent home, it was found that nearly half of them were totally spoiled by the binder having scattered his size amongst the leaves, so as to stick scores of leaves together, which, if you attempted to open, tore out whole words and patches of words. This being pointed out to him, he, of course, consented to replace the defective volumes, which were sent to him for the purpose. Months, however, went on, and the volumes never were supplied. When asked for, they were always on the point of coming. In a year, insisting very strenuously on having them, they came; but what was our astonishment to find, that, instead of new and perfect volumes, the man had actually been at the trouble (though the loss was really that of the binder, and not his) to go through the almost innumerable leaves — to tear all asunder, and to fill in the torn-out words laboriously with a pen! The ink, as might have been expected, had run, and instead of words, we had now so many hideous blots! The amusement this gave us may be conceived. We shewed the volumes to our English friends, who, too, were very merry over this odd circumstance, and thought the edition quite worth bringing to England, as a curiosity. As we, however, preferred a perfect copy, I returned these oddly patched volumes, pointed out to Mohr that such a fact would be very amusing to a London bookseller, and that I must have new ones. The *Dumm Kopf*, as such a fellow is expressively called in his own language, blushed like a great booby of a boy, and promised most readily to replace them with new ones. Another half year, however, went on; they were, as usual, always coming, but never came. It was then suggested to us by some of his own countrymen, that Mohr probably felt himself internally 'beleidigt,' or offended, by my amusement at the patchwork of the books, and never meant to send the new ones at all. On this, I proposed the immediate sending of them in, but, spite of the most ready promises, a month only remained for my stay, and they had not made their appearance. I then assured Mohr, that nothing was so annoying to me as to have my affairs unsettled at the last moment, and that they must be sent instantly home. Up to the day before I left town, they came not, and then came the old patched volumes again, with a note, that the time was so short that he could not get the new ones; 'if I could allow him ten days more, he thought he could have

them from Leipsic.' The man had had them two years to rectify, and he wanted only ten days more!

'But he knew very well that I had now not ten hours to give him. My boxes, which were waiting for these books, were obliged to be dispatched. I therefore sent the whole edition back to him, and requested he would return the money.. No answer. I then took a German gentleman, who had seen the volumes, and declared that no Jew would offer such on a bookstall, and applied to the Bürgermeister for redress. The Bürgermeister, very indignantly, said—

''Send the man his books back.

''They are sent.

''Then don't pay him.

''Unfortunately he is paid.

''Then employ an advocate; go to the Amtmann, and he will compel him to refund the cash, to pay the costs, and that speedily.

''How speedily?

''In a fortnight.

''But I go to-morrow.

'The answer was an expressive shrug of the shoulder, and then this singular transaction ended.'—pp. 47—50.

We quite agree with Mr. Howitt when he says, (p. 71) 'the sending of children to a foreign country, I consider so full of dangers, that I am not prepared to recommend it at all. On the contrary, it is, in my eyes, so hazardous, both to the physical and moral constitutions of youth, that it ought not to be done, except with the utmost care and caution, and is what I could not undertake to advise.' There is no parent, we think, who can peruse what the author has said respecting this subject in pages 71 to 92, without arriving at the same conclusion. The best plan, as Mr. Howitt says, is 'where there is a family, and you can do it, to go and see your children educated yourselves.' The next best is to send them out under the care of a responsible English friend, who may have charge of a few more. But why should boys or girls be sent to Germany for education? Establishments of the character described by Mr. Howitt in pages 87, 88, offer every real advantage, with none of the alarming drawbacks, which, under the most favourable circumstances, attend a lengthened residence abroad. Mr. Howitt has not adverted to some considerations which we consider to be of great importance—we mean the desecration of the sabbath, which is common to nearly all the continental nations, and the want of that 'form and pressure' of domestic piety, which in England constitutes one of the most important elements of practical training.

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in our new police system. That others may share it with him, he discusses at great length the system as it exists in Germany. With much that is true, there is also some exaggeration and partiality in this discussion. Several of the objects over which the police have controul, are in themselves highly excellent and praiseworthy, and are really and efficiently carried out, however we may disapprove of the mode in which they are done.

Another of his topics, is the censorship of the press. On this head we have nothing to object to Mr. Howitt's views. We only think he would have served the cause of liberty better, and more rationally, if instead of pamphleteering declamation he had given a more copious statement of facts. We have seen works which have passed under the censor's eye in Hanover, while that country was under the government of George the Fourth, the starred appearance of which, taken in connection with the subject of the volumes, and the matter which was suffered to remain, has excited our utmost wonder, from the impossibility we found of conceiving what there could have been in the connection which might, by possibility, do harm. We could wish that Mr. Howitt had communicated more of his discoveries in this kind, or at least explained some of his allusions—as, for instance, that to Otto Wigand's Jahrbuch.

In chapter vi., the 'system of patronage and employment' is illustrated, and in chap. x., that of national education in Germany. The former needs no particular remark. It is well known, that in Germany almost all employments, ecclesiastical as well as civil, are in the gift of the crown, through its various agencies, and that this has led to a spirit of dependence and servility, very different from the spirit which is fostered by a representative legislature. The latter subject suggests much that bears upon the circumstances of our own country. If, as Mr. Howitt states, Prince Metternich saw from the first how subservient such a national system might be made to the cause of despotism, he was certainly much wiser in his generation than our civil and ecclesiastical despots, till lately, showed themselves to be. They have, however, got their cue at length; and every effort which they are now making, only goes to prove how necessary it is that the real friends of education—those who value it for its own sake—should continue to resist every attempt to nationalize it, as a measure which, under whatever representations or promises it might be broached, could have no other result than intellectual lethargy and moral bondage.

Chapter vii., on the Roman law and its secret tribunals, contains some curious developments. We learned something incidentally, of the practice of the law in Germany, from a friend who was a justiz-commissarius, but were not aware corporeal

inflictions were still resorted to, as here described, with a view to force evidence. Knowing, indeed, that the Germans claim the throne of philosophy, and write philosophy of all sorts, we endeavoured to obtain a work upon the theory of evidence, but could not hear of one, though we applied to professors of three faculties. We are now, however, less surprised at our failure than we were. Where cudgelling and the rack are resorted to, the philosophy of evidence must be quite an unnecessary study. Mr. Howitt quotes from 'Laing's Tour in Sweden,' the case of the gardener and coachman of the chamberlain, Von Qual, who having been suspected of murdering their master, were imprisoned for six years and three hundred and twenty-five days in fetters, before their innocence of either was declared; and even then, though the writings in the case formed twenty-five folio volumes, one of them, 'not being able to prove the utter impossibility of his being guilty, was found *guilty of being suspected*, and left to pay his share of the expenses of the proceedings, which was equivalent to a sentence of imprisonment for life for the debt. Even this, however, does not equal a case which a few years ago occurred in Germany, and of which the details are given in the present work. This was a case of poisoning, in which one Wendt, a cabinet maker, was falsely accused by one of his apprentices, of causing arsenic to be given to his family, and thus occasioning his wife's death. On the most contradictory evidence of that witness, he was *tortured into confession*, and condemned. We have never read, that we remember, a more barefaced instance of judicial torture than this case, or one which exhibits more forcibly the unsatisfactory and pernicious character of those cruel methods of obtaining evidence which are resorted to where trial by jury is unknown. This, however, we must now pass, to notice a most remarkable, and, if it were not connected with such serious proceedings we should say most ridiculous, circumstance. Sentence being pronounced, it was appealed against, by sending an attested copy of all the minutes of the trial to three different courts in succession,—viz., the respective faculties of law in the university of Göttingen and Heidelberg, and the grand court of appeal for the State. These courts, it must be remembered, summon no parties before them, they see neither accuser nor accused, they hear no counsel, they examine no witnesses. They see merely the written minutes of what has been done.' But we must give the result of these appeals in our author's words:

'The first appeal was to the university of Göttingen; which, on the 6th of November, 1834, gave this decision: that Wendt must be freed by the court from the charge of poisoning his mother, the widow Stege-

mann, till better evidence can be brought against him; but that for the poisoning of his wife, and the attempt to poison his mother-in-law, Eleonore Küchenthal, by instigation, and the wicked injury of other persons by poison and arson, he must be condemned TO BE PUT TO DEATH BY BEING BROKE ON THE WHEEL.' The apprentice Keeser, his accuser, as accomplice, to be confined for life in the Bridewell; and Saal the journeyman, to be set free. The ground of this judgment we will for the present pass over. The next decision was that of Heidelberg, which, on the very same documents, on the 14th January, 1836, about a year and a quarter afterwards, was:—'that Wendt must be fully freed from the charge of poisoning his mother, and from that of attempting to poison his mother-in-law, as well as from that of setting fire to the buildings. As to the charge of poisoning his wife, he was also to be liberated from it, but *only from want of evidence*.' He was to be exempt from all costs, *except those of appealing to themselves;* and for his not sticking to the truth, and his confession of petty cheats, his imprisonment was to be taken as the punishment.

'This judgment saved him from death on the wheel, and set him at liberty, but with the suspicion of the murder of his wife riveted on him, so that it at the same time ruined him. It condemned him, in fact, to starvation; for the cabinet-makers' Guild refused him admittance to their meetings, and to prosecute his trade in the city. Wendt's attorney . . . complained to the Stadtrath, the city justice, against this exclusion. But the Stadtrath refused to assist. . . In vain did the attorney apply to advocates: in vain to the government. . . Had not the attorney, Herr Krüll, taken him into his own care and protection, he must have perished in despair, and had no roof to shelter him but God's free heaven. The good man did more. Convinced, by a careful perusal of the minutes of trial, of Wendt's innocence, he advanced money to replace Wendt in his house and property, which had been sold by the inquisitorial court which had condemned him, . . . gave him work . . . . [and] did not cease till he had got Wendt's case before the grand court of Appeal; and on February 5, 1838, that is *two years* after the Heidelberg decision, and *three years* after the Göttingen, this last court of Appeal decided, that he was perfectly innocent of all the charges whatever, and from all the costs, even those of the appeals.

'That this decision,' says the compiler of the case, 'filled Wendt with indescribable thankfulness and joy, any one may readily conceive; but,' adds he, 'in the meantime, he had suffered all the fatal consequences of this prosecution, and this decision could not remove them.' The attorney applied to the court of Appeal for an order for the payment of full damages to Wendt, but this it would not grant; and he had now been seven years under the harrows of the law, the greater part of it in prison; his household were scattered, his property ruined, his trade gone for ever.'—pp. 214—217.

'Such,' adds Mr. Howitt, 'is the established system of criminal judicature in philosophical Germany, and such are its fruits.' He speaks truly when he says, 'the very idea is terrific, of a country filled with such secret tribunals. Our worst culprits

have this hope, at the furthest, of being brought out to the face of day in six months; and then in the presence of the whole public, face to face with their accusers, their judges sitting aloft in the eye of the sun, of God, and all good men, and then and there being condemned only on the fullest actual evidence.'

In chapter viii., we have an account of the political poets of Germany, particularly Count Auersperg; the Cosmopolitan Watchman; Hoffmann von Fallersleben; Benedikt Dalei; and Herwegh. Some tolerable translations of a few of their pieces are given. As this chapter is reprinted from the 'Athenæum,' we need not detain our readers with it, but must make room for the following short piece of Hoffmann von Fallersleben:

'ON THE WALHALLA.

'[In which the King of Bavaria has assembled the busts and statues of the great men of Germany, heroes, patriots, and reformers; Luther, and such little men, however, excepted.]

'Hail to thee, thou lofty hall,
Of German greatness, German glory!
Hail to you, ye heroes all,
Of ancient and of modern story!

'Oh! ye heroes in the hall,
Were ye but alive, as once!
Nay—that would not do at all—
The king prefers you, stone and bronze.'—pp. 259, 260.

On reviewing the impression which this book has made, we see no reason to alter the judgment we have already expressed. It certainly falls short of the interest which several of Mr. Howitt's other publications have excited, and it has some demerits of its own. It is, for instance, written in a less amiable spirit than his works have usually been, especially his 'Rural Life in Germany.' Any one would suppose that it was written by a quarrelsome, discontented man, who had been continually in hot water. His political discussions also appear to us rather out of place in a work bearing the title of 'German Experiences.' They are, besides this, as already noticed, partial and exaggerated, deficient in moderation, and moral dignity. Glimpses appear of something like sympathy with some of the worst writers (because least conscientious) whom Germany has ever produced; as, for instance, Vatke, whom the *renowning* mania induces to attempt the subversion of the authority of the Bible, by a ridiculous theory respecting the origin of the Mosaic religion. We can only suppose that Mr. Howitt knew little about him, when he described him as one of those *patriots* who have 'purposely married women of property to enable them to

act independently against the growing pressure of royal despotism in Germany.' Strauss's first infidel work he describes very equivocally, and, to say the least, carelessly, as 'a most ably written Life of Christ, of which a cheap and very poor translation is now to be seen in our infidel book-shops in London.' It is true that this notice occurs in a part of the work where Mr. Howitt is holding out a caution against German education on the score of infidelity, but it is certainly both inaccurate and dangerous as a description of Strauss's work. We believe, however, that most of the blemishes of this class are produced by haste, and we could have wished, for Mr. Howitt's own sake, that he had taken up the very important questions which occupy the second part of his work, more at leisure, and in a way which would have enabled him to do both them and himself more real justice.

Art. VI. *Journals of the Rev. Messrs. Isenbery and Krapf, missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, detailing their proceedings in the kingdom of Shoa, and journeys in other parts of Abyssinia, in the years* 1839, 1840, 1841, *and* 1842. *To which is prefixed, a Geographical Memoir of Abyssinia, and South-eastern Africa.* By James M'Queen, Esq., grounded on the Missionaries' journals, and the expedition of the Pacha of Egypt up the Nile. The whole illustrated by two maps, engraved by Arrowsmith. pp. 653. London; Seeley, 1843.

THIS is a very interesting and valuable book. Without possessing some of the attractions which a large portion of the reading, and even the religious, world alone acknowledges, it has great worth. It does not record the exciting incidents, nor is it written in the bewitching style, required by the highly stimulated and vicious taste of the present day, but its contributions to our knowledge will be permanently valuable, its representation of matters relating to missions must do great good, while even of personal adventure there is enough to prevent its being dull to any healthy mind, although taking no interest in its most important contents. There is only one complaint which we have to make, and that is of the size of the book. Were it just one half as large as it is, it might contain in a more condensed and therefore better form, all its present information, with the exception only of what might be readily excused. We regret that so much sterling excellence should be diluted by

the introduction and repetition of so many records which few beside the authors can be expected to care about.

Africa possesses peculiar claims to attention. The source of European science and civilization—Egypt being old when Greece was young, and wise to a proverb even in the days of Moses—it has been long a land of curiosity and wonder. And if the records of the past did not make it an object of interest, present proceedings and prospects would. France and England are both looking towards it, and it is impossible to predict the events of which it will be the scene, or the advantages that will be derived from it, to the temporal and spiritual welfare of the world. Its magnificent pyramids, monuments of a far distant age, and promising a perpetuity of existence, may well be considered as connecting links between its early and its future fame, while the disclosure of their hieroglyphic secrets affords a type of the glorious renovation that yet awaits its resources and its powers. Of this mysterious and goodly land, Abyssinia is, from many causes, one of the most important and promising districts. Two circumstances especially give it interest to Europe—'its river and its church; and it is certainly pleasing to reflect, that Egypt—the granary of the east, a field annually enriched by a triple harvest, a smiling, luxuriant garden, in a remote corner of the blank, lifeless desert of Africa—owes its fertility to a river which, rising in a christian country, may not unjustly be considered as a type of that religion which, calmly proceeding in its course, is ever offering to the vast moral deserts through which it flows, peace, happiness, civilization, fertility, present and future enjoyment.'

It is chiefly as a missionary journal that the work before us is to be regarded. In other views—especially as correcting and enlarging our geographical knowledge of that portion of Africa which it describes—it deserves a place among the most important records of modern times. The excellent paper supplied by Mr. Mc Queen, greatly enhances its value in this respect. It will be seen from it how recent investigations have confirmed the accuracy of Bruce's information, abundantly redeeming his testimony from the scepticism and obloquy with which it has sometimes been treated. There are few things more pleasant than the contemplation of such a result—but it seems almost a rule of Providence that in this world at least, good names shall not reach their culmination without a sharp contest with obscuring clouds; that they shall pass to glory through a purgatory; and, like seed, die in part to live.—Another illustration is supplied by these journals, in addition to the many previously existing, of the *incidental* benefits which are secured to mankind by christian missions. Science and commerce are

much indebted to the propagation of the gospel. And this is but an indication of a general truth. The conduct of our divine Redeemer, in putting his moral lessons and the authentication of his claims in the form of physical remedies, was a declaration and a specimen of the relation of his religion to the universal good of men, and ever since the most devoted servants of his faith have been the best temporal benefactors of their race. Godliness has the promise of the life that now is.

But our object is not to indulge in general reflections, so much as to present our readers with some of the information furnished by Messrs. Isenberg and Krapf. From Zeilah, where they landed in the beginning of April, 1839, they sailed to Tajoura, a small town, whose exact position, as well as the existence of the bay, at the entrance of which it is situated, they were the first to state. From Tajoura, the best point from which to enter Abyssinia, they travelled to Ankobar, the capital of Shoa, an independent state of great importance in the south of Abyssinia. Mr. Krapf chiefly resided at Ankobar during his stay in Abyssinia, for nearly three years, the greater part of which he was a solitary labourer, Mr. Isenberg having soon returned to England. Very little in the shape of direct and perfect fruit appears to have resulted from their zealous efforts. Indeed, their principal means of pursuing their ends were the personal superintendence of the teaching of a few boys, the distribution of the New Testament, in Amharic, and conversation. We confess we are not at all surprised at the want of immediate and specific usefulness. There is no greater display of ignorant and narrow views than is made in the judgments often formed of what is called success. Taking broad views of the matter, we think that Messrs. Isenberg and Krapf have reason to rejoice in what they were permitted to do, in the entrance they gained, the inquiry they stimulated, the sound principles they disseminated, and in the good foundation they laid for wider and more prolonged exertions.

Shoa formerly belonged to the Abyssinian empire, but in the sixteenth century became an independent state. The king is entirely despotic, being able to do with his subjects, and their possessions, after the most approved fashion of tyrannical power. Sahela Selassieh, the present king, received and treated our missionaries with much civility, though evidently more intent on obtaining presents from them, and employing their skill and knowledge in advancing his own secular interests, than in furthering their spiritual objects. He is the seventh king of Shoa, and has several wives and children. The method adopted to secure the integrity of the succession is rather amusing—all the male children being confined in prison until

the death of the sovereign, when the oldest is released, and crowned by the Malafa Agafari, the first door-keeper. The rest are kept in confinement by the same wise policy.

The most devoted advocate of centralization could not desire a more perfect uniformity than is here secured. The king is the life and rule of all things—the universal head.

'*June* 13, 1839.—This morning we met with the king at the place of judgment. He was sitting on an elevated spot, and the persons who had complaints or business were standing at the entrance of the king's house. Four judges sit to hear the complaints of the people, and decide upon them. If their decision should not please the king, he himself decides. In giving judgment, he spends several days every week. Having seen the manner in which the king gives judgment, we were then introduced to his workmen. Blacksmiths, weavers, and other tradesmen are gathered within a large place, where each of them performs the piece of work assigned to him; which, having finished, he is obliged to shew to the king, who, if not pleased with it, orders him to improve it.'—p. 62.

As an illustration of what we have observed respecting his disposition to use the missionaries for secular purposes, and also the oppressive nature of his rule, we may give the following, which shows what an adept he is in the restrictive and monopolizing system of more enlightened countries:—

'*June* 17.—This morning, Beru, the king's boy, came, asking us, in the name of his master, whether we understood how to prepare sugar and brandy. We answered as on a former occasion, and repeated our request to receive boys for the purpose of instructing them; and that we would then serve the king as far as we could. Beru went away; but returned immediately to fetch our kitchen-vessels, which the king wished to see. At the same time, he longed for a European dish, and begged us to write down, as far as we knew, how to prepare one. Having answered that we could not meddle with such matters, we requested our servant to serve the king in this respect. He was immediately called to prepare a dinner. The king is anxious to get from Europeans all that he sees and hears. It is, however, to be regretted, that he only endeavours to consult his own personal advantage and comfort, without reflecting upon the welfare of his people. Well qualified mechanics of all kinds are well received by the king; but they dare not expect European wages. They receive their daily maintenance, but that is all. I am sure that skilful artizans, who are real christians, would render great services to our mission. How much the king seeks after his own interest, the following instances will prove. No man in Shoa, except the king, is allowed to prepare the Abyssinian hydromel, which is called Zatsh—prepared from water, honey, and a plant, named Zadoa. Furthermore, an Albanese, whose name is Johanes, who was formerly a Mahomedan, and turned a christian in Shoa, built a bridge over the river Beresa; but nobody, except the king, is allowed to pass over it, even at the rainy season. This y four persons have been

drowned in the river. Farther: he levies high customs upon goods. From ten pieces of salt, he takes one; from ten dollars, one is paid to him. By these measures commerce is stopped. Demetrius, a Greek, built a mill; but nobody can use it. These are only a few instances, among many others, which might be mentioned. But it is to be hoped, that the king will discontinue such measures, when he has become more acquainted with Europeans. At present he is too narow-minded, following the principles of all other rulers of Abyssinia. In some respects, he is inferior to them; attacking, for instance, a Galla tribe, without sufficient reasons, taking their property, and sending the captives as slaves to Tadjurra. He repeats this cruel custom every year, when the rainy season is over. In this manner he has enlarged his dominions. The country which he has taken in war, is said to be thirty times greater than Shoa itself.'—pp. 63—65.

In one of these expeditions, in which the king, according to his custom, ordered many villages to be destroyed, their inhabitants refusing tribute, and escaping to the mountains, he was accompanied by Mr. Krapf, a circumstance which we confess our inability fully to approve, notwithstanding the advantages in relation to himself, and the mission, which he alleges to have resulted from it.

The religious condition of this part of the world is such as to excite great regret in the mind of every lover of 'pure and undefiled religion.' Abyssinia is nominally a christian country, having received christianity at an early period, and retained it, through many trials, to the present time. The Coptic patriarch of Cairo is the head of the Abyssinian church. It forms no exception to the corruption which has disfigured and enfeebled the true faith in every country of the earth. Judaism and heathenism have liberally supplied the elements of weakness and impurity. Superstition reigns without a check. Their abstinence from certain meats, circumcision, fasts, monasteries, veneration of the virgin, miracles and pictures of saints, charms, all declare how sadly they have lost the power, and departed from the apostolical form of godliness. A few sketches will show our readers that this is only the melancholy truth. The first relates to public worship.

'*June* 30—*Lord's Day.*—I went this morning to the church. We think it necessary to go often, partly that they may not accuse us as despisers of their church; partly to become acquainted with the people and priests; and partly that we may become well acquainted with the manner of their worship. On coming to the door of the church, I was obliged to pull off my shoes. Having entered the church, I was requested to sit at the side of the Alaca, and received a long stick, which the priests carry with them, and on which they lean in church. All that they do in church, is to make a terrible bawling, which they call singing. Their hymns are contained in a book called Degua, which

book is composed by an ancient teacher of their church, whose name is Fared, from Samien. In singing, they frisk and dance, beat together with their sticks, then with symbols and drums. Their bawling is interrupted by reading a portion of scripture. In fact, the whole seems to be rather a play than worship.'—pp. 71, 72.

Their fasts are numerous, and long enough to satisfy any one, however intent on 'neglecting of the body.'

'*August* 7, 1839.—This morning I asked Akaloo, whom I have mentioned before, what the Abyssinians eat when they fast. He answered, that they were only allowed to eat goman, stinging nettles, and dry bread. The present fast is called the fast of Nahasie. Nahasie is our August. Then follows the Hodad fast, in the months of February and March, which lasts forty days; after which, in June, the fast of the Apostles, which lasts twenty-five or thirty days; and then the fast of Nineveh, which lasts three days. In the month of December is Tsoma ledat. Otherwise they fast every Wednesday and Friday. The fasts of Felsata, Hodadie, Apostles, as well as those of every week, are imposed on them as a work of necessity. As to keeping of the other fasts, it is voluntary. Thus they pass a great part of the year in fasting, seeking thereby their own righteousness. If a person does not fast, he is separated from the church; and if he does not repent, he is not interred in the common burial ground.

'*August* 8.—* * * * To-day was the fast of the children. Children are exempted from fasting till they are twelve years of age, except when they go to the Lord's Supper, when they are compelled to fast. Once in the year, that is to-day, they are obliged to take the blessed sacrament. Any one who spits, or plucks off a leaf from a tree, is not admitted to the communion table. They receive a white cloth from the church, in which they are enveloped up to the mouth, and stand from morning till the evening, observing the greatest silence; but they do not understand any thing about the ceremony. I asked a boy whether he knew why he took the blessed sacrament; when he replied, because it made him grow.'—pp. 88, 89.

After such edifying proceedings as these, our readers will be prepared to learn that the most puerile opinions, mystical views of scripture, and absurd controversies, abound in this church. A few specimens of these must suffice.

'*June* 26.—The Alaca Wolda Serat told us this morning that the Abyssinians are of opinion that St. Matthew wrote his gospel in Hebrew, St. Mark in Latin, and St. Luke and St. John in Greek. He then asked, whether we believed that Adam was seven years in the garden of Eden. We replied, that we did not know, as the scriptures say nothing about it; and that we did not acknowledge their book Senafehat, on which that opinion rests, as divinely inspired.' (p. 68.) 'He (Wolda Serat) then asked about our chronology. I told him that we count 4004 years before Christ. The Abyssinians, he said, 5500 years before Christ, which they prove from Luke i. 26; '*And, in the sixth month, the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto Mary.*' I said, that I did not wonder

at such an opinion, as the Abyssinians had not a sound exposition of scripture to rely upon, as they either followed human books, or wrested the sense of the passages of the Bible. I then referred him to the genealogy in Genesis v.'—p. 71.

'*July* 1, 1839.—Very early this morning I heard a loud cry in the neighbourhood of our house. On asking what it was, I was told, that there were several persons who wished to make their complaints known to the King. They cried, Abiet! Abiet! It is the duty of the King's counsellors, who are called Wanberotsh, that is Deputies, to carry the complaints of the people before the King. In general, the four Wanberotsh decide themselves; but they must always bring their decision before the King, who, in other cases, relies upon them as his Deputies. With the cry Abiet! Abiet! the Abyssinians connect a strange story. They say that the devil, on the day of judgment, will cry in the same manner; when the Lord will ask him what he requires from Him. The devil will answer, that the angels have taken from him a number of souls who belonged to him; when the Lord will ask him their names, to which he will reply, 'I do not know.' The Lord will then answer, 'If thou dost not know the name of the thieves, I cannot help thee.''—p. 72.

'As I would not halt at Debra Berhan, I sent my compliments to the Alaca of the church of the Holy Trinity. I also sent him a copy of the Æthiopic New Testament. He thankfully acknowledged the receipt, and wished me a happy journey. He is one of the principal leaders of the party in Shoa, which denies that the human soul has any knowledge in the womb—that the Holy Virgin did not die a victim of mankind, and should not be worshipped like the Son; and that the Son does not praise the Father in His state of exaltation. These are at present the principal Shoan controversies, which ran so high, that his majesty thought it necessary to interfere and decide the dispute by his royal authority in favour of those who teach the contrary, and who prefer their own conceptions to the standard of the Bible. The latter having got the ascendancy in the Shoan church, expelled the others from their ecclesiastical functions. These, however, applied to the new Abuna, Abba Salama, who decided in their favour, and ordered the King of Shoa to restore them to their office; but the king has not yet obeyed, and will delay the matter till he is put by the Abuna to his last resource.'—pp. 273, 274.

These extracts, and many others that might be given, show the direction in which the corruption of Christianity has gone in Abyssinia, and it is the same in all lands. The tendency of human nature has ever been more to superstition than to scepticism, to multiply gods, than to deny a deity, to magnify, than to derogate from, the importance and the power of those who teach religion. The evils that have afflicted christianity, from its first introduction to the present moment, have arisen from the extravagant indulgence, not the unnatural suppression, of certain religious sentiments, good in themselves, and so powerful as to require the greatest caution and wisdom for their proper regulation and healthy indulgence. The great danger of the

present times lies in this quarter. It comes not from infidelity, which need excite but little fear; it is from the diseased faith and feelings of professed believers. And the function of those who have at heart the purity of the gospel is to ascertain the real source of the peril, while they condemn its manifestations; to discover what the good (for it is good) in man is which leads to so much evil; and to cultivate the due and holy exercise of sentiments, whose undue and unholy operation has occasioned so much mischief, remembering that it is vain to strive with nature, and that the right use of its powers is the best defence against their abuse. There is an injurious mistake exhibited in much zealous effort directed against the reigning perversions of christianity. This consists in losing sight of the fact, that they are perversions. Indiscriminate censure takes the place of skilful analysis, and the work of curing begins where it ought to end. This method is not simply useless, it is pernicious, the disease is forced in and confirmed by injudicious treatment, whereas the system should be strengthened to throw it out.

Mr. Krapf left Ankobar for Egypt in March, 1842, intending to return to Shoa. At Angollala he waited on the king, who consented to the journey, and offered to supply him with what he might require for it. A somewhat curious incident took place just afterwards, strongly illustrative of the selfishness of his Majesty.

'I therefore went home in order to reflect on what I should require from his Majesty; but I had no sooner returned to my house than Ayto Habti appeared again, and informed me that his Majesty had taken a fancy to my beautiful rifle gun, presented to me by Captain Haines; and that his majesty had ordered him to express his wish that I would leave it with him before I departed. I replied, that I had formerly given several handsome presents to his majesty, and could not therefore give any more; that I wanted the gun for myself on my dangerous journey; and, besides, I could not part with a present which I had received from a friend whom I valued and respected. I hoped that this reply would induce his Majesty to desist from his desire for my rifle; but far from giving up the matter, he carried it on so long, that I became tired and disgusted, and parted with the beautiful weapon. He sent me a double-barrel flint gun, but so miserably made that I would not look upon the messenger who brought it. This he requested me to accept instead of the rifle; which, if I should lose on the road, would make him very sorry. I sent word, that the desire of his Majesty for my rifle had made me very sad; yea, angry with him, at the moment of my leaving his country; that it was a bad practice, disgracing his name in my country, to deprive strangers of the very property which they consider most valuable; and that it would be far better for a stranger not to bring with him any article of value to this country, as the people, and especially the King, would immediately deprive him of it by means of daily increasing petitions of the most annoying and unpleasant kind.

'This strong language, which I was obliged to use, had an effect, though only of a temporary nature. He sent another messenger, who informed me that the king begged me, for Christ's and the gospel's sake, not to mention, in my country, that the king of Shoa had endeavoured to deprive me of my property; and that he had only advised me to leave the gun in his hands, lest it might be lost on the road. At the same time, the messenger hinted to me, that his Majesty had intended, if I had not left the country, to invest me with a government.'—pp. 267—269.

The journey of Mr. Krapf from Angollala to Massowah, the account of which occupies more than half of the journals, was attended with a great variety of experiences. The keenest sympathy must be felt by all who read the narrative of so many difficulties, and dangers, and distresses. We can only afford room for the description which he gives of his treatment by Adara Bille. The king of Shoa had sent him through the territory of this man, the chieftain of the tribe Lagga Ghora, in preference to his going the shorter road through the territory of Abie, who, he said, would plunder and perhaps kill him. But the measures taken for security led into danger, and the friendly chieftain turned out to be an unscrupulous robber. On going through the capital of Adara Bille, to Gondar, Mr. Krapf had an interview with him, in which 'he used all sorts of complimentary words, and was in general so friendly, civil, and familiar, that Mr. Krapf could not recollect ever having seen a chieftain like Adara Bille.' A few miles beyond the Bashilo, tidings of war obliged Mr. Krapf to return, and on his arrival at Gatira, the capital of Adara Bille, he was made to feel how hollow were his words, how deceitful his smiles. After detaining our missionary, on false pretence, for several days, he gave him a solemn promise that he should leave on the day following: Mr. Krapf intending to make his escape on the succeeding night, provided the promise was not fulfilled. He was awakened in the midst of his slumbers by a servant of Adara Bille, wishing him to call and take a final leave, as the chieftain might not be able to see him in the morning. He made great professions of friendship and pleasure; tried on Mr. Krapf's spectacles and boots; asked many questions, and so tired Mr. Krapf that he expressed a desire to depart.

'But he, hearing this, said, 'Do not go yet, my father; I have not yet been delighted enough: you must eat and drink more, as you have scarcely taken anything since you entered my room.' After a few minutes, I repeated my desire to go home, and then got up; when he, seeing my intention to leave him, went into a small cabinet behind the bedstead on which he was sitting. As soon as he had entered, his servants fell upon me and my people, as if a signal had been given for the

purpose. The man who had seized my arm said, 'You are a prisoner: give surety that you will not escape.' My servants, as well as myself, were astonished at this strange proceeding.

'At first, I took the whole scene for an expedient of Adara Bille to prove my intrepidity and courage; but I soon found that the Wolla chieftain made no sport with me or my people. They took me out of Adara's room, into a small house which had been already arranged for my prison. They first allowed me, however, to see the small cottage in which my servants were confined. I was then separated from them, and conducted to my private jail. There I was ordered to give up all my clothes, and the contents of my pockets. As I hesitated to do this, my guards declared that they were ordered by Adara Bille to put me to death, if I did not instantly give up all that I had with me. At the same time they snatched from me my Abyssinian cloak. I appealed in vain to the justice and friendship of Adara Bille. 'Give up the treasures which you have with you,' was the continual clamour of the plundering soldiers. 'You must die immediately, if you conceal the least of your property.' The female slaves, who were grinding meal in a corner of the room, began to lament and cry aloud. When the soldiers endeavoured to take off my boots, shirt, and trousers, I obstinately refused, till they at last desisted, most probably not knowing how to take them off without cutting them to pieces. However, they examined me very closely, in order to discover whether I had any money or any thing else. Unfortunately a dollar, with the keys of my boxes, and my penknives were discovered, and immediately taken. Also a small copy of the English New Testament, with some notes of the day, was found and taken, though I entreated them to leave this, which I considered a greater treasure than any thing else, as it contained the Word of God. But whatever fell into their hands, they would not give me back. I remembered the proceedings of the raging multitude towards my Saviour before Pontius Pilate: His example was the only treasure which strengthened me in this dreadful moment, when even my life was at stake. I endeavoured several times to remind them of death, and the judgment hereafter; but they had neither eyes nor minds for this application. 'Give up your money,' was their cry. A short time afterwards one of my boxes, which they could not open, was brought in, and I was ordered to open it. I patiently performed this, when the box was taken to Adara Bille, who examined its contents, and afterwards sent it back, with the order that I should shut it up again. From that moment I never saw the box, nor any other part of my property.

'As it was very cold, and the little fire was not of much use, I ventured to ask for my Abyssinian cloak. A soldier acquainted Adara Bille with my request, and the cloak was restored. I could not ascertain any thing of my poor servants that night; the slaves, who were with me in the room, did not venture to communicate with me. The only consolation which they gave me was, that I should not be murdered, and that my people would not be sold as slaves, as I had expected. As it was already very late, and being tired and tormented with anxiety, I laid down on the ground; but sleep fled from my eyes. My mind was engaged in sighing after the support of Him who

knows the afflictions of His servants and children. I begged Him to prepare me for a happy entrance into the kingdom of heaven, if this should be my last night on earth.

'The room was full of watchmen, others were posted around the outside of the house, while others watched the fence and walls; Adara Bille probably being afraid of my escape. A soldier lay over my legs, another close to my head, and one on either side: these lay upon the ends of my cloak. Believing that I had fallen asleep, as I made no movement, the soldiers began to talk in the Galla language, which they probably thought I could not understand. Some of them disapproved of Adara Bille's behaviour, which would compromise him in the whole country; while others said, that he had done right in plundering the white man. Others thought that I should be killed, lest Sahela Selassieh and Ras Ali should hear of what Adara Bille had done; but others advised that I should be sent to the road of Tehooladere and Yechoo, when I should either die of fatigue on the road, or be killed by the Raia Gallas. You may suppose that this conversation was not very pleasant to me; but I inwardly said to my Heavenly Father, 'Men are all liars; not my will, nor theirs shall be done, but only thine.''—pp. 377—380.

On the third day after this occurred, having been in the meantime uncertain what would become of them, Mr. Krapf and his attendants were ordered to be conducted beyond the territory of Adara Bille by six soldiers, who preceded them with spears, shields, and swords. 'Almost the whole of the population of Gatira was assembled. Most of them wept; others wished us a happy journey; none praised their chief; and many expected a punishment from heaven would be inflicted upon the country in consequence of the injustice shown towards strangers.'

We cannot close our notice of this interesting volume, without referring to a subject of considerable importance at the present time. While our missionaries were in Shoa, a French traveller, M. Rochet, arrived there, and after some time returned to France, where he published a volume, entitled, 'Voyage dans la côte orientale de la Mer Rouge, dans la pays d'Adel, et la Royaume de Choa.' In this work he gives an account of the state of Christianity in Abyssinia, and adds these observations, which we commend to the serious consideration of Protestants:

'The critical state of Christianity in the kingdom of Shoa should call for the efforts of a Catholic mission in that country. I should desire that missionaries of this communion might succeed in rallying the Amharras round it; but I think there is not a more delicate task—that there is not a work which demands more prudence: an ardent inconsiderate zeal would endanger all. Our missionaries should not forget that the heat of the Portuguese Jesuits lost all the advantages which Catholicism had previously obtained, and ended by causing them to be

triven out of Abyssinia in the sixteenth century. The Abyssinians still remember the violent dissensions which the vehemence of the Jesuits had created among them. The last traces of this remembrance—grievous prejudice for Catholicism—must be effaced by means of forbearance and charity. Our missionaries ought ever to be cautious of avowing their intention. It will, I doubt not, be for the interest of their cause—and in like and analogous policy—only to present themselves at first as merchants or mechanics, after the example of the Jesuits, who introduced, in the seventeenth century, the glorious China missions. I believe it unnecessary to add, that a mild reserved course should only be observed, until their credit with the king, and their influence over the country, should be solidly established by their successful labours. Their efforts should at first be directed toward the king, for on his conversion alone would depend that of the Amharics. Attempts on the Gallas might be tried, by representing to the prince of what political advantage it would be for him to unite all the members of his states in the same unity of faith. It would be necessary to avoid showing any jealousy or animosity towards the Methodist mission, whose wise conduct ought, on the contrary, to be followed as a model. In every circumstance it would be necessary always to keep in view, that the slightest imprudence, the least rashness, would suffice to destroy for ever in Abyssinia the entrance of Catholicism, perhaps of Christianity and of civilization.'

Verily, Popery, thou art unchanged!

Art. VII. *What Saith the New Testament? or the Ecclesiastical Policy of Apostolic Times, in a Series of short Lectures.* By the Rev. Samuel Hillyard. London: Dinnis, Paternoster Row.

THIS little work may be regarded as one of the signs of the times. As the ideas of popular freedom deepen their roots in the social soil, it is inevitable that the claims of ecclesiastical domination should undergo the ordeal of a complete and searching enquiry. This investigation can scarcely be said to be now commencing, but circumstances affecting the present times have given to it a force and energy from which we cannot but expect important results. Nor is this enquiry confined to a party or a sect, the very possessors of ecclesiastical power, no less than those who suffer under its imperial rule are daily examining the foundations of their authority, and the grounds of their subserviency. We entertain no doubt that these investigations will issue in the full admission of the claims of conscience, in the ample recognition of the right of private judgment.

The work before us enters briefly and yet comprehensively into the much vexed question of the scriptural constitution of a

christian church; and with a happy judiciousness draws its arguments and illustrations not only from the direct language of scripture, but from the open and unequivocal admissions of the leading writers of the Anglican church. It commences with a lecture devoted to the definition of a church, and in that definition the views of our author are fully borne out by the language adopted by the protestant hierarchy itself, which represents it as a community of faithful men, embracing the doctrines of the New Testament, and observing the ordinances of the christian religion. Under this definition the term is shewn to be erroneous; first, as popularly applied to an edifice, and secondly, as designating an alleged succession of individuals, extending over centuries, and united by no common bond either of doctrine or practice.

In the establishment of this point we consider our author perfectly successful, and if his arguments needed the corroboration of authority, we might adduce that of the present Archbishop of Dublin, whose views upon this point, at once luminous and liberal, the reader will find at large in his work on the 'Kingdom of Christ.' From this view our author argues out naturally enough the independence of individual churches, in proof of which, as a historical truth, he cites the authority of Gibbon, and as a theological principle, the admission of some of the most eminent members even of the English hierarchy. He makes it sufficiently apparent that the apostolic churches were solely composed of men of approved religious character, and most happily contrasts their constitution in this respect with the lax discipline that prevails in the established churches of modern times. 'A most extraordinary opinion,' says he, 'has lately issued from an evangelical quarter; viz., that it was intended the church in this world should be mixed, and that to attempt to erect a pure community on earth is to forestall the separation that shall take place in the judgment. According to this, Paul ought to have been satisfied with the corrupt community at Corinth, and to have considered it as necessarily belonging to the church during its terrestrial sojourn. It is not, however, in their ecclesiastical, but in their civil and temporal condition that the good and evil are represented as mixed together. 'The field' in which the tares and wheat grow together 'is not the church, but the world;' and the direction to let both grow together till the harvest, is a command to the church to leave unbelievers to the day of judgment to be punished, being condemnatory of the practice of visiting with penalties and death those, who being in the world, act according to their character. The church must not judge those that are without, for them God judgeth. That the tares *in the church*

are to be rooted out, is evident from the excommunications effected by the command of the apostles. They did not understand the parable of the tares and wheat as forbidding to cleanse the church of its corrupt members. Their animadversions on the unworthy characters which had gained access to this communion, prove how offensive it was to Christ, while he himself commends the Ephesian church because it could not bear them that were evil.' p. 54.

Next in order comes the exposition of the functions of the pastor, or bishop, terms which are proved to designate one and the same office, with more brevity and clearness than we have usually seen exemplified in this controversy. The three clerical orders of bishop, priest, and deacon are disposed of in the most striking and convincing manner. The subject of ecclesiastical courts and councils, and of church discipline generally, is treated with much lucidness and skill, and the claim to a power of inflicting pains and penalties of any other than a purely spiritual nature on the part of any body whatever, whether civil or ecclesiastical, as applied to the government of the christian church, is shown to be entirely destitute of the slightest colour or countenance from the word of God.

The general subject of church discipline is discussed in a very comprehensive manner, while the secession from corrupt communities and erroneous teachers is conclusively vindicated on New Testament authority from the sin of schism.

If amidst much, which it is impossible to read without strong feelings of approbation, we were required to particularize some features in this little work which appear to us especially valuable, we should refer to the chapter on lay agency, and to that which respects voluntary pecuniary contributions for the maintenance of the christian religion in the world.

The first of these subjects appears to us to be of incalculable importance. If a stated order and succession of men alone are to be entrusted with the propagation of Christianity, that process will either go on in arithmetic progression, or there will be no progression at all; but if every one that 'heareth' is to say 'come,' if every one that is converted is to 'strengthen his brethren,' if the blessing of God is to be sought that his way may be known upon earth, a new power is introduced into the process of evangelizing the world; it advances, if we may borrow from an exact science a term to illustrate a spiritual operation, in a geometrical ratio, and even those who may not understand this technical distinction, must perceive how incalculably the cause of religion is a gainer by the change.

Too much credit can hardly be accorded to Mr. Hillyard for the really exemplary manner in which he has performed his task.

There is no special pleading, no oratorical display, no *odium theologicum*: the catholicity of spirit which his work exhibits corresponds with the mildness and modesty of its temper. It is distinguished throughout by clearness of argumentation, simplicity of style, and an earnest love of truth, which in their combination constitute the safest antidote to the prejudice of the reader. We conclude by recommending his work as an excellent compendium of the principles of nonconformity to men of all parties: while to christian ministers who feel the vital importance of the right of private judgment, who deplore the mischiefs which the violation of this right has induced in the christian church, and are devoutly desirous to purge that church from the errors it has admitted, we say, 'Go and do likewise.' If every dissenting minister would only feel and act upon the sense of his duty to bring all within his influence acquainted with the simple and sacred grounds of his faith as a nonconformist, we should be sanguine in our hope of the rapid advance of pure and undefiled religion.

Art. VIII. *The History of the London Missionary Society, comprising an account of the origin of the Society, biographical notices of some of its Founders and Missionaries; with a record of its progress at home and its operations abroad.* Compiled from original documents, in the possession of the Society. By William Ellis, late Foreign Secretary, etc. Vol. I. London: Snow.

AMONG the advantages which the public have derived from the jubilee celebrations of the Baptist and London Missionary Societies, it is no inconsiderable one to have obtained authentic histories of their proceedings. The lapse of fifty years is a period long enough to throw the incidents of their earliest movements into a distance sufficient to impart freshness and novelty to the story; and yet brief enough to furnish the means of preserving the narratives from error and exaggeration. The men who are gone have left their characters and their actions as the precious heir-loom of the great missionary family, and the few who remain can attest the truth of what is written, and join the earnest congratulations of their younger, but not less zealous friends. The example of Dr. Cox in writing the history of the Baptist Missionary Society has, we are glad to find, been followed by Mr. Ellis, in composing the history of the London Missionary Society. Both works start from the same point in referring to the political condition of Europe at the time of the origination of modern missions, both admirably dove-tail into each other in communicating the

circumstances of the formation of their respective societies, and together form a body of fact and evidence which will always connect the religious history of this country with that of the moral advancement of Europe, America, and the Eastern world, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. We have already expressed our high opinion of the former, and are no less prompt and happy to record a similar estimate of the latter. They are one in aim and tendency, and treat of a subject which, though formerly the derision of the infidel, has of late years acquired an increasing popularity, and bids fair to compel into eulogium those whose pages formerly ascribed to it the attributes of insanity.

After various individual efforts, and some private conferences, the formation of the London Missionary Society was accomplished, in September, 1795, by holding a series of meetings in London, which were attended by a great concourse of ministers and people. A preliminary meeting having been held on the 21st, the public solemnities commenced on the following day in Spa Fields Chapel, when Dr. Haweis preached with great fervour and eloquence; after which a plan was adopted as the basis of a society, whose object was defined to be 'to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations.' In this we think the projectors surpassed their predecessors of the Baptist Missionary Society, who limited their basis to the *heathen*: a restriction which of late seems to have been found inconvenient, as that society has adopted a more comprehensive designation.

The Rev. Matthew Wilks first suggested that the newly formed society should begin their missionary career among the South Sea Islands, and Dr. Haweis afterwards advocated the same course, representing *that* as a field which presented the fewest difficulties and the greatest prospect of success. The directors were encouraged by the offer of his official services from Captain James Wilson, and in a short time the *Duff* was purchased and equipped for the enterprise. The catholic principle of the society, embracing all denominations of christians, as well as the somewhat romantic character of the proposed expedition, attracted universal interest, and secured the kind co-operation of the men who held offices of influence in the government of the country. This was the more surprising, as it was precisely in this department of government that the kindred society had found some of its greatest obstacles. In another respect, however, they were fellow sufferers.—Both had to encounter the indifference and opposition of some of the leading ministers of the day; a fact which may well awaken surprise, but of which the evidence is too abundant to admit of doubt.

On the 10th of August, 1794, the Duff sailed with thirty missionaries, of whom six were married, amidst the sympathies and prayers of thousands; and though in time of war, safely pursued her way across the ocean to Tahiti, anchoring in Matavai Bay on the ensuing first of March. Nothing could be more auspicious than the reception of the missionaries. They were met, on their landing, by the king and queen, who welcomed them to the island, and on being made acquainted with their object, promised them protection, with as much land as they needed for buildings or cultivation. Soon after, Pomare, the father of the young king, and actual sovereign of the islands, visited them, and made a personal, though in fact only nominal, cession of the district of Matavai to Captain Wilson, for the use of the missionaries. On the voyage they had agreed to a division of labour, and the captain, therefore, having seen the missionaries selected for Tahiti settled, set sail, in less than a fortnight, for the Friendly and Marquesas islands, and anchored in the centre of the northern shore of Tongatabu. Several chiefs offered to receive them, and they at length resolved to place themselves under the protection of a powerful ruler at Aheefo, whither seven of their number proceeded. The canoe returned for the remainder of their supplies from the ship. The captain was now obliged, from the state of the weather, to hasten to the Marquesas. Here too, at the island of Santa Christina, they were kindly received. Messrs. Harris and Crook having surveyed the district, returned to the vessel: but the latter agreed to remain, and in the sublime spirit of self-denial, for Christ's sake, he took up his solitary abode, though aware that the means of subsistence would be scanty, and his work difficult. The Duff returned to Tahiti on the 6th of July, and Captain Wilson gave every assistance to the missionaries in their negociations with the chiefs. When at length the great object of the voyage appeared to be accomplished, he directed his course to the Friendly Islands. He found the missionaries there willing to remain, with the exception of Mr. Nobbs, whose ill health required a removal. In September the Duff proceeded on her voyage to China, reached Macao in November, and arrived at Cork in the following June. It is almost superfluous to state, that general gladness pervaded the christian world on this successful completion of the voyage.

The directors took immediate measures for sending out a second mission, and numerous offers of service were received. It was proposed that one of their own number should accompany the brethren, for the purposes of advice and general superintendence. Dr. Bogue, Dr. Waugh, and Mr. Wilks were successively proposed, but felt themselves, from circumstances, com-

pelled to decline; and at length Mr. Howell, of Knaresborough, was deputed. In November, twenty-nine missionaries embarked; but were not permitted to reach their destination. When scarcely a day's sail from Rio Janeiro, where they intended to touch for refreshments, they were captured by a French privateer, and were taken to the Spanish settlement of Monte Video, where the Duff was ultimately sold. After being detained two months, the missionaries embarked on board a small vessel bound for Rio Janeiro; and it is due to Captain Carbonelle, of the privateer, to record, that he declared, he would on no account have captured them, had he known the nature of their expedition, and that he generously advanced them money to procure necessaries for the voyage. After a stormy passage, they were made prisoners a second time by a Portuguese ship, belonging to a fleet on their way to Europe. Though Portugal was at the time in alliance with England, they were not treated with becoming kindness. At the close of September they reached Lisbon, and in October again stood on English ground. In the meantime, distressing calamities had befallen the establishments already formed. Mr. Crook, though treated kindly, found his efforts entirely useless. Being on board an American vessel at the time when it was blown off the island, he was put on shore at Nukuhiva, an island sixty miles distant. There he remained seven months, and finally returned to England in May 1799, with a view to consult the directors; and the recent disasters prevented, for many years, any further attempts on behalf of the Marquesas.

The mission to the Friendly Islands was still more painful in its termination. In addition to the defection of one of their number, Veeson, the missionaries were much discouraged by the profligate habits and pernicious influence of several seamen, who landed from an American vessel, soon after the departure of the Duff, and associated with those of similar character, already on the island. Mr. Ellis has justly remarked, that 'the commencement, progress, and issue of the Tonga Mission, taught with fearful distinctness and force, what every subsequent effort among tribes in similar circumstances has amply, and as in the recent tragical occurrence at Erromanga, fatally confirmed, that the greatest difficulties and dangers arise from the baneful influence of abandoned men from civilized countries. Those in the Friendly Islands, by reason of the length of time they had been there, and the extent to which they had identified themselves with the people, revelling in all the vices to which they were addicted, had become acquainted with the language, views, and feelings of the natives, and had acquired an influence among them which they

were not slow to employ in furtherance of their own evil purposes.' The death of an aged chief woman, it had been insinuated was occasioned by the prayers of the missionaries, and some of the most powerful chiefs requested them to discontinue the practice. Afterwards, they solicited permission of the king to put them to death, with a view probably to obtain the articles of iron and clothing which they possessed. On the 21st of April, 1799, a civil war commenced, in consequence of the assassination of the king by his brother, while asleep in his bed. This occasioned a request to the missionaries at Aheefo to arm themselves, and accompany the chiefs with whom they resided: which being refused, as they determined to be neutral amidst such contentions, they were informed that no further protection would be afforded them. In the end, Bowell, Harper and Gaulton were murdered, and the mission-house plundered. But even the restoration of peace brought little relief to the missionaries. The native mind had been poisoned against them by base Europeans, and they were treated with great harshness. In addition to the miseries of war and the dissatisfaction of the people, famine wrought desolation in the land; to which earthquakes and hurricanes succeeded. Assured that the death of some of them was determined on, destitute of raiment, and nearly so of food, and perceiving no signs of usefulness, the missionaries resolved on escaping to New Holland, which they were enabled to do by the providential arrival of an English letter of marque, bound to Port Jackson, with a Spanish vessel as her prize. One of them, Mr. Shelly, after a short residence, returned to the islands, and joined the mission in Tahiti.

The moral, civil and social state of the people at the period of the early efforts of the missionary society in Tahiti, was as bad as can well be imagined, and vice and war had for years been reducing the population to a degree which threatened total extinction. The missionaries used their utmost persuasion to diminish the crimes and miseries of the people, especially at a great festival in the district of Matavai, where the chiefs promised that infanticide should be discontinued. But exactly twelve months from the Duff's arrival, their labours suffered a disastrous interruption. The Nautilus, from Macao, was driven into the harbour by stress of weather; and the captain and crew had nothing to barter with the natives for provisions but muskets and ammunition. These were what the chiefs were most desirous of obtaining, and precisely what the missionaries were most anxious they should not secure. The latter therefore offered to supply the vessel, in order to prevent this exchange. Five Sandwich islanders, however, having absconded from the ship,

the captain declared he would not sail without them. On his application to the missionaries, one of the deserters was apprehended, but the others remained on the island, being protected by the king. The vessel sailed, but was driven back by a storm in a fortnight, when the missionaries promised again to furnish supplies, but were prevented by the restrictions imposed by Pomare. On the second day two of the seamen deserted, and placed themselves under the king's protection. The captain addressed himself to the missionaries, who sent four of their number to intercede with the chiefs. On their way to Pomare they were seized by some of the natives, and were ill treated. Pomare expressed much distress and sympathy on the occasion and sent them home in a double canoe. They found, however, their companions under arms, and in great alarm; reports having spread of an intention to attack their dwelling. Considering themselves no longer secure from violence and plunder, eleven of the missionaries left the island, accepting the captain's offer of a passage to New South Wales. They received, however, the strongest assurances of protection, the restoration of plundered articles, and a peace offering from Pomare. This hasty departure was altogether unjustifiable; though it appeared afterwards, from the conduct of some of them, that there was no great reason to regret it. A few worthy individuals suffered the very calamities from which they fled. Mr. Hassel was robbed and wounded at Paramatta; Mr. Clode was barbarously murdered, while preparing to proceed to England; but the former filled a responsible situation under Government for many years in New South Wales; Mr. Cover returned to England, and Mr. Henry to the islands.

Pomare punished the inhabitants of Pare for the outrage they had committed, who, in retaliation, declared war against him. The missionaries, however, declined taking any part in the conflict. They experienced also about this time an internal trial in the determination of one of their number, Mr. Lewis, to marry a native woman. He was ultimately separated from their communion, and in fact from their society, but continued to maintain family prayer and to attend christian worship till his death in November, 1799. Mr. Harris went to England, and his place was speedily occupied by Mr. Henry, and the brethren were now indulging the hope of a second visit from the Duff, when on the arrival of the Albion, they learned the sad disaster which had occurred. By the same vessel, the governor of New South Wales sent a letter and present to Pomare, which opened up a friendly and commercial intercourse that has continued to the present time.

On the 10th of July, 1801, the Royal Admiral brought a fresh

supply of missionaries, who in harmony with the superior objects of their mission, sought to add to the productions of the island, by importing a quantity of valuable seeds and fruits.

'The arrival of so large a number of fellow-labourers enabled the missionaries to resume those plans of operation which had been interrupted by the departure of so many from the islands. In the meantime, some of those who had arrived in the ship Duff, had made such proficiency in the language as to be able to address the natives without an interpreter on the great subjects of religion; and in the forenoon of the Lord's day, August 16th, this year, Mr. Nott preached to between forty and fifty natives, assembled by invitation in the large room of the mission-house, in which the missionaries were accustomed to hold their meetings for religious worship. The natives behaved with great propriety, and listened with attention to this the first discourse ever delivered by a christian teacher in their own language And he who was thus first enabled to make known to the Tahitians the glad tidings of salvation, is honoured to be one of the last so employed, having survived in the islands, with one exception,* all those who arrived at the same time with himself, and still preaching the same glorious gospel which he first attempted, now nearly fifty years ago. Few among modern missionaries have been privileged to preach to any people for an equal length of time, while many, very many, have finished their labours with their lives, before being fully qualified even to commence this great duty of missionary life.

'A fortnight afterwards, Mr. Jefferson preached his first sermon in the native language, and others subsequently engaged in this important department of missionary labour. With their ability their desire increased to make the great objects of their mission known as extensively as possible among the people, and for this purpose, very soon after they began to preach to the people at their own station, they went on the sabbath-day to the villages in the neighbourhood for the same purpose.—p. 142, 143.

The chapter from which this extract is taken proceeds to give an account of a war between the king and the insurgent people of Atehuru, which occasioned great devastation, and exhibited at once the idolatrous and savage dispositions of the people and of Pomare, and exposed the missionaries to considerable danger. They at length deemed it needful to obtain some gunpowder and a few muskets. But they suffered greatly at this time from various causes, and not a little from deficiency of food, occasioned by the neglect of cultivation and the desolations of war. In the midst, however, of suffering and danger, they ceased not to preach and keep in view the great object of their mission. They were also very useful to the natives from the medical knowledge which they possessed, and in consequence obtained much

* Rev. W. Henry.

influence; but in relation to christianity, the people, as well as Pomare himself, continued to manifest extreme insensibility and inaptitude to receive even the plainest truths. The island appeared also to be in a state of rapid depopulation, arising from the united influence of superstition and sanguinary contests. In 1803 Pomare died, leaving the government to his son, who assumed his name: but although he manifested greater concern than previously for the safety of the missionaries, his devotedness to the superstitions of his country increased.

It was not till after the lapse of many years that the missionaries overcame the difficulties of the language, nor must we feel surprised at this, when we take into account the extreme disadvantages attendant upon their early settlement. They also endeavoured to teach the children by the establishment of a school, and were not without hope of having accomplished some good. It was, however, doubtful, and one of their number wrote, 'No success has attended our labours, so as to terminate in the conversion of any: and there is no apparent desire after instruction in the blessed truths of the gospel. The news of salvation is an idle tale to them; and though they are visited as a nation with sore afflictions, they still reject and despise our message.' In consequence of a new war arising, the missionaries were not only exposed to hazard, but the rebels, after defeating the king and plundering the districts of Matavai and Pare, ransacked and burnt the houses of the missionaries, and destroyed their property. They now doubted the propriety of attempting longer to remain in such hopeless circumstances, and accordingly on the 26th of October, 1809, they all departed to New South Wales, excepting Messrs. Nott and Hayward, who remained, the former at Eimeo, and the latter at Huahine.

'To all human appearance the Tahitian mission was now at an end. The attempt to communicate the knowledge of christianity to an idolatrous and savage nation had been made, perseveringly and faithfully made, for nearly thirteen years, and had failed. The opinions of many as to the injudicious selection of the field, and the inutility of expending upon it the resources of the church, seemed to be confirmed by the events of Divine Providence, and the doom of the Tahitian race appeared sealed. And though He, in dependance on whose blessing the attempt had been made, and whose thoughts are not as our thoughts, had thoughts of mercy towards that people still, the effects of the calamities detailed in the records of these years of trial, and their disastrous termination, were deeply, painfully, and universally felt.'—p. 195.

Without discussing the question of the eligibility of Tahiti as the primary field of evangelical efforts among the heathen, we

may express our high opinion of the prudence, piety, and self-denying zeal of most of the missionaries. It is natural to desire and anticipate success, and our sentiments are likely to be influenced considerably by it; but while in this we realize the goodness of God, it is well to estimate the missionary enterprise by a different standard. While tempted to invest with a factitious glory both the men and the measures where a scene of labour has been distinguished by rapid and general prosperity, it ought to be remembered that the true grandeur of missions lies in the principle, and is independent of external circumstances. *Pro patria mori*, in the rush of battle, may satisfy ambition; but it is suffering for Christ's sake, without human reward or renown, that exhibits christianity.

Several of the missionaries returned after a time to the islands, and found Messrs. Nott and Hayward residing with the king at Eimeo. The unsettled state of affairs at Tahiti prevented their resuming their former station; and, encouraged by the favourable dispositions of the chiefs of the Society Islands, they proposed to commence a mission to Raiatea, but were detained for several years in Eimeo by painful circumstances.

The most important event that occurred, was the alteration of the king's mind, who came to the missionaries on the 18th of July, 1812, offering himself for baptism, and declaring his fixed determination to cleave to Jehovah, the true God. His wishes, though not immediately gratified, were eventually fulfilled. Soon after Pomare had avowed his belief in the religion of the Bible, two chiefs arrived from Tahiti, inviting him to resume the government, whither he proceeded but failed in his object; nevertheless, frequent communications from that island informed the missionaries of the rise there of a spirit of inquiry, and a disposition to observe the Sabbath. In June, 1813, Messrs. Nott and Hayward, in a visit to the valley of Huatana found, to their inexpressible joy, that some of the heathen inhabitants of that neigbourhood had renounced the gods of Tahiti, and professed themselves followers of Jesus Christ. A small chapel, the first ever erected for Christian worship in Eimeo, was opened in July, 1813; and on the following day, thirty natives declared they had renounced the worship of idols, with its accompanying abominations. To these eleven more were added in the ensuing month, including a priest of Eimeo, and the young chief of that and Sir Charles Sanders's Island. These and similar events convinced the missionaries that their long years of apparently fruitless labour had not, in fact, been in vain. Nothing could be more exemplary than the conduct of the native chris-

tians at this time, which formed a most striking contrast to their previous deportment.

The year 1815 opened auspiciously on the missionaries, who received four hundred copies of an abridgment of the New Testament, and one thousand copies of a small elementary work, printed for them in New South Wales. The conduct of Patii, priest of Papetoae, the district in which the mission was established, afforded them great delight. On his return, one evening, from the encampment of the young chief of Huahine, with Mr. Nott, he spoke to him of his belief in the truths he had heard, and his resolution to burn his idols the following day. This he did; and the effect was beneficial on the minds of some who had been previously wavering. Many, both in Eimeo and Tahiti, followed this example, and demolished the temples. The growing numbers of the christians, however, incensed the idolators, and the chiefs of Pare, Matavai, and Apaiano, devised a plan for assassinating in one night every christian on the island. This project was mercifully frustrated, and the christians escaped to Eimeo; but the extraordinary state of affairs in the islands, the sanguinary contests that had taken place in Tahiti, and the undiminished hatred to christianity evinced by the idolators, induced the appointment of a day of fasting and prayer. Soon after, the chiefs of Tahiti invited the refugees in Eimeo to return, and the king accompanied them. Negotiations for the adjustment of differences were apparently satisfactory; but the king's party were suspicious, and the idolators were urged by the priests to attempt the extermination of the christians. They were attacked during their worship; a battle ensued, and the idolators were victorious, till they reached the position occupied by the chiefs of Eimeo and Huahine, when their leader was slain, and the christian party became masters of the island. The mild treatment of the vanquished greatly conciliated them, and Pomare was restored to supreme authority in his hereditary dominions. The family and district temples throughout the island were destroyed, the idols generally committed to the flames, and idolatry was abolished.

'The entire population of the group of islands in which the mission was established, was before the close of this year professedly christian; but, with the exception of a small minority, they were such only in profession; the change with them had been rather a civil revolution than a religious conversion: multitudes had but very imperfect ideas of what Christianity was; they had complied with the wishes, or followed the example of their chiefs; and though a considerable number had, from the instructions of the missionaries in previous years, and from their more recent attendance on the school at Eimeo, a knowledge of the great outlines of christian truth, but few were subjects of that renovation of heart which constitutes the true christian. Nevertheless, there

were at this time a number who gave very satisfactory evidence of having experienced the moral change which is produced only by the regenerating influence of the Holy Spirit. The best proof of this was furnished not in their clear views of the doctrines of the gospel, and their zeal to extend it, but in their entirely altered conduct in all the relations of life, confirmed by their consistent deportment during the remainder of their lives, often extended through a long series of years.

'But, though comparatively few were the subjects of this entire and spiritual renovation, the great national change was an incalculable blessing to the people. They were liberated from the intellectual bondage and the moral debasement of idolatry, from the tormenting apprehensions of malignant spiritual influence, or of treachery and murder for human sacrifices, as well as from the despotism of a cruel and rapacious priesthood. The infamous areoi institution was abolished, infanticide ceased, polygamy was discontinued, and Christian marriage instituted. All the humiliating prohibitions to which the female sex had been subject ceased, and the social habits of the entire community in this respect changed. Intoxication, with few exceptions, ceased. . . . . The decalogue was recognized as the rule of human condnct; a knowledge of letters esteemed the highest attainment, and universally desired; the true God acknowledged as the creator, preserver, and benefactor of all; the Sabbath-day regarded as a season divinely appointed for religious engagements, and spent in cessation from ordinary labour, but occupied in the private or public duties of religion; new motives to industry were supplied; and prospects of security and peace enjoyed, to which preceding generations had been strangers. . . . This astonishing change was not produced or promoted by the civil power, but by the force of conviction on the minds of those who first received the gospel, by the exemplification of its principles and tendencies in the benignant conduct of its professors, and the interposition of Divine Providence in their favour. Those who first embraced it did so, in every instance, not in compliance with, but in opposition to the civil authorities under which they lived. The civil power was arrayed exclusively on the side of the established idolatries, which the first christians renounced. Force was used, not in favour of, but against christianity, and employed with all the blind infatuation of idolatrous bigotry for its extinction. Force was used by the christians, but only as a last resort, not to extend their faith, but for self-preservation; and then, especially in the proceedings at Tahiti and Raiatea, evidently with less reliance on the force of arms, than the efficacy of prayer, and the protection of the Almighty.'—pp. 223—225.

In 1816, the labours of the missionaries were greatly increased by multitudes who applied for instruction, both in religious and civil concerns; chapels were multiplied in Tahiti, the sabbath observed throughout the islands, and four thousand had learned to read, some to write. Additional missionaries arrived in 1817; Mr. Ellis, in February; Mr. Ormond, in April; and Messrs. Threlkeld, Barff, Williams, Bourne, Darling, and Platt, with their wives, in November. Mr. Ellis took out a printing

press. The king was much pleased at the idea of having books printed in his own country; composed the first page of the native spelling-book, and printed off the first sheet himself, on the 30th of June, 1817.

On the opposite side of the island, at Papetoae, the missionaries had, in 1814, begun to build a vessel, and being now assisted by Mr. Williams, completed and launched it in December. It was called the Haweis, and after conveying the missionaries to their respective stations, was presented by the society to Pomare. On the 13th of May, 1818, the season when the parent society was holding its annual meeting, the people proposed the formation of a Tahitian Missionary Society, which was accomplished under the auspices of Pomare and amidst circumstances of great interest. Arrangements were now made for establishing a mission in the Society Islands, and several were appointed to the service. The senior missionaries remained in Huahine, but Messrs. Williams and Threlkeld proceeded to Raiatea, and schools of instruction were opened in both islands. In October, 1818, at the request of Mahine, the chief, a Missionary Society was formed, comprehending the inhabitants of Huahine and Sir Charles Sanders's Island; and in September, 1819, a similar institution was established at Raiatea. Many of the inhabitants of Tahiti long employed themselves in erecting a large place of worship at Papaoa, in compliance with the orders of the king; and this immense building, 712 feet long and 54 wide, constructed after the native manner, by native workman, was opened for worship on the 11th of May, 1819, when three of the missionaries, in three pulpits, fixed at equal distances, addressed congregations, amounting altogether to nearly 6,000 persons. On the first Sabbath after, the king was publicly baptized by Mr. Bicknell, one of the senior missionaries. A number of natives were also baptized in the early part of the year in all the stations in Tahiti and Eimeo. In the Leeward, or Society Islands, the missionaries met with great encouragement, and about the commencement of the year 1820, a christian church was formed at every station in Tahiti and Eimeo, the missionaries having devoted much time and attention to the instruction and examination of those who were desirous of becoming members. Large places of worship were opened in May, of the same year, in Huahine and Raiatea, and churches were formed there. But Satan raged. The life of Mr. Williams was more than once endangered, and a conspiracy was detected against the life of Pomare. Various islands now renounced idolatry and professed the christian faith. Pomare died on the 7th of December, 1821, at the age of 47 years.

Messrs. Tyreman and Bennett had been sent out at this time as a deputation from the society, to visit its stations, and were heartily welcomed. The missionaries had long been desirous of introducing the gospel to the Marquesas, the most easterly group in the Pacific, and Mr. Ellis went with the deputation for this purpose, but the winds forced them to the Sandwich Islands, where they were joyfully received by the king and chiefs, and some American missionaries. Here they were detained four months, and rendered important aid to the labourers already in the field. At the close of 1822, Mr. and Mrs. Ellis, accompanied by two native teachers, from the church at Huahine, left for the Sandwich Islands, where they arrived in February, 1823. It was his privilege to administer baptism to the first convert in Hawaii, the mother of the late king, and to assist in instructing the king and queen of these islands, until their embarkation for England, where both died.

The Hervey and the Austral islands received the gospel under interesting circumstances, and the visits of Mr. Williams were highly conducive to the encouragement of the teachers and people.

The press of matter and the straitness of our limits will render it impracticable, however, to do more than indicate general events in the briefest form, and almost in the way of tabular contents.

A code of laws had been framed by Pomare, in 1819, which was revised and enlarged in the parliament or general assembly of Tahiti and Eimeo, in 1824. It was founded on the laws of England, and partook of the spirit of just and free legislation. In the early part of this year, the South Sea Academy was formed at Eimeo, designed for the education of the children of missionaries and the principal chiefs of the islands, and placed under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Orsmond. Pomare III. was crowned as sovereign of the two islands in April, 1825, when the Bible and the laws were recognised as the principle and rule by which the government should be administered. The deputation left the islands, after four years inspection, in June, without, however, accomplishing so much good as might have been anticipated, owing to the shortness of their residence, and their ignorance of the character of the people, and of their language. Mr. Ellis properly remarks, and it may serve as a lesson for the future—'if even only one individual had been sent out who, instead of spending a few weeks at each station, had taken up his abode for seven or ten years in the islands, had acquired a knowledge of the native language, and had made himself acquainted with the character of the people, and the principles of their social organization, his influence and

co-operation with the missionaries would undoubtedly have secured far more important advantages to the mission and the nation, without making heavier demands on the means of the society.' Amidst much general prosperity in Tahiti and the neighbouring islands, the churches were greatly injured by the intemperance of some of their members. Nevertheless, they had multiplied reasons to thank God and take courage. In the Spring of 1827, Mr. and Mrs. Williams, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Pitman, went to Rarotonga, where they were welcomed by the people, and found that the entire population had renounced idolatry, and placed themselves under the instruction of the native teachers, whose agency had been more effective there than perhaps in any other part of the missionary field.

The wonderful success which had attended the introduction of the gospel at Rarotonga, renewed the desire of Mr. Williams to convey the same blessings to the remoter islands of the west, and he determined to build a small vessel, as the means of conveyance, which he aptly called 'The Messenger of Peace.' The Navigators' Islands, or Samoas, became an object of early solicitude, and successful operation.

In 1830 Mr. Crook, who had laboured with fidelity in the islands since 1816, and at Taiarabu since 1823, removed to New South Wales. Two among the principal chiefs of the Society Islands died in 1831; one, the enterprising chief of Tahaa, who perished at sea; the other, Tamatoa, chief of Raiatea, who had been the earliest of his countrymen to receive christianity, and an eminent friend of the mission.

In touching at Manua, the most easterly of the Navigators Islands, the following interesting fact is recorded by Mr. Williams:—He found there some natives of Ravavai, who, driven out of their course in a voyage to a neighbouring island, had, after drifting about the ocean, at the mercy of winds and tides, for nearly three months, reached Manua, a distance from home of nearly 2000 miles. The gospel had been introduced at Ravavai before their departure, and on recovering from their exhaustion, they built a chapel for the worship of the true God, and chose one of their number to be their teacher.

In the month of December 1835, one of the most important works to which the attention of the missionaries had been directed, was completed; namely, the translation of the Bible into the Tahitian language, chiefly by Mr. Nott. The intelligence was received with no ordinary emotions of gladness. Mr. Nott proceeded to England to have it printed, under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Having accomplished the object of his voyage, he re-embarked in August, 1838, taking with him three thousand copies of the Tahitian Bible,

and an equal number of New Testaments. Mr. Williams also conveyed to Rarotonga five thousand copies of the New Testament, in the native language, which had been printed by the same society. The whole were speedily purchased. Arrangements were also made by him for the establishment of an institution for educating youths of piety and ability to become native teachers. It was placed under the care of Mr. Buzzacott, and commenced with eleven pupils.

On the 1st of April, 1838, Mr. Williams sailed in the Camden from Gravesend, with nine missionaries, and reached Tutuila, in the Navigators' Islands, in the following November. The accompanying missionaries immediately proceeded to the most necessitous stations, and Mr. Williams, by the kind compulsion of the natives, took up his abode at Fasetootai, in Anana. A missionary meeting was held in the district, in 1839, and afterwards at every other station. Mr. Williams now prepared to enter on the great work which had occupied his attention for years past, namely, the introduction of the gospel to the numerous, extensive and populous islands between the Friendly Islands, and New Holland. At a general meeting of native teachers, twelve were selected to accompany him, and on the 3rd of November, 1839, he proceeded to Apia. Two days afterwards, in company with Messrs. Harris and Cunningham, he began his voyage, and soon reached Rotuma, 600 miles from Samoa. There he found several chiefs willing to receive teachers. Resuming the voyage towards the New Hebrides, the Camden reached Fatuna on the 17th of November, and on the 18th, the island of Tanna. As the chief seemed friendly, three native teachers were landed, amidst the prayers and blessings of their friends, while the Camden proceeded to Dillon's Bay, in Erromanga. Mr. Williams, followed by his brethren, proceeded on shore to establish friendly communications. In this they appeared to succeed, and walked along the beach towards the interior, accompanied by a number of the natives. The sequel is too well known. There is reason to believe that, on the part of the natives, this was an act of retaliation for the misconduct of some of the civilized barbarians of Europe. The Camden was afterwards employed with advantage in the service of the mission, but the necessity of a larger vessel being recently made known, a strong and handsome one, appropriately called the John Williams, has been obtained for £6237, by the generous exertions of the young. The Samoan mission was strengthened, in 1843, by the arrival of Mr. Chisholm, who began his labours in a considerable island, Savaii; and there are at present in the Samoan group fifteen European missionaries and one European assistant, with a large number of native teachers.

'The press is in active operation, and since its removal to its present locality, in 1842, upwards of 120,000 copies of small books, including editions, of 10,000 each, of three of the gospels, and the epistle to the Romans, have been issued, besides spelling-books, in the dialect of the islands to the west. The entire population of the Samoas does not exceed 60,000, of whom between 40,000 and 50,000 have renounced heathenism, and the majority of them profess christianity. More than 25,000 are able to read, and a considerable number have learned to write. The greater part of those who profess christianity and attend the schools, and other means of religious instruction, are, as the missionaries are painfully aware, only christians in name. There is, at the same time, great cause for thankfulness and encouragement in the increasing number who are earnestly, and, there is reason to believe, sincerely seeking after instruction, more especially in those whom the missionaries have, after attentive observance and examination, admitted to christian fellowship, and who amount to 1680 individuals.

'These form a most important part of the fruits of the Society's efforts in the South seas, where between forty and fifty European missionaries, assisted by a goodly number of native teachers, in connexion with the Society, are labouring in nearly forty islands, containing upwards of 100,000 inhabitants. In thirty islands, idolatry, with all its attendant misery and crime, has been abolished, and christianity is professed by more than 90,000 of their inhabitants, among whom, in addition to other cheering results of the labours of nearly fifty years, there are at the present time, besides those who have died in the faith and hope of the gospel, 6135 communicants belonging to the native churches of the South Sea Mission.

'In addition to the evidence furnished in these pages, of the benefits the people have received, their truly exemplary observance of the Sabbath, the avidity with which they have sought, and the high estimation in which they hold the sacred scriptures, are satisfactory evidences of the extent to which education has prevailed, and of the moral feelings of the people. Their numerous and well built vessels, their neat and thriving towns and villages, their extensive plantations, their decent and respectable apparel, and the great increase of the conveniences and comforts of domestic life, are so many proofs of their temporal improvements, while the single fact of the sum of £525 having been, within the last two years, sent from Tahiti alone, in payment for the Bibles and Testaments forwarded by the British and Foreign Bible Society, furnishes most unquestionable evidence of the astonishing progress that must have been made in civilization and religious feeling, by a people who, prior to their profession of christianity, not thirty years ago, were equally ignorant of the value of money, the use of letters, the existence of the Bible, and of that ever blessed God whose will it reveals.'—pp. 396—8.

Mr. Ellis has given a clear and succinct narrative of the recent transactions at Tahiti, connected with the aggressions of the agents of France. Upon this, however, we do not at present enter, since the whole of these affairs are likely to be more fully developed in publications which are speedily forthcoming.

We may, therefore, take an opportunity hereafter of expounding more fully the circumstances of this case.

The last portion of the volume is occupied chiefly in details of the Chinese mission. This we propose to consider in connexion with the second volume, and in the mean time recommend our readers to refresh themselves with these pages, which furnish ample evidence of the grace and providence of God; of his grace in rendering the labours of faithful missionaries eminently successful amidst the most appalling difficulties, and of his providence in overruling what might appear to be casual or most direful events for the furtherance of the gospel.

On the whole we have been greatly interested, though previously familiar with most of the more important facts; and we look forward with pleasurable anticipation to the issue of the remaining portion of this valuable addition to missionary history.

Art. IX. *The History of the English Revolution.* By F. E. Dahlmann, late Professor of History in the University of Göttingen: translated from the German by H. Evans Lloyd. London: Longmans. 1844.

FEW things ever afford us more real pleasure, as we have often observed, than the opinions of an enlightened foreigner upon our national history. That Revolution, which has always been the idol of whig statesmen, is precisely one of those grand circumstances in civilization, more open to an impartial verdict from mere spectators, than from ourselves, as being immediately interested in it. The eyes of Englishmen always look at it through the spectacles of party. Tories, who once abhorred it, have at last come to fall in love with it: no inconsiderable proof, by the way, that the school of Charles James Fox must have vastly overrated its results in developing the real liberties of mankind. Professor Dahlmann favoured his countrymen with this most masterly sketch now lying on our table. All Germany applauded his labours. The translation appears to us thoroughly well executed; nor can our readers better lay out half-a-guinea, in increasing their stock of modern publications, than by purchasing this volume. We shall aim at an analysis of its contents and character, in order to see how they bear upon our present times. Events of the mightiest import are evidently about to absorb the attention of Europe: let history therefore fall into her proper place, and realize the description of the ancients, as philosophy teaching by example.

Our author, being no sciolist, is not afraid to begin *ab initio*. His survey glances back a long way: since he justly contends, that traces of our Revolution may be discovered even under the Tudors, 'when the governing power bore with heavy pressure upon the lower classes.' The problem among sovereigns then was to depress the aristocracy just so far, as that the crown, instead of the coronet, might suck the sweet, and devour the strong. Kings wanted to be lions before their fellow-creatures; living upon the liberties and property of the latter, without being liable to the impertinencies of wolves, bears, or even smaller monsters, who had for ages presumed to demand an enormous portion of the plunder from their royal lord of the forest. These lesser animals of prey were of course rampant at the change. Feudalism and aristocracy almost worked themselves into patriotism, for fear the sceptre should bow down the backs of the people. When the wars of York and Lancaster subsided, England had begun to breathe. Forests were disappearing from the face of the country, and the mere breeding of swine was giving way to the multiplication of horses, oxen, and sheep. Hides and wool grew into articles of commerce; sure signs that the castle of military oppression was about to crack in its foundations. Not but that fiscal exactions still carried all before them. Hanseatic merchants overreached regal state-craft, through a trade fettered at home having to compete with the knowledge and skill of republics abroad. It was a common saying on the continent,—'We purchase from the English the fox's skin for a penny, and sell them the fox's tail for a florin!' Ships and manufactures, the nerves and sinews of liberty, had yet to appear. Henry the Seventh, however, preferred wealth before arms. He found the revenues so dilapidated, that only £5000 a year could be claimed as his legal income: yet besides making such improvements as enabled him to equalise receipt with expenditure, he went a step further, and amassed treasure. No sovereign had done so before him, since William the Conqueror. His coffers contained at his death no less than £1,800,000 sterling! The enormity of such an amount will appear in its proper light, when it is remembered, that the circulating medium of that day, for all England, did not reach a higher sum than about £6,000,000. For the last twelve years of his reign, therefore, he assembled a parliament but once; though he had augmented the power of the Commons, by adding to the number of their members. His predilections, in fact, were rather with them than with the nobility. 'His relentless rigour was directed exclusively against the great men: and that extraordinary tribunal, subsequently so justly detested as the Star Chamber, which Henry had instituted by virtue of his supreme

judicial authority, was felt by the people to be a blessing. It checked the arrogance of many a powerful nobleman, who till then, could be reached by no sentence of a court of justice, because he was able to oppose its execution, not only by means of his own servants, but by the aid of a number of dependants and followers, who were distinguished by his badge and colours, and who were bound to support him on every emergency.' These troops of private janizaries he repressed with the right hand of the law. Even his riches had been gathered from those who too often unjustly obtained them; so that the poorer classes really loved his memory. In one word, he pared the talons of as cruel an oligarchy as the world ever smiled upon. His measures at least wore a benevolent aspect towards the many, whatever might have been their characteristics towards the few. Greater freedom began generally to prevail throughout daily life. Long leases of lands came into fashion. The vassal peasantry grew up into a free tenantry, with no inconsiderable body of freeholders amongst them. Population increased both in town and country. Philip de Comines and Sir John Fortescue, bear testimony to the superior condition of this realm over that of France, as to government, food, quietness, and the various comforts of life. Trial by jury had not yet been cowed by the frowns and ruffles of Queen Elizabeth. We may discern plainly enough that transitionary state, during which autocracy was waxing fat at the expense of the peerage. Henry the Eighth and his children turned their attention more to the people.

The ambition of Wolsey helped forward another step towards popular emancipation, by cherishing a royal taste for expensive enterprises. As the treasury became empty, stern necessity compelled an appeal to parliament. Then followed the Reformation, with all its marvellous changes,—the defiance of Rome, the divorce of Catharine, the suppression of the monasteries, and the extinction of an enormous proportion of the spiritual lords: for unless Henry had put down the mitred abbots, he would have never succeeded in his ultimate measures. Here we possess an invaluable precedent for some of the organic modifications which must, ere long, be made. Cranmer and Sir Thomas Cromwell soon learned to play with those dangerous weapons, which cut off their enemies, and then cruelly recoiled upon themselves. They that take the sword of persecution must expect to perish by it. The pope himself, even in the most papal times, had always found England ready to kick and plunge against oppression. The officers and publicans of his holiness had been watched and checked by the statutes of Præmunire from the days of Edward Plantagenet. Before Wicliffe was ever

heard of, very severe punishments awaited any clergyman, who should suffer himself to be invested with preferment from Rome, in opposition to the rights of the crown. Cromwell directed his first thrust at this weak place. A thunderbolt, not from the Vatican, but from Windsor, alarmed the entire hierarchy. It was announced, that the prelacy and priesthood had touched the unclean thing, in having either directly or indirectly, accepted temporalities from the tiara. In their alarm, they offered £100,000 to their sovereign for a full pardon, which he refused, until they agreed to insert, in the preamble of their grant, clauses acknowledging his highness as 'the sole protector and supreme head of the Church of England.' They succeeded indeed, after long negociations, in getting the words inserted, *Quantum per Christi legem licet:* yet nevertheless Henry substantially achieved what his wary minister had in view. The sceptre culminated over the crosier. Here lay the cardinal error of what was called the British reformation. It overthrew that which was wrong, without establishing that which was right. It blew hot and cold with the same breath. Its spiritual mercies, and ecclesiastical freedom, were to be only for one class; who were not to resist religious tyranny, except when it threatened their own Benjamin's mess. At the bottom of that bowl was the grand point at issue—Pelf! We are not now impugning the sanctity and sincerity of such individuals as Ridley and Latimer, or Hooper and Taylor; but we are honestly attacking a false system,—that which pretended to marry the church to the state, and join together those which God always intended should be kept asunder. That false system forged a chain for conscience, still remaining unbroken. Through its existence two-thirds of the population of these realms are marked, and, in a certain sense, are even branded men! This, we know, is strong and painful language: but is it not just? Is it not true? Let the meshes of that curious net answer the query, spread as they are, with spider-like skill, over more than ten thousand parishes, to gather in an irreligious tithe-revenue of five millions sterling per annum! What shall we say to our ecclesiastical courts, our church-rates, the air of arrogance and domination with which our present Establishment insults all classes of nonconformists? What shall we say to the state of spiritual matters in Ireland; or to the extraordinary facts of the case recently revealed in England,—that until almost the last act of the late session, no catholic could possess a horse worth more than five pounds; or attend the ceremonial of his worship without accidentally rendering himself liable to the penalties of high treason. Our right reverend Bench might well demur, as it did in the person of the bishop of London, to

the new-born zeal for religious freedom, displayed by Lord Lyndhurst, the Duke of Wellington, and Sir Robert Peel. It raised ugly visions of more important concessions, at some future crisis; when perhaps a bolder premier than Earl Grey, may thunder in the ears of our bloated hierarchy, 'Set thy house in order, for thou shalt die, and not live!' Every right minded liberal will concur with Professor Dahlmann's calm, but irrefragable statement, that 'to this day the Church of England has not recovered from the stigma, which inevitably attaches to any change proceeding from external motives, and not from internal conviction.'

Among the more unhappy results springing out of the protestant union between church and state, was the doctrine of passive obedience to the crown. Cromwell and Cranmer were both equally guilty in this respect. The former dared to call Henry the Eighth *the image of God:* the latter implied an approval of such blasphemy, in considering disobedience to his earthly sovereign identical with rebellion against the Most High! He argued down the great and good Sir Thomas More with the monstrous proposition, that *conscience was to give way to the royal will,* when that will was fully declared! The horrible maxim, *Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem,* became at once the motto of loyalty. Anglican episcopacy had embarked in the same boat with the Blue Beard of the sixteenth century; so that there was no other course open for it, than to seek the favour of its new head, and live upon the breath of his nostrils. Hence it attempted to enervate and enslave the national mind accordingly. A monarch, who had decapitated or divorced his wives, and consigned some of his most virtuous subjects to the flames, was held up before his people, as surrounded by all that was holy; as the patron and prince of the new purified religion; as associated with the spouse of Christ, and as a solitary bulwark against the Pope of Rome. His parliaments always addressed him with the most fulsome adulation; assuring him that he was a Solomon in wisdom, a Samson in strength, and an Absalom in personal beauty! The kingdom, in one word, only partially enlightened, thought, spoke, and acted just as an ecclesiastical establishment commanded. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the secular minister, were, from necessity, one in heart and soul and spirit. The House of Commons was even induced to go so far as to pronounce, that royal proclamations, issued by the advice of the privy council, should have the same force as acts of the legislature! Thus, through a virtual suicide of its rightful powers and privileges, this body, with its own hands, set up a ladder for kings to mount upon to the summit of their ambition; whilst religion abdicated her functions

as the sacred friend of civil freedom, to inflame regal pride, and pander to its usurped prerogatives. Who, therefore, can wonder at the author of the Six Articles reserving to himself authority for making any changes in his ecclesiastical regulations which he might think fit. Every question turned and hinged upon his supremacy. He became an enormous anti-christ in the literal sense of the Revelations. He combined sacerdotal profligacy with imperial licentiousness. Sardanapalus, Nero, and the papal Alexander were all summed up together, and seated upon the throne of England. Cranmer must often have suffered from palpitation of the heart, long before the reign of Mary. Edward the Sixth afforded a halcyon interval, during which the lower house ventured to reassert its liberties, so that the statute about royal proclamations was revoked, beside many similar ones, to the transient joy of all men. Meanwhile, our author calculates that at the death of Henry the Eighth no less than eleven-twelfths of the lower classes still remained Romanists.

The demise of Edward once more changed the entire face of affairs. State religions may only consider themselves as looking-glasses in gilded frames, made to reflect the external features of those who dress by them. Mary sent for Gardiner out of the Tower, and ordered Cranmer to take his place there. How could he complain with any shadow of consistency? It was the royal will, which he had most punctiliously obeyed, under all the dogmatic caprices of her father. He was reaping as he had sown: a remark which we must always make in sorrow, and not in anger. Philip of Spain now appeared in the firmament of British politics—a meteor ominous of woe. Gardiner had opposed his marriage, and in some other respects befriended the liberties of his own country: but bigotry quickly got the better of him, and he presided in the court for trying heretics:

'The year 1555 began with the blazing of those funeral piles destined for the victims of frantic religious persecution. The noble firmness of many evidenced that they were influenced by higher objects than the emoluments of the church. The conduct of Gardiner was brutal and inhuman. He stigmatised as a crime deserving death, the prayers against the pope, which he had himself used during the times of the tyrant Henry. But history must do him the justice to acknowledge that he soon grew weary of presiding in that dreadful tribunal. Of the fourteen bishops then in office in England, only five tolerated such atrocities in their respective dioceses; and Gardiner's diocese was not one of these five. He was succeeded by the ferocious Bonner, Bishop of London. The intrepid Latimer was banished, several deposed bishops were otherwise punished; while Archbishop Cranmer atoned at the stake for his many weaknesses, arising from ambition and his questionable expedients in promoting the supposed honour of God. His unmanly vacillation scarcely entitles him to rank among the reformers of England, for it was

not until all hope of pardon was gone, that his better self prevailed: he then boldly declared his real sentiments, and when brought to the pile, dauntlessly thrust into the flames the hand with which he had signed six several recantations!'—pp. 71, 72.

Elizabeth succeeded to the throne under more favourable auspices for royalty and the hierarchy: at least in the opinions of those persons not gifted with penetration or long-sightedness. History has done her more than real justice; prompted to do so probably through the overthrow of the Armada and the general vigour of her foreign policy. Yet under her reign, those elements were mightily advanced and quickened, which generated the future Revolution. She steadily adhered to the church of England; but it was upon hard conditions. Her acuteness saw through its inconsistency: and she would fairly and shrewdly remind her prelates, that when they disputed with papists they proved themselves puritans, and when arguing against puritans, they demonstrated themselves to be papists. There could be no genuine *via media* between catholicism and protestantism, such as Archbishop Laud fondly dreamed of in his day, and such as Puseyism at Oxford fancies it has now discovered. Power was her grand idol. Upon the secret understanding that she was to be pope as well as queen over her people, the state alliance in all religious matters was sternly maintained. Archbishop Parker submitted to have his wife insulted, and some suffragan see every now and then pillaged, for the sake of preserving what his divine master had prohibited. Hence storms of retribution began to gather, although the cloud at first might be no bigger than a man's hand. In her latter years her high commission court inflicted numberless pains and penalties. She knew that Rome hated her person, which was bad enough: but the 'sectaries abhorred her authority,' and that was much worse. Non-attendance at church enriched her exchequer: but malevolence soon ceased to be satisfied with fines. Deposition, imprisonment, and exile were resorted to in vain. Two anabaptists were burnt to ashes: yet their sparks could not be trampled out. 'The queen was indignant when she perceived liberal principles evidently taking root in the lower house. In one session no less than seven motions were made in the Commons, of which the object was to carry still further the reform of the church. This was treated by the ministers as an infringement on prerogative. During the Easter recess Elizabeth summoned Strickland, the mover of these bills, before the council, and prohibited him from again appearing in the house. Being missed in his place, it was moved that he should be called to the bar, to explain the cause of his absence: for that he was not merely a private individual, but the repre-

sentative of his constituents; that his exclusion was an affront to the country, and a breach of the privileges of parliament. The result was, that Strickland was allowed to resume his seat: but the house did not escape without a rebuke for meddling with matters which were above its comprehension.' Nothing, however, can withstand the force of truth: and her majesty might consider herself only too happy that external peace and tranquillity prevailed to a certain extent throughout her own time. What offended her most in puritanism was, its mode of appealing to private judgment, its doctrine that the church alone is of God, and that civil institutions are the mere contrivances of man. She could listen, nevertheless, to its unhappy suggestions for laying a heavy hand upon Romanism. In the fourteen years subsequent to the defeat of the Armada, more than a hundred catholics suffered death for their religion; besides the cruel compositions, domiciliary visits, and corporal punishments, which were practised almost every where with little mercy. It is melancholy to find the venerable Lord Burleigh imparting his sanction to such procedures; deeming it sufficient that priests should be hanged, and humanely recommending that 'the drawing and quartering should be dispensed with!' Statesmen would seem to have been no better than savages or cannibals: nor is it easy to credit the amount of public executions, which disgraced the latter portion of the sixteenth century. Yet thousands were at length looking towards a better system: since wealth, books, preachers, and patriots, continued to multiply.

James the First, Sully justly remarked, was the wisest fool in Europe. He also favoured the rolling rock of the Revolution with a prodigious shove. Tractarianism has been guilty of a great omission, in not canonizing him, as well as his still more unfortunate descendant. He was the very prince for established churches. Beyond the Tweed he had been a presbyterian, soundly flogged into dogmatic theology when young, and twaddled into tyranny as he grew in years. Episcopacy now received him with open arms; his majesty informing his grace of Canterbury at their earliest meeting, that he had been converted from the error of his ways for at least six years. The primate forthwith fell upon his knees; and afterwards affirmed in court and convocation, that 'his heart melted within him, when he listened to the discourses of a king, *who had not had his equal since the birth of Christ*'! There was, doubtless, a sense in which this was perfectly true, as the sequel manifested. Many of the clergy demurred about oaths and subscriptions; and not being able to imitate our evangelicals, they resigned their benefices. Religious zeal and spiritual vitality were ebbing

fast away from prelacy and passive obedience. The Stuarts, moreover, were surrounded with needy harpies, possessing few other capacities than those of snuffing the prey from afar, and rushing upon it with disgustful rapacity. Contempt pointed its finger towards a sovereign of uncouth dialect, and undignified manners. He could neither eat with decency, speak with gracefulness, nor govern with propriety. His reign was a standing violation of common sense for twenty years and upwards. The throne tottered over an impoverished treasury. Love, fear, and power, alike departed from his tremulous sceptre. Favouritism alienated the nobility; oppression soured the commonalty. The church alone remained, illustrating its own inherent sycophancy, and that proverb of the scriptures,—'He that blesseth his friend with a loud voice, rising early in the morning, it shall be accounted a curse to him.' James had greedy ears for flattery of the coarsest and noisiest kind. His views were twofold,—'how to get money, and how to make Scotland as like as possible to England.' Prelacy was set up, for a transient interval, upon the suppression of the ecclesiastical platform, for which Knox had so diligently laboured. But poverty it was, who drew near to the modern Solomon, to empty vials of wrath over his devoted family. The Virgin Queen had at least evidenced prudence and strength of mind. Her successor was destitute of both. He lavished treasure, before he obtained it; so that even when taxes were voted, they were but as the waters of Tantalus, rising to his thirsty lip, and as quickly passing away. Anticipation rendered him a bankrupt, compelled to summon parliaments, for no other purpose, as it proved, than to punish his pride, and gradually consolidate public opinion against regal usurpation. He created baronets, sold titles, honours, and offices, continually 'sent bonds to the counties with merely the privy seal attached to them,' and worked silver mines, returning not a third of their outlay; all in vain. Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, failed to restore finances, where the disbursements so far exceeded the receipts: and on his death, confusion 'worse confounded' become lord of the ascendancy. Carr and Buckingham brought a blight upon their employers: and the following is the graphic description, by our professor, of Francis Bacon:

'He rose to the rank of lord-keeper, but lost his offices on being convicted by the parliament of having taken bribes. It was melancholy to see so transcendent a genius entangled in the most degrading practices by an unbounded prodigality. Ought such a maxim as 'a good bowler must have his knee almost close to the ground,' to have proceeded from a man like Bacon? More constant in science than in combat with the seductions of office, Lord Verulam survived only a few

years the downfall of his greatness. Vain were all his endeavours to regain it by the most abject humiliation; a fame, which spread over Europe, was wrecked on a sea, through whose whirlpools and shallows the slight bark of Buckingham glided with sportive ease.'—p. 136.

Charles the First at length succeeded his father,—'Baby Charles,' as his weak parent had always styled him; and that, too, not without propriety, since his notions of government were really little more sagacious than those of a pampered manikin. His person alone seemed to have grown up to manhood; whilst his inheritance comprised three kingdoms, each threatened with a tempest. 'Woe unto the land whose princes are children;' and so it proved. That the people were made for kings, and not kings for their people, constituted a main article in the royal creed. When Laud and Strafford had acquired absolute ascendancy, an appeal to the sword, sooner or later, became unavoidable. How could the countrymen of Pym, Eliot, and Sir Harry Vane, consent tamely to be slaves? Was the religion of the puritans quietly to be offered up as an holocaust to the high commission court and the star chamber? Prynne, at least, thought otherwise in his denunciations against court pastorals and theatrical masquerades. Who can look back upon his fearlessness without admiration?

'The zealous archbishop resolved to strain every nerve for the honour of God and of the court; nor did he rest till Prynne was brought before the star-chamber as a calumniator of her majesty. Prynne declared that he did not mean to allude to the king and queen, but it availed him nothing; the court fined him £3000, ordered him to be expelled from the university of Oxford and the society of Lincoln's Inn, and to be degraded from the bar; to stand twice in the pillory, to lose both his ears, to have his books burnt by the common hangman, and to be imprisoned for life! His ears were cut off; but he caused them to be sewn on again, and they were effectually healed. He was not daunted; and three years afterwards he wrote another work, for which a similar sentence was pronounced upon him. During the trial, Finch, the lord chief justice, said, 'I thought that Mr. Prynne had no ears, but it seems to me that he has,' and an officer in the court was ordered to examine. 'My lords,' exclaimed Prynne, 'I pray God to give you ears to hear me!' During the execution of the sentence, Prynne addressed the crowd, who had assembled in vast numbers, and exhorted them, saying, 'Christians, had the question been of our own liberty, we should not be here;' (alluding to some who suffered with him, and displayed equal heroism;) 'it is for the liberty of all of you, that we have hazarded our own. Watch over it, I beseech you; be firm; be faithful to the cause of your God and your country; otherwise, you and your children will be for ever slaves.' This address was applauded by the multitude. The union of religious and political liberty was then consecrated in the hearts of the people. If one took Hampden for a pattern,

and the other held up the example of Prynne, all were sensible that both stood on the same foundation.'—pp. 157, 158.

We beg respectfully to commend these touching words of an honest polemical confessor to the consciences of our readers. They seem to us fraught with the pathos of truth; and full of the marrow of that mental manliness which made the worthies of that day taller than ourselves, by more than a head and shoulders. Things are endured now to which they would have never submitted, could they but reappear amongst us with our advantages, and amidst the lights of the nineteenth century. Charles had abjured parliaments; and a secular hierarchy was contemplating the extirpation of dissent from its own religious establishment. Ireland humbled herself under a lord deputy, the like to whom she had never seen before; and Scotland was only waiting until the 23rd of July, 1638, when some women in the cathedral at Edinburgh threw their stools at the episcopalian clergy, crying out that 'the mass was returned, and that Baal was in the church!' From this tumult began a series of struggles, carrying forward the public mind, from one violent or sanguinary scene to another, in that Revolution, of which the grandest and mightiest results are yet to ensue. Charles in his fatuity asked counsel from Hamilton and Strafford; the former answering, that he considered the Scotch to be rebels; and the latter, that 'such people must be brought to their senses by whipping!' It was the old story of Rehoboam acted over again to the life. Brief sketches are then given by our author of the long parliament, in its various details; more particularly with regard to Cromwell and the rise of the Independents. The closing hours of John Hampden are thus described:—

'He had been severely wounded in a cavalry skirmish near Oxford: and was observed to ride slowly from the field before the engagement was finished, his head bowed down, and his hands resting upon the neck of his horse. When the king received the intelligence, he sent for the Rev. Dr. Giles, who happened to be in Oxford, and who was on terms of friendship with the sufferer. Charles desired the Doctor to make inquiries respecting the wounded man, and to acquaint him, that the king would be happy to send him his own surgeon. He who had occasioned so much mischief might likewise be able to do much good; and the king entertained hopes that he might serve as a mediator. 'Sire,' replied the doctor; 'I am not at all qualified for such a message; for as often as I have had any business with John Hampden, I have been a bird of ill omen to him. I once requested him to send persons in pursuit of some robbers who had broken into my house, and at the same time with my message he received intelligence of the death of his eldest son. At another time that I applied to him, he learnt at the same moment that his beloved daughter was dead.' The doctor, not-

withstanding, undertook to convey the message; but he delayed: Hampden was dying when it reached him; two bullets having broken his shoulder-blade. Six days he lingered in excruciating pain. When he learned who had inquired after him, and for what ultimate object, he was violently agitated, and attempted to speak, but could not, and died immediately afterwards. The sorrowing people called him the father of his country; and even his enemies confessed, that there had never been a man in England, who, by his strength of mind, and the spotless integrity of his disinterested character, had such a command over the wills of others, whether in peace, or in the field. By his death, the last hope of an amicable arrangement was dispelled.'—pp. 181, 182.

His cousin, Oliver Cromwell, might now feel that all England settled its anticipations upon himself. He had always seen, and often whispered, that Lord Essex was cool in the cause, looking beyond victory to certain ultimate consequences, which might possibly compromise the peerage in the overthrow of the throne. His celebrated regiment of Ironsides had other and simpler views. 'If you cannot fire your pistol at the king, as well as at any other man,' their leader used to tell them, 'you are not fit for my service.' In this manner fourteen squadrons, or about a thousand cavalry, had mustered under his auspices, —austere, gloomy heroes, full of fanaticism and military ardour, —'for whom no discipline was too severe, no hardship too great, and who deemed no obstacles, presented by the forms of civil society, insurmountable; professing that they were willing to undergo all for the sake of God.' They were, in fact, picked men, drawn out of the middle classes, the old yeomanry of the shires, who had something to gain or lose, and who understood the nature and bearings of the question at issue. The history and destinies of the commonwealth are well known. What the states-general were in France, together with the decapitation of Louis, and the subsequent aggrandizement of Napoleon, not omitting either the restoration of the Bourbons, or their expulsion in our own times,—we say, what all these events were to Europe in general, or to one country of it in particular, such were the anterior parallels of our own civil contests to the welfare and freedom of the British islands. We also go one step further, and are watching for the as yet future catastrophe.

General Monk is justly drawn by Professor Dahlmann as an 'accomplished prosaic hypocrite.' By seeming to do little or nothing, he effected everything, so as to reseat the Stuarts, without the shadow of security for either civil or religious freedom. What are these to supreme selfishness? No one could divine the motives or object of his conduct, until the critical moment came. He was resolved that no drawback should obscure the gratitude he expected from the enraptured royalists.

'What,' said they, 'the crown offered, and which is almost equal to the heavenly crown, without conditions!' Such was the language of the second Charles at Brussels, to his brother, his concubines, and parasites. Prynne and Sir Matthew Hale in vain attempted to save a few fragments of the ark of the constitution from the overwhelming deluge of folly and loyalty. Monk would listen to none but his own interests. All suggestions beside were silenced by the fears at which he cunningly hinted, namely, that were an hour lost, he should be unable to restrain the soldiery; and then there would have to be fought all the battles of Edgehill, Marston Moor, Naseby, Dunbar, and Worcester, over again! The genius of true patriotism had hidden her head in shame; and so twenty-eight more years of disgrace and humiliation were righteously inflicted upon these kingdoms. Yet, meanwhile, so immortal is truth, so undying are even the embers of liberty, that aristocracy might have read its sentence of condemnation in the concurrent opinions of mankind. The ministries of Lord Clarendon, the Cabal, and the Earl of Danby, in succession, were never able altogether to prostrate England in the dust. It was, indeed, an iron age of wicked statesmen; and we feel persuaded that our readers will thank us for the following portrait:—

'Among these, Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, surpassed all the others in talent; though small and frail in body, he had a large and impetuous spirit. He loved liberty, but he demanded power as the reward of his exertions in its service. *When liberty and power were divided, he remained faithful to the latter.* Thus had Cromwell found him, and disarmed his opposition by giving him a seat in his council of state. Afterwards, Cooper seized the propitious moment, laboured in secret for the restoration of the Stuarts, and was an active member of the court that tried the Regicides. His reward did not fail him: he was appointed minister, and created Earl of Shaftesbury, and never deserted his colleagues, when encroachments were to be justified. He cared little about religion, but as a prudent statesman, he was opposed to the popish zeal of the Duke of York, to his jesuitical connections, and to his marriage with the princess of Modena. No sooner, however, had the king committed the unpardonable mistake, as Shaftesbury conceived it to be, of taking from him the great seal, than he gave out everywhere, in the metropolis, that his zeal for the protestant religion drew on him the hatred of the papists, and he placed himself at the head of the opposition in the House. His sparkling wit, his sarcastic dialectic, converted the Non-resisting Bill into an object of ridicule: he likewise published a bitter pamphlet, which the parliament condemned to be burnt as a libel. He was committed to the Tower, and not released, till he consented, after a year's imprisonment, to acknowledge his error, and beg pardon on his knees, at the bar of the upper house. He was hereby the more confirmed in his determination to fish in the stream of popularity for the jewel of power, of which he had been deprived. It is

difficult to prove, and perhaps not even probable, that he forged from the beginning, and put together for the use of his tools, the facts, which under the name of the popish plot, have obtained deplorable celebrity: but it is certain that Shaftesbury, and no other, reared this petty demon, with truly parental affection, till it became such a formidable monster, as it afterwards did.'—pp. 271, 272.

It pleases Providence not seldom to bring good out of evil, and make the most flagitious characters subserve beneficial purposes. This was the case with the profligate chancellor just described, as well as with his reckless master. Charles the Second was as madly attached to tyranny, so far as he could form attachments for any thing, as his father; whose bleeding head was 'nowhere more seldom thought of, than at Whitehall, where it had fallen on the scaffold.' Yet his very crimes checked the growth of practical passive obedience to such a monarch: whilst Algernon Sydney and Lord Russell gave noble testimony to better principles. The dynastic change of 1688 was being prepared for in a million of minds, long before any open expression could be afforded to the secret and cherished anticipation. The violence of those, who supported the Exclusion Bill, might and probably did disgust many moderate politicians for a short interval; but it familiarized all to a possible exertion of parliamentary power, in certain startling directions, should the opportunity offer. In so far as it did this, pure primitive toryism, as we should now term it, imbibed a principle of decay, which though at first scarcely perceptible, came to be acknowledged with extreme bitterness afterwards. Indeed by such various, silent, and undesigned changes, the indestructibility of what is really right receives illustration, even amidst the apparent triumph of what is wrong. They form a class of analogies to those felicitous demonstrations, which prove that virtue is everlasting, and vice mortal. Attachment to liberal and righteous government was striking deep roots into the bosoms and resolutions of Englishmen, even when James the Second was assuming the sceptre of his ancestors, and endeavouring, by falsehood and artifice, to delude his lieges. Our professor has touched this part of his subject with an impartial and able hand. The king had rather deeply studied the ecclesiastical polity of Richard Hooker; and always asserted, that this famous and 'judicious' divine had, to say the least, much quickened him on his road to the Vatican. After his first privy council, he disclosed to Barillon, the French ambassador, 'the secret conviction of his heart, that the Church of England was *fundamentally so allied, yea, so closely allied to that of Rome*, that it would be easy to induce the majority of episcopalians to make public profession of that faith. He several times said to

writes the envoy to his own sovereign, that the English
ıle are Roman Catholics, without knowing it.' Here was
ıecret of his ecclesiastical conduct; and who can wonder
superficial mind, like his, being mistaken under the circum-
ces? He was well acquainted with the form of prayer
nally proposed by Sancroft for the thirtieth of January, and
ted faintly by the anglican convocation; in which the
ccession of the royal martyr was invoked in heaven!
well knew, that the Church of England practically denies
right of private judgment: that a certain presence of Christ
ıe Lord's Supper is asserted in her catechism, and implied
ıme of her other formularies: that baptismal regeneration, the
tolical succession of her episcopacy, the power of the keys
ranting sacerdotal absolution, the sign of the cross at
isms, and the reception of the Holy Ghost by every
ıt from the hands of the bishop, at his ordination, are ad-
ed in her Book of Common Prayer, to say nothing of the
ns and homilies. He could not fail, moreover, to be aware
in the school of Laud, Andrews, Montague, and their fel-
, only a generation before, a kind of primacy on the part of
ıe had been almost, if not altogether admitted; their private
s as to the Eucharist also being, that it was in a certain patris-
ense, an expiatory sacrifice. So that after all, the error of
es the Second, as to these matters, was neither more nor
than that into which an immense portion of the religious
d have recently fallen, with regard to tractarianism or
eyism. His majesty overlooked the fact, that the anglican
ch was an established one: that whenever he should touch
temporal possessions, he would touch the apple of her eye:
that, whether she were protestant or catholic, she was the
mistress of the state, and would throw her mantle over
secular government, which would pay her best, or in other
ls, most satisfactorily secure her rank, power, and revenues,
universities, privileges, and immunities. In the fair page
istory, the hypocrisy of James, in saying one thing, and
ning another, can never hope for aught else than honest
ınciation. But it has nevertheless been, for many years,
steady unshaken conviction, that had he been only wise
ıgh to have refrained from offending an opulent established
archy, he might have ended his days as the anointed of
Lord in London, without producing that crisis from whence
ɔily sprung the enthronement of William the Third. Our
ions on that event have been amply developed; and there-
we have only now to consider how the contents of Profes-
Dahlmann's most interesting volume may lead us to sundry
ctions upon our own position and affairs. By the light of

his mind thrown backward, we are fain ourselves to aim at looking forward.

Surely such may be deemed the genuine vocation of a reviewer; and one which indeed has now grown into greater importance than ever, from the new elements of civilization, which have recently made themselves manifest. Society, to the common observer, was two centuries ago a comparatively simple thing, to what it is now. The whole human framework, within which so many millions carry on the business of life, day by day, in all its different details, is perpetually getting more and more complicated. Government, instead of being analogous to a parent watching over his family, upon a few well understood rules of action, venerable from their antiquity, and hardly requiring memory or carefulness to observe them, is now a machinery like the appearance of that mystic vision, which the prophet Ezekiel beheld by the river Chebar. It is a living prodigy, sleepless and multiform, full of wheels, and wings, and eyes, with hands perhaps like those of a man, but clothed in alternate obscurity and fire! The subjects of its influence have multiplied, as the sands of the sea shore, beneath dense clouds of ignorance, with flashes of portentous excitement hurrying them hither and thither; and without a sufficiency of either food to eat, or labour to procure it. Our domestic empire comprises two large islands; with colonies upon which the sun never sets, wider far in extent than all the dominions of the Cæsars; knit together by a vast marine; and maintained amidst the mingled envy and admiration of the world. Abroad, there is not a shore where our language is not spoken, where our sails are not seen, where our influence is not felt. All India, from Affghanistan to Burmah, bows down before us: the customs and excise of Liverpool alone would have startled the commercial republics of the middle ages; whilst universal, though most unwilling acquiescence, acknowledges in our grasp the mighty trident of the ocean. At home, the pecuniary income of our three kingdoms may be stated at a million sterling per diem! Our secondary cities might serve as capitals for other countries; exceeding many of them indeed, both in wealth and population. What would Blake, or Cromwell, or Louis the Fourteenth, or the Prince of Orange, have said and thought, could they but have contemplated the zenith to which Great Britain has reached, in foreign and domestic policy and resources? What would the ancient Sybarite, or Roman patrician have felt, at the very contemplation of the luxuries and comforts, enjoyed not merely by some favoured child of fortune here and there, but by myriads and millions throughout these lands? And yet how fearful are the shadows, as contrasted with the lights of

this picture! What gaunt and giant poverty glares upon the spectator! How pale and sickly is the destitution hovering, like a plague, over masses of our operatives! How is discontent stalking up and down our lanes and streets! How strangely at variance are our hovels and palaces; our mansions echoing with midnight revels, and our union-houses teeming with sorrow! That the poor and rich have always been intermingled together, we most fully admit: but what has so complicated the tangled web of our affairs, in the present generation, is the deepening darkness *of this contrast*. This we maintain to be amongst the novel characteristics of the day. In proportion as the intervening ranks disappear, between the highest and lowest classes, the seams and chasms of society open and yawn. Revolution looks through them. Untold are the heaps of riches sparkling all around; but there are more tears, more sighs, more sufferings, more seeds of rebellion against the existing order of things, than ever there were. Like the valley of diamonds in the story of Sinbad the Sailor, the surface of the ground is strewn with jewels,—but there is a serpent to every one of them.

Then, again, still further to puzzle our calculations as to the future, there are all the new powers of locomotion and intercommunication;—the steam-engine and the railway. The former of these alone may do infinitely more than gunpowder ever did, to change the whole nature of war, and so far metamorphose society. The malicious pamphlet of a Prince de Joinville may be only a straw thrown up, just to ascertain which way the wind blows: but, at all events, it points to what might be done, and should receive attention accordingly. What, moreover, are we to say to the long range and invisible shells of the notorious Captain Warner, or Lord Dundonald, or the late General Shrapnel, or to the improved rockets of Major Samuel Parlby? Yet these are offensive materials, whether for mischief or safety; possessing slight interest, perhaps, compared with the inventions of Watts and Galloway. The steam-gun of Perkins may sweep away regiments in succession, mown down literally with the scythe of death; but the locomotive, whether on the principle of wheels running over an iron bar, or propelled by the action of the atmosphere along an exhausted tube, tends to baffle the most acute philanthropist in attempting to anticipate its prospective results. It may seem a strange thing to say,—but these are all elements, and new ones, too, which must inevitably exercise important influence upon our future social welfare. The predecessors of the present generation would have never credited predictions of what we have lived to see realized. Besides which, there is to be taken into the

account, what is rather too flatteringly described, as the diffusion of almost general, if not universal knowledge. True, however, it is that books and readers multiply beyond any limits which were formerly dreamt of. Thousands think and reflect in these days, where perhaps only scores or fifties did, when the house of Hanover began to reign. The press has grown into a sort of fourth estate to the realm. Newspapers, reviews, magazines, with every species of periodical, daily, weekly, monthly, quarterly, yearly, from the lowliest journal to the Annual Register, circulate intelligence, more or less valuable, throughout our houses, hamlets, villages, towns, and cities. The penny postage, when fully carried out and perfected, will complete the picture; a measure which reflects honour upon the mind which conceived, and the ministry which patronized it. We remember that before the long parliament was elected, John Hampden and some of his co-patriots undertook the labour of riding on horseback through the principal counties, to inform the public generally with respect to the crisis then near at hand. Comparing this circumstance with the operations of the Anti-corn-law league, we may conceive some idea of the strides which our population has made in acquiring and concentrating knowledge. Where will the tory be found in a few years, who will venture to express a doubt, that in fact as well as theory, the people alone must constitute the source of power? The science of politics has nevertheless become more perplexing, requiring a wider range of survey, greater acquaintance with details, and greater skill in applying them to problems of diurnal occurrence.

Not only, also, are there now new elements of civilization in existence, but the old ones are in new positions. The church formerly led the nation; the nation must now lead the church. It is claiming to do so every day; and, what is more, it is acting up to its claims. That antiquated establishment of religion, which once propounded from its pulpits the *jure divino* rights of kings, and the duties of passive obedience from the people, has lowered its tones, and assumed more moderate and specious lines of conduct. Not that its nature has changed, as we have already intimated; but what was admitted, under Henry the Eighth or Elizabeth, is stoutly repudiated and resisted under Victoria. In plainer terms, the days of an alliance between church and state are numbered. That union has been weighed, and found wanting. No one of its pretensions can abide the balances. Bishops may fulminate speeches in the House of Lords, or charges at their triennial visitations; but large sections of the laity, to say the least, are perceiving the monstrous absurdity of loading their spiritual leaders 'with thick clay;' lodging them

in castles and palaces; and numbering them amongst the peers of the kingdom. *Haud sumus episcopi sed* BARONES, was the bold declaration of a prelate under William the Conqueror, in reference to the rank of himself and his order, in the royal councils. How much more thought of, in our own day, is the temporal privilege, than the spiritual office. Some opportunities have been of late afforded us of observing this; when certain right reverend personages, whom we could easily name, have come into contact and contrast with their brethren from the colonies, or the United States of America. It must be going far towards breaking the hearts of Oxonians to notice, as they cannot avoid doing, the freedom with which ecclesiastical usurpations are sifted, overhauled, and ridiculed, in the popular branch of our legislature. No cabinet could now share the fate of that which Queen Anne dismissed, through any punishment of such a charlatan as Doctor Sacheverel. What St. Dunstan is said to have done by the devil, a parliament may one day be quite prepared to do by that accuser of her brethen,—the secular, domineering, hierarchy of England. Yet, surely, this is a fresh feature of the age, almost as young as the Reform Bill. So, moreover, with regard to the aristocracy: how totally has its position altered in the body politic. Who could stand before the House of Lords twenty-five years ago? Who held the helm of the nation, when the Earl of Liverpool remained premier, and Lord Bexley chancellor of the exchequer,—neither having more ability than many clerks in our first-rate mercantile companies? Who, then, returned, either directly or indirectly, a majority of members to the lower chamber? Who dared to enunciate, that Gatton and Old Sarum constituted the bulwarks of our prosperity; that the prices of corn must be kept at a starving point, professedly to maintain our labourers' wages, in reality to support the war rentals of the nobility and squirearchy? Who monopolized, without question or dubiety, all the rich places of the state,—all the opulent patronage of our colonies,—all the fair prizes in our navy and army,—all the fatness and luxury of ecclesiastical preferment? But what a change has come over the spirit of their dream. Is the upper house now much more than a court of registration for acts of parliament; still, indeed, endeavouring to hold its privileges by the tail, as gradually, in spite of their efforts, peerages modern and ancient are losing their lustre and power. Has not Ireland, in the person of O'Connell, appealed to their fears, and wrung out from their very prejudices a verdict contrary to what they call their consciences, but which, through the tone and aspect of the times, they dare not refuse or modify?

But there is yet another instance demonstrative of our aver-

ment, that the old materials in society are being moved into new places; so that wise men must survey them under different aspects than formerly. The genuine glory of Great Britain has ever been her middle classes. These, answering to their designation, have contributed to support those above, while they rested upon those below themselves. Voltaire used to compare them to the best portion of the favourite beverage of their country,—the top of which, he said, was all froth, the bottom all dregs, but the centre all sound, clear, strengthening, and wholesome. Subsequently to his visit at the court of George the First, our lower orders much improved; so that it has been justly conceived, he would have given a very different account of them, had he been here towards the conclusion of the reign of George the Second. From that period to the commencement of the American war, the mere physical necessities of our population are supposed to have been well supplied. Demand for labour was steady and considerable: hence wages continued good; and provisions were generally and proportionably rather cheap than otherwise. In some respects, those were undoubtedly golden days, at least in the estimation of Malthus and his disciples. All candid observers, too, will admit, that then the various gradations of our fellow countrymen appeared better blended together than is now the case. The master, with his apprentices and journeymen,—the farmer, with his family and husbandmen,—lodged under the same roof, took their meals at the same board, mingled in the same picturesque rural pastimes, and felt more perfectly, that they were members of one and the same community. However, during the revolutionary struggle with France and the continent, matters altered under these heads; and according to our judgment, very much for the worse. Cultivators of land in the country, and tradesmen in the towns, caught more or less that contagion of aristocracy which would seem to be so indigenous to British habits, although it is the bane of our best interests. Small capitalists have come to ape the exclusive airs of monied leviathans; the gentry are imitated by their tenants, or the shopocracy, where it would have been wiser to act as their ancestors did before them; whilst all beneath themselves, from the artizan to the peasant and the pauper, seem more or less detruded from the ground which they once occupied. Hence have arisen innumerable mutual mistrustings, an infinity of envyings and heartburnings, which have made our employers, and those whom they employ, respectively stand aloof from each other. A crowd of pleasurable and respectable sympathies, which, generations ago, served to dovetail and fasten us, as it were, into one moving machine of life and energy, are

reckoned in these times amongst antiquated and vulgar prejudices. Refinement may possibly serve as an apology for sundry changes; yet surely not for all: and for even ameliorated external manners, we may pay too dear. In one word, our middle and lower classes have undergone imperceptible yet mighty modifications in their relative positions. We mean by *imperceptible*, to imply that the change has, as it were, stolen upon us, unperceived in its progress, until, from its magnitude and extent, it seems almost past cure. What have been called the foundations of the social pyramid, no longer present a firm, compact, solid basement. They are now hollowed, perforated, and honeycombed in every direction. Combustibles, and all sorts of explosive materials, here find convenient hiding places, and a congenial atmosphere. Were but a spark to ignite the magazine, British happiness and prosperity would expire in the vast chaos of ruin!

Meanwhile, our hungry and agitated millions hear wondrous tales about the Revolution of 1688; and then look around them for the results. What has it done for them? They have no notion of the value to be attached to a mere abstract principle. As plain men, they point to plain matters of fact, just as they are. Corn, the staff of life, is enhanced thirty per cent. beyond its natural price; wages descend in the scale through the weight of a daily augmenting population; taxes ride heavily upon all their little luxuries—their tobacco, their tea, their sugar, their other groceries, and their beer. Game laws protect and cover hares, rabbits, pheasants, and partridges, which, as being wild of foot and wing, might seem to be the common property of all. But for the cotter there are few sympathies. The family of the country squire, more especially the ladies, may perhaps alleviate, or at least sooth the pauperism and sickness of a single district or village; yet the great hand of government, which scares them into external order and quietude, which fleeces them through its fiscal exactions, day by day, has for them nothing but its terrors. It points the poor to the union house; the vicious to the stocks and whipping post; the criminal to the jail and gibbet. It touches no tender associations for those who are without rank or property: it sheds around no loving mercies for the destitute: it awakens no affectionate attachment among the children of toil or sorrow. Operatives and labourers, with thews and sinews, with wives and families, from fireless hearths and houses, gaze grimly on the scene. Schools, lectures, pamphlets, and newspapers—the *Northern Star*, the neighbouring incendiarism, which night after night has made the horizon red with flames, all help to arouse new and strange sensations in their bosoms. 'What part or lot,' they are now

asking, 'have we in this mighty machine called government?' And echo answers, None! They hear enough about votes, and representatives, and liberals or conservatives, especially in the ferment of elections, but what accrues to them from it all? The suffrage of their own master, a fifty-pound farm holder, they know well to be an illusion; since he dare not resist his landlord: but where is the vestige of a vote for them? They are liable to be drawn for the militia; they are bound over to bear more than their share of the burdens on behalf of society, both pecuniary and personal: but where are their own political rights? Who labours for their interests? Who is the champion for the prosperity of honest manual industry? They are some of them beginning to have their attention drawn to yet higher subjects than those of a sublunary world: many of them are nonconformists, catholics—of some other persuasion, than the parson at the rectory, who pockets the tithes of the parish. It has occurred to their unsophisticated judgments, that religious members of a community ought only to be obliged to pay their own minister—a blasphemous, radical, and horrible heresy—as they have just heard it described by three justices of the peace, all themselves clergymen! These, and a thousand similar ideas, are now being agitated through the length and breadth of the realm: which, when once thoroughly divided against itself, must adopt some new course of action, or else split inevitably to pieces.

Hence we conceive, that organic rather than dynastic changes will be called for, and realized too, before it can be said that within these lands the grand revolution is over! We heartily pray that our rulers may be directed aright, to concede in time; to abandon their systems of temporary expedients; to abolish that enormous national fraud, under which the administration of society is carried on, professing as it does to consult the good of the people, whilst it is in fact the mere maintenance and advancement of the aristocracy, which it has at heart. Government must come to be considered *in truth* what it is described on the hustings, and in parliament *in theory*, a trust for which all who administer it are responsible. An extension of the suffrage, with the ballot for its safeguard, must be forthwith granted. If this be not done, something else will follow. The state, as to its religious affairs, must be above suspicion. In the favourite metaphorical language of a certain school amongst us, it must have no favourite in lawnsleeves, 'faring sumptuously every day:' it must dally with no spiritual spouse or sister; and least of all with a concubine. It must confine itself to its own affairs—those alone which are secular. Did the Revolution of 1688 declare for toleration? Its completion will be the utter banish-

ment of that term from the mind of our legislature, by annihilating religious establishments! Did the expulsion of a monarch, aiming at absolutism, demonstrate that kings can have no right divine to govern wrong?—the hour is at hand when an oligarchy will have to learn the same lesson, and surrender its manifold usurpations! Did even the whiggery of that age re-introduce triennial parliaments, avow the responsibility of ministers, rescind extravagant grants from the crown, and checkmate the upper chamber by *tacking* popular measures to bills of supply?—the liberalism of our own day will have to carry out such endeavours, by gradually developing the sounder elements of democracy, and effecting institutional reforms. The pressure of taxation must be removed from the shoulders of industry, and placed upon the back of property. Trade, and commerce, and manufactures must be freed from their fetters and manacles. The Dagon of political caste must be broken into fragments forever; whilst its worshippers may be left to take care of themselves, in the general welfare of the commonwealth. We are no friends to a republic for Great Britain: but let our imperial diadem be worn with simple majesty, as reflecting the will of enlightened millions, watched over by an united, responsible, and hereditary monarchy. Above all things, let that course be adopted, which will avoid civil convulsions, render equal justice to the three kingdoms, recognize the fullest rights of conscience, and secure, through a gracious Providence, the greatest amount of happiness for the greatest possible numbers. Then shall we say of such a renovated constitution, *Esto perpetua.*

Brief Notices.

Letters written during a journey to Switzerland, in the Autumn of 1841. By Mrs. Ashton Yates. 2 vols. London: Duncan and Malcolm.

These letters were written by their clever authoress in accordance with a promise made to her younger children, on her leaving them, that she would give them a particular description of every place she visited. They are, however, in a form as we should judge beyond the reach of those for whom they were originally intended, and we are glad to meet with them in a more appropriate and wider circulation. Their style is graceful and sprightly, occasionally, perhaps, assuming too much of authority, an error into which, from the first object of their composition, the writer was liable to fall. They consist of descriptive and historical notices of the places visited, and these are the most interesting spots of Switzerland. Lakes, mountains, floods, glaciers, meadows, and gardens, thus become in turn the subjects of our

authoress's observations, and are vividly pourtrayed to the reader; while now in a grave, and oftener in a playful humour, are interspersed remarks on manners, literature, or politics. The authority on which Mrs. Yates depends, in her account of the places through which she passed, is Vieusseux's History of Switzerland, a volume published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and which was her companion and guide in her historical researches during her travels. The ease and frankness of the style of these volumes betrays the writer sometimes into a degree of flippancy and carelessness. In a mass of opinions on all sorts of subjects, such as are here assembled, it would be strange if all were sound and true. We have no wish to make her an offender for a word, but we have been pained by the manner in which she sometimes treats questions of the gravest importance in religion and morality. The distinctions between vice and virtue do not arise from the fluctuating opinion of human society, whether in its highest or lowest grade, but from the will of an immutable God It is dangerous to call evil good, or good evil, or by any indiscriminate use of language to hide human guilt. In the remarks which Mrs. Yates, in page 75, of her first volume, has seen fit to make concerning the birth of Erasmus, reflection will point out to her much that is inappropriate for the perusal of her younger children, in relation to whom her maternal solicitude will lead her to desire that they should be fortified against the temptations of life by some firmer principles of morality than a knowledge of the practices and opinions of fashionable society. We thank her for her clever and interesting description of a beautiful and noble country.

Kenâan. Volks-und Religionsges chichte Israel's, Von Cäsar von Lengerke, Dr. der Theologie and Philosophie, ordentlichem Professor an der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg. Canaan: or the national and religious History of Israel. By Cæsar von Lengerke, &c. Konigsberg. 1844. Boonträger. London: Nutt.

LENGERKE is a name well known to Hebrew philologists and biblical critics. The design of this work is to connect the external history of the Jews with their internal character as a people; and, thereby, to represent the progressive developement of their political influence, and the gradual unfolding of their religious sentiments. The author connects the internal character of the Jewish people with their external history, because, as he very properly remarks, 'with every great step in the march of their outward history, there was always a corresponding developement of their religion,' or, as English theologians would say, of the theocracy.

The history of the Jews is a field, in which many of the German critics have laboured with great assiduity and immense learning. But, in the majority of instances, it has happened that, where learning has abounded, there infidelity has much more abounded. This is particularly the case with De Wette's Critical Inquiry into the History of Israel; with Von Bohlen's Commentary on Genesis; with Vatke's Theology of the Old Testament; and with Professor Leo's Jewish History. Leo, indeed, after he had published his work, changed his

views of the principles of criticism, which should be applied to the Theocracy, and, in consequence, recalled the first edition of his work, and issued another on more correct principles. We should be happy if, upon further consideration, Von Lengerke were to do the same; for we are pained to find that, amid all his learned and critical investigations, he rarely, or never, misses an opportunity of attacking some of the positions of Revelation.

Von Lengerke must have entered on this work *con amore*; for what lies before us is only the 'Erster Theil,' the 'first part,' of this literary enterprise; and this first part has 710 closely printed pages of the work, besides cxxxvi. pages of introduction. This first part pursues the history of Israel up to the death of Joshua. It contains:—I. The views which the Israelites held about the creation of the world. II. A description of the land of Canaan. III. The character of its inhabitants. IV. The emigration of the Hebrews into Canaan, and the age of the patriarchs. V. The sojourn of Israel in Egypt, their Exodus, and their journey to Sinai. VI. The founding of the community at Sinai. VII. Israel on the Plains of Moab. VIII. The conquest and distribution of the land of Canaan.

These chapters abound with learned and useful criticism, and with very important and thrilling information. As the theological student travels with the author through this wilderness of learning, he will often feel that he is in company with one of 'the mixed multitude' who went forth with Israel, and not with one of the chosen tribes. In his travels, if he seeks from this author, topographical, historical, and philological information, he will obtain it in abundance; but he must be prepared to expect, on his journey, some of the bitter waters, the fiery serpents, the Moabitish syrens, and the crafty Gibeonites, which belong to the various regions of rationalistic infidelity.

The 'introduction' consists of five learned sections on the following subjects:—1. On tradition and myth. 2. On the antiquity of Hebrew writing and historical writing. 3. A survey of the historical books in the canon and the apocrypha. 4. A view of other sources and means of history. 5. An examination of individual historical works in the canon. For learning, criticism, and neology, these sections have much the same character as the chapters in the body of the work.

Amid all the stupendous productions of rationalistic learning, we are happy to find that neology is on the wane in Germany; and that the students and candidates, who are in favour of the school of Spener, Francke, and Tholuck, are very decidedly on the increase. The ponderous tomes, crammed with learning and infidelity, which have been produced by the rationalists will, ere long, form good magazines to those who will go to *them*, for criticisms in language and geography, but to the *scriptures*, for theology and heavenly wisdom.

Bibliotheca Sacra and Theological Review. Conducted by B. B. Edwards and E. A. Park, Professors at Andover, with the special co-operation of Dr. Robinson and Professor Stuart. Nos. 1 and 2. Wiley and Putman. 1844.

THE Bibliotheca Sacra is properly a continuation of the first four volumes of the American Biblical Repository, edited by Dr. Robinson. These

volumes, which are now beginning to be scarce, are strictly biblical, consisting of original articles and translations of German essays, likely to be of permanent value, and abiding interest. Not long after his return to his native land, Professor Robinson seems to have entertained the idea of commencing a similar publication; especially as the Biblical Repository had gradually assumed a different character from that which it originally bore. Three numbers of the Bibliotheca Sacra were accordingly published under his editorship, consisting chiefly of geographical articles, in continuation and correction of his researches in Palestine. But in variety and interest they were greatly deficient. Indeed there is little life or vivacity in Professor Robinson's composition. There is an air of dryness about it that renders it dull even to biblical readers. His style has no warmth.

The Bibliotheca Sacra and Theological Review, is a new series of the Bibliotheca Sacra, conducted by Professors Edwards and Park. Two numbers of it are before us, which, in variety of topics, vivacity, and value, are much superior to their predecessors. The chief defect that attaches to them is the limited circle within which the contents seem to move. Halle in Germany, and Andover in America, are the places mainly pourtrayed in their theological literature. Why do not the editors give information as to the books and men of other European universities, such as Berlin, Basel, Bonn, and Heidelberg? Why is England entirely neglected? In this respect we are constrained to censure the narrowness of the range which the editors have hitherto taken. Besides, their information is not the most recent. Thus, in the article published from Professor Tholuck's manuscripts, the information is not brought down by the translator to the present time. Were it desirable, it might be easily shewn what important books and treatises are omitted. So also in other papers and reviews. Thus we are told, that 'there is no good Lexicon even of classical Greek.' Here the writer is quite ignorant of Pape's Handwörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache, in drei Bänden, 8vo. Braunschweig, 1842 and 1843, which is both the latest and the best. It is rather unfair towards England to dismiss Liddell and Scott's Greek lexicon, the best in this country, with the remark, that its price puts it out of the reach of American students. 'We are not acquainted with the new Greek and English lexicon by Liddell and Scott of the University of Oxford.' And why is not a reviewer, who talks and writes so confidently about Greek lexicons, acquainted with it. His ignorance is culpable. Had the dictionary in question been produced in America, it would have been immediately lauded as the best of all. We advise the conductors of the periodical to look more abroad in their surveys of literature and religion; and, perhaps, England may present something worthy of their notice.

The chief articles in the two numbers already published are; the aspect of literature in the United States as compared with Europe; a Life of Aristotle; Interpretation of the Number 666 in the Apocalypse; the Structure of the Gospel according to Matthew, an original and able Essay; the imprecations in the Scriptures; an investigation of the question respecting the real bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist; an Inquiry respecting the Ascension of Christ; Theological Encyclopædias

and Methodology; the early History of Monasticism; and the expiatory Sacrifices of the Greeks and Romans, with their relation to the one Sacrifice on Golgotha. In the review of Coleman's Church without a Prelate, there is much that is objectionable. The American divines in general, entertain lax, unsettled, erroneous views in regard to church polity. They should *learn* the entire subject.

The articles, as is natural, possess various degrees of merit, but all are more or less valuable, while a few are extremely opportune at the present day; such as, the elaborate examination, historical, patristic, and exegetical, of the words descriptive of the Lord's Supper; and the brief account of early monasticism. All are adapted to interest inquiring students, especially such as are resolved to institute satisfying examinations of the divine word, and of those collateral subjects that throw light upon its pages, or to pursue their investigations in a spirit of patient and comprehensive diligence, aided by the learning, and encouraged by the example of German scholars, until they shall obtain views of the Bible that bring with them their own reward.

This journal is unquestionably the best Biblical one in the English language, and we cordially commend it to the attention of those who desire, by studying the sacred scriptures in their original languages, to arrive at a fundamental knowledge of their varied contents.

The Anti-Monopolist. Religious and Political. Published at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Sold at 36, Southampton Street, Strand.

The whole history of monopoly, as illustrative of the selfishness and cupidity of human nature, forms a wide field for philosophical research. Perhaps the most important and singular phase of this history is that which is now seen amongst us. Monopoly has assumed a different form from that which it bore in the days of the Tudors and the Stuarts: then, it was diffused, so to speak, in countless streams, and obstructed even the minor branches of trade by its obnoxious presence. Now, it is more concentrated in its influence, and its ramifications though perhaps not less extensive, are less palpable. The endless monopolies of former days may indeed be said to be now reduced to three master monopolies,—the monoply of bread, the monopoly of the priesthood, and the monopoly of the Word of God.

Monopoly, however, will not be suffered to pursue unresisted and unheeded its pernicious course. The elements of opposition, though not yet developed, are far from slumbering. A periodical has lately been started in the North with the avowed determination of exposing the insidious progress of the evil, and, in conformity with the expressive title it has assumed, this periodical testifies against monopoly wherever it is detected, whether in the church, in legislation, or in commerce. As a few extracts may serve to give an idea of the efforts that are being made in this quarter, we subjoin a quotation concerning the worst of all monopolies —that of the Word of life. The author brings this subject before us under two aspects, namely, as a question of expediency and as a question of right. With respect to the *right* of the crown to usurp this monopoly, we find the following observation.

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[illegible]

[illegible]

Britain. The only one that had been previously made, proceeded from Mr. Thomson, an American, in the year 1808; but we believe that very few persons in England are acquainted with it. Under such circumstances, we are glad to see the present translation. It was much required; and we trust that it will be extensively read. Mere English students of the Bible will now have an opportunity of perusing an ancient and valuable document of which they may have frequently heard. Since it has been quoted by the Saviour and his inspired apostles, it is dear to many, though they have never seen it presented in an English dress.

To judge rightly of the merits of this translation, it is necessary to compare it with the original Greek, not only in one or two books, but in all. It should also be put by the side of Mr. Thomson's. Accordingly we have examined both versions in the same passages, and have little hesitation in declaring our conviction that the present is much superior.

Those only who have been accustomed to study the Septuagint are aware of the difficulties belonging to many passages. Intricate and perplexed sentences are by no means uncommon. Indeed it is almost impossible to put any fair construction on the original, in numerous places. So much confusion has been introduced, either by the mistakes or ignorance of the original translators, or by subsequent errors of transcription, that it is a hopeless task to render the now existing Greek text, in any tolerable manner, into English. But the present translator has often and ingeniously succeeded. The language of his version is throughout conformed to that of our authorized English translation from the Hebrew, as far as the original Greek seemed to allow. It is select, suitable, and correct. The diction runs so smoothly, that the book reminds the reader of one originally written in our own language, rather than a version from another tongue. The idiomatic peculiarities are well rendered. In short, it is one of the best versions that has fallen in our way, exhibiting as its prominent features, taste, accuracy, neatness, and fidelity. We thank the author for his work; and doubt not that it will be duly appreciated by the student of sacred literature.

It should be added, that the various readings from the Alexandrine copy are few but select—that there are occasionally marginal renderings more literal than those in the text—that the verses are numbered in the middle of the lines—and that the typography and *getting up* of the volumes are in the very best style of the Messrs. Bagster.

The Settlers in Canada. Written for Young People. By Captain Marryatt. Two volumes, post 8vo. London: Longman and Co.

Captain Marryatt is too well known in the department of light literature to require a formal introduction. His present work, consisting of two small volumes, will receive a hearty welcome from our young people, and may be read by them without impropriety, or any fear of injury. The moral tone of the work is unexceptionable, and the narrative sufficiently stirring to keep alive the deepest interest in the juvenile readers. We should have been better pleased if Captain Marryatt had kept more in mind what was due to his own literary reputation. There are marks of haste and carelessness in the composition which ought to have been avoided, and the development of his story, and his

sketches of the character of the *dramatis personæ* are deficient in the higher qualities of his art. The ordinary machinery of the novel writer is too apparent, and the history is in consequence too far removed from probability to do much more than minister a momentary excitement. This is a great fault in a work designed for the young, whose imaginations are always sufficiently inclined to substitute the ideal for the actual world.

The Recreation. A Gift-Book for Young Readers. The fifth of the series. Edinburgh: J. Menzies. London: Orr and Co.

This volume answers well to its title, and is in strict keeping with its predecessors. Our young readers will insure both amusement and information by its perusal.

Christian Consolation, or the Unity of the Divine Procedure a Source of Comfort to Afflicted Christians. By the Rev. E. Mannering. Second Edition. London: Snow.

A volume, like those already published by the estimable author, benevolent in its design and spirit. It is intended to complete the pastoral admonitions given to his flock in former little works, which we think the present should have resembled in size. As a book of greater bulk and more pretension we were disappointed in its contents. Notwithstanding, to a numerous class it is likely to be highly acceptable and useful. The author's aim in its publication has evidently been to do good.

Truth and Error, or the Union of Truth the Destruction of Error, London; Snow, 1843.

This volume is published after the death of the author. It is an attempt to discriminate truth from error, shewing how they mingle in different proportions in the religious tenets of all parties. The task was one to test the knowledge and judgment of an angel, and the writer appears to have had at least one qualification in a large degree,—that of christian charity.

The Writing Desk and its contents; taken as a Text for the familiar Illustration of many important Facts in natural History and Philosophy. By Thomas Griffiths.

The Useful Arts employed in the Production of Food.

A History of the Invasion of Russia by Napoleon Buonaparte. From the French of Eugene Labaume. London: John W. Parker. 1844.

These three neat little volumes are specimens of a series of publications which appear excellently adapted for the use of families and schools, and for general circulation. Their introduction into the circulating or reading library cannot fail, we think, to prove acceptable to a large number of readers, and gradually to create a taste for a more substantial kind of

reading than t t of which, in most cases, such libraries are composed. We have arranged the three volumes according to the order in which they appeared interesting to us, and regard Mr. Griffith's, as a highly successful accomplishment of a difficult task.

Beulah, or the Rest of Man in the Rest of God. By the Rev. C. J. Yorke, A.M. London: Nisbet.

A PLEASING and well written tract, adapted to refresh and strengthen the anxious christian. Mr. Yorke's thoughts, and the manner in which he expresses them, are of such a nature as to instruct, while they interest his readers. His former publications have been controversial. This is not so.

Reflections after Reading; or Sketches, Biographical, Ecclesiastical, and Historical. By John Cockin. London: Ward. 1843.

MR. COCKIN has been from his youth in the habit of reducing to writing his thoughts on various subjects, and his opinions on the books which he has perused. The papers thus accumulated have been looked over, and portions of them selected, to form the present volume. It is a sensible and well written production, varying somewhat in quality and interest, according to the time in which the essays were written, and the subjects of which they treat. In his political opinions Mr. Cockin belongs to the whig school; in his ecclesiastical, he is an intelligent dissenter. The subjects treated of are so numerous, that some cannot fail to secure the attention of almost every reader. The price which is marked at the back of the volume, we fear, may prevent a sale proportionate to its merits.

The last Days; their near approach, and perilous character, including a new interpretation of the Seven Vials, the Battle of Armageddon, and the coming of the Son of Man. By the author of 'Downfall of Popery.' London: Ward and Co.

THIS is a remarkable book. The author carefully reads and studies his bible, and seeks to interpret scripture by means of itself. We have read his work with the deepest interest, and think he has adduced strong arguments in favour of many of his peculiar opinions. The subjects of which he treats demand great caution, judgment, patience, and skill; and in these the writer has shewn himself not deficient. The following are the titles of the seven chapters of which the book is composed:—the sounding of the seventh trumpet; the effusion of the seven vials; the infidel king of Daniel; the restoration of the Jews; the great tribulation; the battle of Armageddon; and the coming of the Son of Man, We are glad to welcome a second publication from the writer's pen.

Immanuel; or God with us: a series of lectures on the divinity and humanity of our Lord; as well as on his descent into hell, resurrection, ascension, and second advent. By Richard Bingham, Jun., M.A. London: Seeley and Burnside. 1843.

AN octavo volume, of four hundred pages, which is correctly described

by its title. It is full of sound and scriptural investigation, and contains an explanation of many difficult texts. Our fear about it is that it will be found too elaborate and critical for general readers, and scarcely sufficiently profound for those who are well stored with Biblical and other learning. As an exposition of important christian truth, it is worthy of perusal. The author is a relative of the compiler of the Antiquities of the Christian Church—the celebrated Joseph Bingham.

The History of Literature; or the Rise and Progress of Language, Writing, and Letters, from the earliest Ages of Antiquity to the present Time. In 4 vols., 8vo. London: Longman and Co. 1843.

The author of this work is Sir William Boyd, who has only as yet published one volume, handsomely got up, and which is lying before us. When the learned knight shall have finished his undertaking, and will be good enough to forward to us the concluding volumes, we promise him a careful perusal of his pages, with our candid judgment upon them. We must, as a general rule, decline reviewing *in extenso*, an uncompleted task.

Literary Intelligence.

Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation.

Historical Memorials relating to the Independents or Congregationalists, from their rise to the restoration of the monarchy. By Benjamin Hanbury. Vol. III.

The Wars of Jehovah in Heaven, Earth, and Hell. In nine books. By Thomas Hawkins, Esq. With 11 highly finished engravings by John Martin, Esq.

The Comedies, Histories, Tragedies, and Poems of William Shakspere. Edited by Charles Knight. Vol. 12.

A Dissertation on the True Age of the World, in which is determined the chronology of the period from creation to the christian era. By Professor Wallace.

The Irish Question considered in its Integrity; with an introduction and prefatory remarks on the conduct of the house of Peers. By Viscount Wellesley.

Christian Consolation: or the unity of the divine procedure a source of comfort to afflicted christians. By the Rev. E. Mannering. Second edition.

The Recreation: a gift-book for young readers. The fifth of the series.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Part VIII. Edited by William Smith, L.L.D.

Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. By John Kitto. Part XV.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR DECEMBER, 1844.

Art. I. 1. *Horae Apocalypticae, or a Commentary on the Apocalypse, critical and historical; including also an examination of the chief prophecies of Daniel: illustrated by an Apocalyptic Chart, and sundry Engravings from medals and other extant monuments of antiquity.* By the Rev. E. B. Elliott, A.M. 3 vols. 8vo. London: Seeley. 1844.

2. *Hyponoia: or thoughts on a spiritual understanding of the Apocalypse, or book of Revelation, with some remarks upon the Parousia, or second coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, and an Appendix upon the Man of Sin.* 8vo. pp, 707. New York. 1844.

3. *Wealth the name and number of the Beast,* 666, *in the book of Revelation.* 12mo. pp. 156. London: Bagster. 1844.

4 *First Elements of Sacred Prophecy: including an Examination of several recent Expositions, and of the year day theory.* By the Rev. T. R. Birks. 12mo. pp. 438. London. 1843.

5. *The Hierophant: or Monthly Journal of Sacred Symbols and Prophecy.* Conducted by George Bush, A.M. 8vo. pp. 288. New York. 1844.

6. *Lectures on the book of Revelation.* By the Rev. G. Rogers. 12mo. pp. 375. London: J. Snow. 1844.

IT is time that the fundamental principles of prophetic interpretation should be satisfactorily settled. Some great hermeneutical work is required, which shall exhibit a solid and secure basement to future labourers in this department. As yet, nothing is definite, firm, or stable. Modern students of prophecy are generally employed in building up systems on those ancient foundations which have begun to lose the confidence of some competent judges. Too often they spend their time in displacing the little parts of other men's works—in main-

[illegible]—while they have all the [illegible] system.

[illegible] prophecy which de- [illegible]—Have the [illegible] reference? And, [illegible] or in the [illegible] Respecting both questions it may [illegible] we purpose at [illegible] some addi- [illegible] we believe, [illegible] who called in ques- [illegible] assaining it with all [illegible] which he is unquestionably pos- [illegible] with Junius and [illegible] the same [illegible] a few opponents [illegible] Indeed, all Roman catholic writers, [illegible] except Bishop Walmsley, ad- [illegible] Mr. Burgh arrived at the day-day [illegible] in another mode. In [illegible] has been taken by the indefatigable Stuart [illegible] that he has never seen the [illegible] Burgh. In consequence of these [illegible] Faber was led to in- [illegible] the foundation on which his views had [illegible] his Provincial letters, he has de- [illegible] with brief and perspicuous [illegible] if we except Elliott, and by [illegible] the year-day theory is Mr. Birks, who, [illegible] Prophecy, has fully entered into [illegible] with an acuteness far superior to that of the [illegible] Prof. Stuart has met with a [illegible] in Mr. Bush. Thus several distinguised [illegible] sides of the ques- [illegible] has appeared; [illegible] It may be well, at the present time, to review the validity of the arguments ad- vanced by the respective adherents of either principle. We are not aware that Mr. Birks's treatise has been formally or carefully examined by any independent inquirer; and the series of re- marks to follow will have chief reference to it as containing the best defence of a theory which, we may be permitted to say, will ere long become antiquated in the eye of the impartial scholar. The question is surrounded with difficulties of no common magnitude, and for full discussion would require a lengthened treatise. On this account it will not be expedient

to repeat all the grounds that have been so well stated by Maitland and Stuart, except in so far as may be demanded by the conditions of complete answers to Birks and Bush.

There is one prejudice against which those who contend for the literal acceptation of chronological dates in prophecy have to struggle, viz.—the force of ancient tradition—the hereditary prejudice in favour of opinions invested with the garb of years. There is in our nature a strong bias towards every thing on which time has stamped its features. We are reminded of the great and good men that have advocated certain sentiments,—of the learning and piety by which they were adorned, and the improbability that so many could have fallen into the same error. The shades of venerable men are invoked—Luther and the reformers are appealed to as resting on the year-day principle, and as animated in their contentions with the corruptions of Romanism by the belief that such corruptions are described and denounced in the Apocalypse. The fact is even broadly stated, that had the reformers adopted the literal designations of time, and the views of unfulfilled prophecy necessarily connected with such literality, they would not have raised their voice against the papacy, or persevered in opposition to its monstrous abominations. 'This,' says Prof. Bush to Mr. Stuart, 'is taking ground at once against the whole current of protestant commentary on the Apocalypse, and giving to the Romanists every advantage which they could desire. You help them in fact to plant themselves in a position from which it is impossible to dislodge them. This is a consequence of more serious moment than might at first blush appear; for, upon the principle of your interpretation, it is clear that the glorious reformation could never have taken place. The most cursory glance of the prophecy makes it evident that the mystic power denominated Babylon, is denounced as antichristian and idolatrous, and the people of God are commanded to separate themselves from it. Now nothing is better ascertained as a historical fact, than that it was on the ground of these denunciations, which they did not hesitate to apply to the apostate Roman church, that the noble band of reformers were upheld in their separation from the papacy. . . . . They were sustained in their heroic enterprise by this obvious construction of the prophetic oracles.' This is mere appeal to the feelings and prejudices, instead of fair, manly, honest argument. Such language serves to damage a cause with the undiscerning vulgar, but not to advance the interests of truth. It is the resort of those who are either conscious of the weakness of their system, or anxious to bring the *odium theologicum* upon their opponents. We know of no standard but the Bible—nothing that can serve

to shew the truth of a religious tenet, except the inspired word of God. Councils may change—fathers may be mistaken—the reformers were fallible; and shall we who enjoy the benefits resulting from the light and learning of past ages, stand still where they stopped, or appeal to them as our guides just because they attained to eminence at a time when surrounding circumstances were unfavorable to the progress of truth. We were not made to sleep over the Bible, or to stereotype those principles, civil and religious, which it is the glory of our forefathers to have transmitted to their posterity. While rendering due respect to the reformers, and honouring the men of past times who defended the great truths lying at the foundation of christian hope, we regard it as nothing less than popery in principle —that very thing in essence which we profess to abhor—the spirit of tractarianism resting on antiquity — to call up the names of the illustrious dead as the infallible expounders of the Bible, or to give our language the semblance of assuming, that to differ from current opinions is virtually to disown Protestantism and to favour Romanism. When shall the various sections of the protestant church learn fully, and act out with earnest honesty the lesson of heaven; 'Call no man your father upon the earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven.' The reformers were often wrong—in many particulars they were but partially enlightened. The early and later non-conformists too, wrote not a few things that cannot be received—their reasoning is often inconsequential, sometimes absurd; and we should as readily believe in the inspiration of the apocryphal books of Tobit and Judith, as adopt with implicit faith all their opinions. Verily the principle of Romanism is of far wider range and more extended influence than the churches of Rome and England. In other phases and forms its leaven may be seen quietly impregnating the minds of stereotyped dissenters.

In many prophecies, it is admitted that the chronological designations are to be taken in their obvious, literal sense. Here then is a presumption for applying the rule universally. If *most* of the dates be literal, why should not all be literal? If such be the usual mode of designating time, why not adhere to it throughout the scriptures? By what authority is it affirmed that a day denotes a year? Does it designate this longer period in *every* case of prediction where time is specified; or should the extended notation be appropriated to peculiar cases and kinds? In reply to this we are informed, that there is a distinction between *literal* and *symbolical* prophecies. The advocates of the year-day theory insist largely on such a distinction; and charge their opponents with leaving it out of view. The

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amined with care.

I. The prophecy of the seventy weeks, in Dan. ix. 24—27. Here the Hebrew word שָׁבוּעַ which in other places denotes *seven days*, signifies *seven years*. Hence it is inferred that words of time occurring in similar prophecies should be enlarged beyond their usual sense in the proportion of a *year* to a *day*. In reply to this, we will not say with Tyso, Govett, and Todd, that the prophecy is still future, and remains to be accomplished in weeks of days. In common with almost all expositors it must be asserted, that the prediction has been long since fulfilled. It is unnecessary, on the present occasion, to assign the reasons of such an opinion. But is the term appropriated by usage to a week of seven days? What is its *primary* and *proper* signification? According to its etymology it means a *hebdomad*, or *heptad, a seven*, either of days or of years. Such is its true signification, and it depends upon the particular context where it is found, whether it be applied to days or to years. *In itself* it is indefinite and general, so as to justify its application to the one or to the other. The vicinity determines and fixes its sense. Besides occurring in the prophecy of the seventy weeks, it is found twice in the book of Genesis, viz., xxix. 27, 28; once in Leviticus, in the dual number, xii. 5; and twice in the plural, in Daniel x. 2, 3. In Genesis and Leviticus, it is clear that it means a week of days, in consequence of the surrounding context. With regard to the plural, in Daniel x. 2, 3, the words literally translated are, 'three sevens *as to days*.' Here the word יָמִים *days* is added, as if on purpose to prevent misconception. Were the term appropriated to weeks of days, the addi- of יָמִים had been quite superfluous; were it appropriated to weeks of years, the addition had been incongruous; but the very circumstance that another word is subjoined leads to the conclusion, that the term שָׁבוּעַ is not definite of itself. The form

should not a similar intimation be found in them. To this it is replied, that such a direct statement in Daniel and John would have defeated the very end for which the periods are supposed to have been expressed in the peculiar form under consideration. Here a distinction is drawn between prophecies, whose chronological designations furnish a key to succeeding and symbolical prophecies, and those in which no such intimation is given. By following out the principle tacitly implied in the answer, there arise *two kinds* of symbolical prophecies; one, in which the notations of time are expressly explained, or in which it is implied that a day is put for a year, no injury being done by the announcement; another, in which the writer's purpose would be defeated by furnishing such a key to the notices of time. We ask then, by what authority is the explanation of time assigned in former passages, transferred to others confessedly distinguished from them in mysteriousness and obscurity? Why should the *plainly* symbolical, if we be allowed to use the expression, be permitted to dictate to the *obscurely* symbolical? When Mr. Birks and others draw a line of demarcation *between symbolical or typical predictions themselves*, we are equally warranted in drawing a line of demarcation in regard to *the notations of time*, belonging to the two classes so separated.

Besides, the fact of the passage in the book of Numbers containing a typical prophecy is exceedingly questionable. The spies were not types of the whole nation. It is a simple historical prophecy, in which God ordained that *as* the spies had wandered forty days, *so* the Israelites should wander, for their sins, forty years in the wilderness.

III. Ezekiel's typical siege is another argument in favour of the year-day theory. 'Lie thou also on thy left side, and lay the iniquity of the house of Israel upon it; according to the number of the days that thou shalt lie upon it, thou shalt bear their iniquity. For I have laid upon thee the years of their iniquity, according to the number of the days, three hundred and ninety days; so shalt thou bear the iniquity of the house of Israel. And when thou hast accomplished them, lie again on thy right side, and thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days; I have appointed thee each day for a year.' Ezekiel iv. 4—6.

The remarks made upon the preceding argument will equally apply to the present. It is *expressly stated* that God had appointed a day for a year; whereas in Daniel and John, no such intimation is given. To suppose that the three passages, one in Numbers, and two in Ezekiel, where a day signifies a year, should regulate the designations of time in similar prophecies, is unauthorised. In each of the three there is no doubt that a day is the

years and a half; for what does puny man know in relation to the will of the Lord to justify such boldness of declaration; but it is far more daring to aver that, although a small chronological number *has been* represented to the eye, a large number *could not* be similarly pictured. We conclude, therefore, that if the designations of time had been essential to the symmetry, outward and visible symbols would have been employed for that purpose. Indeed, the times are rather adjuncts of symbolical prophecies, than essential parts of them. They are put to them as appendages, more than as necessary features. They serve for explanation of the symbols, rather than for filling out the picture. They might have been absent without detriment to the congruity or completeness of the predictions. As an illustration of this remark, we shall simply quote Apocalypse xii. 3—6, where it will be apparent to the attentive reader, that the time is subjoined without bearing any necessary connexion to the symbolic description. 'And there appeared another wonder in heaven; and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads. And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth: and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born. And she brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up unto God and to his throne. And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there, a thousand, two hundred, and threescore days.' For confirmation of the same truth, we refer to the circumstance, that designations of time are variously expressed even when denoting the same period. Thus we find 1260 days; a time, times, and half; a time, times, and the dividing of a time; all embracing the same space. Had chronological periods formed an essential element in the symbolical predictions, we should have expected them to be always designated in the same manner; but the variety of forms they assume is an indication that they do not constitute a necessary characteristic of the hieroglyphic representations with which they are associated. They are altered, just because it is a matter of indifference whether or not they are presented in one invariable mode. Besides, because one part of a paragraph should be tropically interpreted, it does not follow that the whole should be so taken. So, in like manner, it is not agreeable to the analogy of scripture language that every part and portion of a passage should be symbolical, because the entire prophecy has that character. On particular occasions God may expressly appoint that a day should be taken for a year; but without his

direct institution, there is no warrant for doing so in other places, and at other times.

But it is affirmed by Faber and Bush, that in hieroglyphic representation *things are exhibited in miniature*, and therefore symbolical propriety requires that the associated chronological periods should also be exhibited in miniature. Here the essence of hieroglyphic writing is misstated. Exhibition *in miniature* is no necessary part of it. A thing may be either presented in miniature, or in an enlarged form. It is *incidental* to the characteristic features whether miniature or enlarged representation be adopted in any given instance. This is confirmed by Daniel iv. 20—21, where the fair and high tree which Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream is thus explained: 'The tree that thou sawest, it is thou, O king.'

IV. The phrase *time, times, and dividing of a time*, is said to contain many distinct proofs to refute the shorter reckoning, and to confirm the year-day exposition.

1. *Its peculiar form;* because if the short reckoning were true, no reason can be given why the times should not be expressed in the most usual form.

There are two circumstances that may be alleged in explanation of such phraseology. The air of ambiguity and mystery purposely thrown around a passage, and that variety of language in which every writer must be allowed to indulge to a greater or less extent. Agreeably to the former, the time is stated *indefinitely*, to correspond in some measure with the mysterious character of the whole passage. In the words of Hengstenberg, there is an 'effort after *concealed* definiteness. This, in respect to what was concealed, could not be realized, if the prophet used the ordinary mode of reckoning.' When *a time* is mentioned, every one naturally thinks of *a year*, unless there be something in the context to forbid the idea. The word is indefinite of itself, being applicable to periods of various lengths; yet although it is vague, a year suggests itself to the mind as *the period* which it is intended to embrace. In this way there is both definiteness and partial obscurity. According to the second consideration, we must not expect the same formal phrases in the same writer, to express the same thing. The inspired penmen must not be bound down to set phraseology. They exhibit the variety of phraseology common to others. It is unreasonable to expect that they will always use the same words to denote the same ideas. Hence even in symbolic prophecies, the number of days is sometimes stated literally and plainly, shewing that the effort after concealed definiteness in regard to the notations of time, was not an essential circumstance, and therefore not invariably required.

2. It is argued that the different terms used to denote the same period prove that it cannot signify three natural years and a half. 'The same interval occurs seven times over. Twice it is mentioned as a time, times, and a dividing of a time; once as a time, times, and a half; twice as forty-two months; and twice as twelve hundred and sixty days. The expression is varied in this remarkable manner; and in all these variations, is never once expressed by the natural and literal phrase. How can we explain this remarkable feature, but by supposing it to indicate a mysterious and hidden sense?' (Birks). The answer to this has been already given. All these expressions are somewhat ambiguous, though at the same time tolerably definite. They have an air of obscurity, which Mr. Birks and others require for the designations of time belonging to symbolical prophecies; while they are sufficiently precise to be understood immediately before the termination of the periods signified. Still, however, they do not come up to the standard of mysteriousness proposed by the year-day theory; they are merely adduced as negative proof that three natural years and a half are not meant. It is a *certain kind* of mystical obscurity that is sought for, viz., that which resides in the symbol of a day for a year. In addition to what has just been stated, we refer in answer to the argument, to the principle of variety. Symbolical prophecies have not only an air of mystery thrown around them for the most part, even in their notations of time, but they assume the same range of expressions as other portions of scripture. Hence arise different ways of conveying the same meaning in regard to periods. And here we might retort upon this Millennarian writer and ask, if a day be the symbol of a year, and one year of 360 years, why should not 1260 days be solely employed, instead of time, times and half a time, &c. &c. If a day be the appropriate symbol for a year, and a year for 360 years, why vary the language so much? To these questions he would probably reply, in order to unite obscurity with variety the sacred seers employ so many designations for the same period—the very same reply which we now give to the objection advanced against the literal interpretation.

V. Another argument is founded upon Luke xiii. 31—33. 'The same day there came certain of the Pharisees, saying unto Him, Get thee out and depart hence: for Herod will kill thee. And He said unto them, Go ye, and tell that fox, behold, I cast out devils, and I do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I shall be perfected. Nevertheless I must walk to-day, and to-morrow, and the day following: for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem.' 'The incident,' says Mr. Birks, 'occurred in the last journey of our Lord, but several weeks before his sufferings and resurrection. They cannot, therefore, admit a definite

[illegible] hand our Lord's [illegible] at the passover, [illegible] The words of this passage [illegible] of that minis- [illegible] The completion [illegible] of our Saviour at [illegible] when he was perfected.' [illegible] in the first place, that the [illegible] that our Lord's public [illegible] a position [illegible] It is more [illegible] and six months. [illegible] to twelve or [illegible] great uncertainty: [illegible] without proof, that it [illegible] perhaps there [illegible] will arise.

[illegible] prophecy, [illegible] that a day is the [illegible] between the [illegible] by the writer [illegible] to which [illegible] therefore, at- [illegible] irrelevant. It [illegible]

[illegible] Malachi that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

assumes that time means 360 years, as in the vii. chapter of
niel. He proceeds, however, in the way of types, mystical-
s, and gratuitous hypotheses. We deny that the great
ge prefigured the whole course of the Gentile dominion,
m the time of the prophet to the Messiah's glorious reign.
e deny that Nebuchadnezzar is the natural representative of
s Gentile power. He was the representative of the Babylo-
n empire, and nothing else—an empire that continued for
out 700 years.

VII. The vision of the *evening and morning* is also supposed
confirm the year-day theory. 'How long shall be the vision
ncerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desola-
n, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden
der foot? And he said unto me, unto two thousand and
ee hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed. And
e vision of the evening and the morning which was told
rue: wherefore shut thou up the vision; for it shall be for
ny days,' Dan. viii. 13, 14, 26. The literal rendering is,
o evenings and mornings two thousand three hundred. 1. It
lleged that there is something unusual in the chronological
pression here employed—that scripture affords no precedent
describing periods longer than one year in so unusual phrase-
gy; and that no reason can be given why the simple, usual,
l literal form of three years and so many months or days
uld not have been employed. The observation of Mede may
nish a partial answer to this, viz., 'when the angel means
rs, in Daniel, he expresseth it therefore not by days, for so
were doubtful; but by evenings and mornings, when he
aks of the persecution of Antiochus.' We have already pro-
ted against the unreasonableness of expecting stereotyped
rases. Should it be impossible for the expositor to assign a
son for unusual phraseology, it does not follow as a conse-
nce that it involves an unusual meaning. In the case before
besides the circumstance mentioned by Mede, and the desire
variety in diction, there is also the consideration that the
ne specified occurs in the explanation of the vision given by
e saint to another, *i.e.* by one angel to another. The pros-
rity of Antiochus is stated *definitely*, lest the faithful should
dispirited during his mad career against them.

2. It is further said that 'the words *evening* and *morning* are
the singular number, and precede the numerals. Now in the
ebrew idiom, when the noun follows mixed numerals, it may
in the singular, but when it precedes them, it is always in
e plural number. By mixed numerals are meant those of un-
e dimensions, where tens are joined with units, or thousands
h hundreds. To this rule, I believe, not one exception oc-

curs in the Hebrew scriptures. The words in question, it would thus appear, are not plural, but singular, or denote some one period, called an evening and morning, and which must either refer to the whole course of the vision, or to the time of its close. . . . Hence we may infer, with high probability, that the evening-morning, like the coming of Messiah the prince (Dan. ix. 25) describes the limit or closing term of the vision, when the sanctuary shall be cleansed. The numeral 2,300 will, therefore, stand alone, and require a word of time to be supplied. And in this case the laws of common usage forbid us to supply the word *days* with so high a number, and require us to interpret the unit as a *year*, and the whole period as 2,300 years.' (Birks.) The expression עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר is a compound noun, formed on purpose to express a natural day or space of twenty-four hours, corresponding to the Greek, νυχθήμερον. It is simply a collective; and the position of the numerals is exactly the same as in Genesis xlvi. 22; 2 Chron. xv. 11; 1 Sam. xxv. 2. In all these the collective noun is employed in the singular form, with a plural signification. (Nordheimer's Hebrew Grammar, vol. ii., § 936. 2). That the period in question, consisting of 2,300 natural days, refers to the *duration* of the vision we have little doubt. The question asked was: 'How long shall be the vision?' and it is manifest that an explanation regarding it is subjoined in these words: 'The vision concerning the daily sacrifice and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot.'

But it has been said, that specific designations of time tend to paralyse all watchfulness on the church's part for the Lord's coming, and therefore in order to strengthen faith and hope under the long delay of 2,000 years between the first and second advent, a large part of the whole interval was prophetically announced, but only in such a manner that its true length might not be understood, till its own close seemed to be drawing near. We are quite at a loss to perceive in what manner the exact statement of times militates against the earnest expectation of our Lord's coming which the church is required to cherish. Such specific dates do certainly reveal the duration of a series of events; but the point of time at which they begin, and consequently that at which they close, are not determinately stated in the prophecies, at least not in such a manner as to preclude anxious inquiry or to dissipate every doubt. Hence a veil of obscurity still attaches to the predictions of ancient seers; and the people of God are kept looking and waiting for the mighty events that shall usher in their Lord's coming. 'Blessed is he that readeth, and they who hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein,' is a declaration as

applicable to such as understand the periods literally, as to the advocates of the year-day theory. The necessity is laid upon both to search diligently into the unveilings of future events—and when they have so inquired, they will still feel that the Almighty has wisely enveloped his own declarations in regard to the future in partial mystery, that his people may be kept humble, patient, and prayerful amid their anticipations of the approaching footsteps of Deity, or their scanning the signs of the times. By specific notations of time nothing is revealed, the knowledge of which would be injurious; no attitude of the church favourable to piety is hindered. Sufficient obscurity still rests upon the symbolic representations.

But Mr. Birks affirms that a large part of the entire interval between the first and second advent was prophetically announced in such a manner that its true length might not be understood till near the close. Many are disposed to question and to deny this position. At all events it cannot be assumed by any one who undertakes to prove the truth of the year-day theory, because it rests upon the correctness of the very principle with which it is thus associated. It is only when a day is taken for a year, that a large part of the entire interval between the first and second advent can be said to have been prophetically announced.

VIII. The 1290 and 1335 days in Daniel (chapter xii. verses 11 and 12) have also been pressed into the service of the year-day theory. It might have been expected that they should be exempted from its operation, and interpreted as literal days instead of years, because they are mentioned in *the explanation* not in the *midst of* symbols. But reference is made to 'the double notice that they have a hidden meaning.' 'The words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end.' 'None of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand.' Thus it is virtually affirmed to amount to the same thing, at least in the present instance, whether periods occur imbedded in the symbols, or in the explanation of them. The expression 'the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end,' simply implies that God did not see fit to gratify the desire of the prophet by revealing to him exactly the termination of the period. The duration of the period itself is stated as a time, times, and half, which was probably obscure to the seer, because neither its commencement nor its termination is clearly unfolded. As to the wicked not understanding, this arises from the blindness of their hearts, and their consequent inability to discern the signs of the times in relation to the church. It may be said of the greater part of scripture, even of the unprophetical portions, that the wise alone can understand them. It must

be observed, however, that these notices belong rather to the 1290 and 1335 days than to the time, times, and half time mentioned in the preceding context. Yet the *terminus a quo* of both is the same, *viz.* the abolition of the daily sacrifice; and the three must be explained by the assistance of Maccabean history. Because the entire prophecy is obscure, it does not follow that the announcement of definite days is incongruous with such obscurity, except the commencement be unequivocally stated. In the explanation given by the angel, part of the obscurity is removed from the description of its duration; for instead of time, times, and half a time, days are substituted. The entire period was evidently characterized by oppression and trial to the people of the most High; and He does not see fit to gratify curiosity by giving a very plain description of it.

Other arguments have been adduced by Mr. Birks in favour of the year-day principle, to which, on the present occasion, we shall not advert, because they are intimately connected with certain interpretations of the prophecies. They are so mixed up with or dependent upon the latter, that, in answering them, we should be drawn away to refute directly or indirectly a peculiar system of prophetic exposition. It has been our object to preserve the discussion of the year-day principle free from the entanglement of particular aspects of prophecy—to hold up to view the entire subject, apart from disputed explanations of the passages in which designations of time occur. Mr. Birks, however, insinuates a peculiar mode of interpretation into most of his arguments; so that it would require more space than he himself has taken effectually to answer such reasoning after his own fashion. The expositions he has given are certainly pervaded by a sufficient love of mystical meanings. Not content with the obvious sense, he is generally disposed to find something typical or mysterious. Hence he advocates the typical character of the seven epistles to the seven churches in the apocalypse; and adduces in consequence an argument from the ten days' tribulation of Smyrna in favour of the larger reckoning. All this is gratuitous assumption, requiring no refutation.

We have examined the grounds on which the theory rests, and the most potent arguments adduced in its favour. The indirect, collateral considerations of Mr. Birks have been avoided as much as possible, because they involve explanations and principles which we are far from allowing. An advocate of Millennarian views, and indulging in spiritualizing expositions, he finds arguments where none but those who take similar views of unfulfilled prophecy can discern them. On this account we shall pass by his other reasonings. If the

foundation has been subverted, little importance will attach to the remote outworks.

The theory was unknown to the early age of the church. The Jews, if we may judge from Josephus and Abenezra, were ignorant of it; and not until the middle of the fifth century do we find it unequivocally applied to the three days and a half by Prosper. This obscure Bishop of Rhegium seems to have the merit of the discovery—a discovery against which is arrayed 'the spiritual common sense of the church in every age, from the days of Daniel to those of Wycliffe, for it considered the days as literal days.'* Thus not one of the fathers belonging to the first four centuries appears to have dreamed of it. During these centuries, all interpreted the days as literal days. This fact is candidly admitted by Elliott; although, in order to neutralise it, he avows that it happened only according to the Lord's declared intention. Thus the disciples, not knowing the times and the seasons, would be kept watching for the advent of Christ even while it was distant. The ignorance of the christians during the first four centuries formed part of the arrangements of divine Providence! Strange, indeed, that they were debarred from knowing this theory, while we are so highly favoured. But, *in so far as the divine revelations are concerned*, they were placed in the same circumstances with ourselves. They had the same words and disclosures as are now granted to us. It is true that they had not the benefit of the light thrown upon the times and seasons by many preceding expositors, nor the comparison of historical events for eighteen hundred years; but these are independent of the letter of revelation, and however valuable as auxiliaries, are by no means necessary to the right understanding of such periods. If it was intended that unfulfilled prophecy should be partially or wholly understood, the notations of time were intended to be apprehended in like proportion at *every* period antecedent to their fulfilment. The blessing promised to him that readeth and understandeth, is not a blessing exclusively designed for later christians. It is the privilege of all to whom the written prophecy has come. What is the fact at the present day? *We* are the persons who, according to Birks, Elliott, and other expositors of the same school, should know the proper theory of the times, because we are supposed to live at the close of their duration. And are we all agreed in regard to them? Tyso has enumerated not less than forty-one dates for the 1260 years, the imagined period of Antichrist's reign. Verily the year-day theory has been of no greater use to the christian world than the ancient, literal

* Maitland's Reply to Cunninghame, page 57.

[illegible]

same events and periods are described. Similarity of diction does not prove that the same historical events are pourtrayed.

6. Have symbolical prophecies a double sense or reference? This is a point that has been much overlooked. It is admitted by the majority of expositors that *historical* predictions bear such an aspect and require such an interpretation as to look to two events closely connected with one another; how then are *symbolical* predictions separated from *historical*, beyond the reach of such a principle? If both do not fall under one hermeneutical rule, what is the cause?

These questions are intimately associated with the subject before us, and demand impartial investigation. They involve principles which need to be educed, before a comprehensive, satisfactory conclusion be drawn in relation to the year-day principle. Hitherto the controversy has been conducted without looking at such interesting and momentous topics in the light of their united influence. Nor is it likely that it will be settled on a firm basis, until some comprehensive intellect, endowed with the power of a consummate analysis, apply to its illustration a superior skill and science. Meanwhile, the dark folds of unfulfilled prophecy hang around the theological world, and the teachers of the people sleep on, careless in regard to the blessing assuredly promised to him who discern the shadows of coming events. We honour the few who have faith and patience to investigate these mysterious realities, whose legitimate tendency is not to blunt, but to sharpen the religious sensibilities—not to destroy the practical tendencies of the christian mind, but to carry forward such tendencies into the age of conflict which is to usher in the glory of the church in the latter days of her peaceful prosperity.

The work of Elliott, whose title is prefixed to the commencement of this article, contains an elaborate commentary on the Apocalypse; the most copious that has appeared since the folio volume of Daubuz. It exhibits great research, patient investigation, a large acquaintance with the works of English commentators on the same book, especially the more recent, and a degree of sobriety truly commendable as contrasted with the fancies of many interpreters belonging to the Millennarian school. The details which the laborious writer has accumulated in illustration of the progress of christianity and the civil history of the world are deeply interesting; while the engravings from medals and other monuments of antiquity serve to enhance the pleasure of perusal. Abundant evidences of diligence, patience, and industry are stamped upon the volumes. The author deserves all the praise due to a judicious and erudite commentator.

It will be perceived, however, from the preceding remarks on the year-day theory, that he proceeds upon principles essentially at variance with those we regard as correct. As *an exposition* of the Apocalypse, the work is a total failure. It is fundamentally erroneous. The writer, in common with Mede, Daubus, Vitringa, Lowman, Woodhouse, Faber, Frere, Cunninghame, and the great majority of protestant commentators, pursues the old method of finding in the book a history of the church as well as of the world. Although in several instances dissenting from Faber and others—generally in the right direction—yet he coincides with them in all the essential features of their system. It is obvious, indeed, that he has not a mind capable of comprehensive survey. He has that kind of learning which deals with minor details, but no original genius for grasping the great principles of a subject, especially such a subject as prophecy; and for developing those principles with a power of vividness which impresses the mind of the reader. He evinces *research* rather than *learning*. He has acuteness enough to see many errors in expositions already given; but he is not possessed either of the penetration or largeness of intellect to perceive and seize the essential elements that constitute *the basis* of the Apocalyptic predictions as distinguished from the *scenic ornaments* of the poetry. Hence he has not prevailed to throw aside the trammels in which the name of Mede has long held the school of prophetic students in this country.

Still further; Mr. Elliott has not ordinarily gone to the original sources, nor even to the best works of authority in relation to the various points illustrated. In history, Gibbon is almost the sole fountain whence he draws. In church history Mosheim, Waddington, and Milner, form his ecclesiastical staff, to the neglect of Neander and Gieseler. In New Testament lexicography, the superannuated lexicon of Schleusner is adduced and criticised; while Bretschneider, Wahl, and Wilke, are passed by. It is totally inexcusable in the writer to be wholly ignorant of recent German works connected with the Apocalypse; particularly as their hints and suggestions might have served to point out the true path of interpretation. That this is no idle assertion is certain from the fact, that in the 'preliminary critical notice on the external evidence,' the name of Neander is adduced in favour of 95 or 96 A.D. as the time when the Apocalypse was written. On the contrary, this distinguished historian states that the book must certainly have been written soon after the death of Nero, probably in the time of Caligula. It is a great defect in any author thus to confine the range of his reading; or to undertake the elucidation of an important and difficult book, without knowing one half of the

commentaries that have already been published upon it. It is true that there is a great prejudice in England against the writings of German divines; but *truth is truth*, no matter where it is found; and if it be necessary to keep pace with the progress of theological research, the Germans, with all their rationalising tendencies, *must* be consulted. Hence we complain, with sufficient reason, that the author appears to be wholly unacquainted with the treatises of Lücke, Ewald, Eichhorn, Scholz, Tinius, Bleek, &c., or with the introductions of Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette, Hug, Schott, Credner, Guerike, and others. Of the style, it is impossible to speak with approbation. It betrays the hand of one who is either unpractised in composition, or undesirous to impart purity, ease, elegance, and perspicuity, to the language he employs. It is involved, parenthetic, and cumbrous. The notes at the foot of the page are too numerous. Part of them should either have been incorporated with the narrative of the text, or omitted.

The following extract affords a fair specimen of the manner of writing:—'It only remains to shew,

'3rdly, The identity (agreeably with the unanimous judgment of the same ancient Fathers) between this so often predicted enemy to Christ himself and his church, and the apostle, St. John's antichrist.

'The four passages in which the word occurs I append, as before, below. And the following observations are all that will be needed on them. 1. The hostile person or power intended by St. John, is spoken of as one that had been previously made known to, and celebrated among the Christians as *the one* (not one of *two*) that was to come; a characteristic that suffices of itself almost to identify it with Daniel's little horn, and St. Paul's Man of Sin. 2. The name,—the then new and very singular name,—that he gave it, under divine inspiration, of ANTICHRIST, while admitting the secondary sense of an *adversary of Christ*, did yet primarily, indeed necessarily indicate, according to the etymological formation of the word, (we shall soon see the exceeding importance of the remark) that it would be so by being in some manner a *vice-Christ*, or one professedly *assuming the character, occupying the place, and fulfilling the functions of Christ*:—a representation which well consisted with St. Paul's statement, that the enemy *he* prophesied of would, in the Christian church, show himself *as God*; that is, supposing that the church, though apostatized, might have retained the dogma of Christ's divinity. 3. His statement that the spirit of Antichrist, and many Antichrists, were even then in the world,—the which had reference to teachers like Simon Magus, and other Gnostics, who, propounding that Jesus Christ had not come in the flesh, but only as a phantasm, and thus doing away alike with his propitiatory atonement by death, and with his fitness and sufficiency as *God-man* to sympathize with, and supply the wants of, his disciples, out of the inexhaustible treasure-house of wisdom and salvation within Him, arrogated to themselves the fulfilment of one grand function of Christ, viz., as the divinely appointed

imparters of wisdom unto salvation,—I say, St. John's statement of this early and partial development in them of the spirit and acts of Antichrist, was certainly not meant by him to represent it as a *plenary* fulfilment of the well-known prophecy. If the language he here uses be dubious, the undoubted future bearing of the other earlier and parallel prophecies just alluded to, and also of the subsequent and similarly parallel Apocalyptic prophecy of the Antichristian beast, decisively negatives such a supposition. What he states as then passing in the world of the spirit and acts of Antichrist, was but to the same effect as St. Paul's declaration, that the mystery of iniquity did then already work. The earlier prophecy was left intact and still in force, that a person or power pre-eminently and above all others opposed to Christ, and this chiefly as the usurper of his name, place, and prerogatives, was yet to come. 4. The declaration that he would deny the Father and the Son, is explained by St. John himself, and by other Scriptures, in such a sense as not to interfere with this view of the force of the prophetic appellation, *Antichrist:* it being not the *atheistic* denial of a God that was meant (which could indeed in no ways be charged on the contemporary *Gnostics*, of whom St. John yet speaks as Antichrists), but a denial *in practice* total, and as *the very essence of the system*. Such was the view generally adopted by the Fathers. Whether in reference to the prophecies of Daniel, St. Paul, or St. John, they speak of the grand enemy, therein alike prefigured, not as an *atheist* so much, but rather as a *usurper of Christ's place* before the world. And soon the name became of all others the most famous; so that from age to age the expectation was revived and expressed of some awful *usurper of Christ's place* appearing, some FALSE CHRIST, PSEUDO-VICAR OF CHRIST, ANTICHRIST.' —vol. ii. pp. 838, et seqq.

The work entitled '*Hyponoia,*' is a large volume in royal octavo, containing 707 pages closely printed, and on good American paper. In reading it, we feel great regret to think of powers evidently capable of better things, turned towards a difficult book where they have lost themselves in a labyrinth of fruitless researches. There are many observations with which we cordially agree; and it is pleasant to commune with numerous indications of evangelical piety in its pages. But as a commentary on the Apocalypse, original though it be, nothing in our view is farther from the truth. It belongs to the class of expositions which Reuss* denominates, *die mystisch-schwärmerische*, (the mystico-fanciful). According to the writer, the object of the Apocalypse is to propound a system of religious doctrines. 'The Apocalypse has been generally supposed to contain a prophetic account of certain political and ecclesiastical changes in the history of the visible church of Christ; instead of this, it is here taken to be an unveiling of the mysterious truths of christian doctrine, with an exhibition of certain oppo-

* Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften neuen Testaments, § 81.

site errors—a revelation made by Jesus Christ of *himself*—an intellectual manifestation, corresponding with what is apprehended to be the Scripture purport of the *second coming of the Son of man.*' (Preface, p. 1.) Agreeably to this view, the writer takes up every chapter with the greatest minuteness of investigation, exhibiting in the first place one or two verses of the original, with our English translation; and then appending copious remarks in the way of commentary. The following is a specimen:—

'"And when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third beast say, Come and see. And I beheld, and lo, a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand.' (chap. vi. 5.)

'"The third living creature."—We have supposed the animal with the man's face to represent the mind or reason of Divinity—as an animal with a man's face would be supposed to be endued with the faculty of reason. Perhaps, as one of the elements of sovereignty about the throne, we may suppose it to represent the wisdom of God, or the element of wisdom itself. Wisdom calls forth the exhibition now to be made, or directs special attention to it.

'"And lo, a black horse."—*Black* is the opposite of white. Blackness and darkness are coupled together in Scripture,—darkness being the opposite of light. Light, or whiteness, we have assumed to be figurative of moral perfection, or righteousness; so blackness and darkness are figures of the absence of such perfection. Hence blackness, as of sackcloth, is a token of repentance, humiliation, or conviction of a want of righteousness; and darkness is a corresponding figure of despondency, from a sense of guilt—a state from which every ray of hope or comfort is excluded.

'The black horse is apparently an opposite of the white horse. The rider of the black horse depends for his power upon something representing an entire lack of righteousness. At the same time the colour reminds us of the condition of those who are groping in darkness, and have no light; not having yet come to the knowledge of the truth of salvation by grace alone. '"And he that sat on him."—The rider of the black horse is furnished with no weapon, other than a pair of balances, or, as the Greek term might be rendered, a *yoke*. The difference will not be material in the construction we propose to give. A yoke for a pair of oxen has some resemblance to a pair of balances; and the use of the balances, as they are designed here, causes the figure not to differ much from a *yoke*. A pair of scales, or balances, is a common equipment for a representation of justice; justice being supposed to balance exactly what is put into one scale, by that which is placed in the other. Having already supposed the lion to represent the attribute of Divine justice, we cannot consider this figure upon the black horse with the balances, as representing precisely the same thing; but we may suppose it to represent the element of law—the standard of duty—that which defines the rule; weighing in the balance the requisition on the one side, and the fulfilment on the other—that law which proved to be a *yoke* of servitude under the old dispensation, (Gal. v. 1.; Acts xv. 10),

and is still so to all subjected to it. As the third living creature calls attention to this figure with a pair of balances, so *wisdom* exhibits to every rational being in creation the law, or standard of moral right or wrong; corresponding with the dictates of prudence, that he who builds should count the cost, and he who goes into battle should compare his forces with those of his enemy before it be too late. The law depends for its power upon the short comings of those subjected to it. Wherever the law is fulfilled, it loses its ascendancy; it can require nothing more. So the rider here, with the balances, is sustained by something representing man's want of that righteousness, necessary to fulfil all that the law or standard of good and evil demands. The going forth of this rider may thus be equivalent to that manifestation of the Holy Spirit which is to convince the world of sin; a going forth, which is also simultaneous with that of the conqueror, and of the rider on the fiery horse.'—pp. 51, et seq.

The writer of the little volume called 'Wealth the name and number of the Beast,' &c., is quite awry in his interpretation. The numeral letters of εὐπορία—a word that occurs but once in the New Testament—make up 666; therefore *wealth* is the name of the beast. Such a discovery should never have been given to the public. Mankind will derive no benefit from it. If the author really desires to see the right interpretation of the mystical number, which is as probably 616 as 666, he may consult Ewald's Commentary on the Revelation; an article upon the *number*, by Professor Benary of Berlin, in the *Zeitschrift für speculative Theologie*, 1836, vol. i., translated in the first number of the 'Bibliotheca Sacra;' and Professor Stuart's dissertation in 'Robinson's Bibliotheca Sacra,' pp. 332, et seq.

Mr. Rogers's volume consists of expository lectures on the first three chapters of the Apocalypse. The opening lectures contain observations on the history and design of the book, with an analysis of its contents. It is pleasant to observe the evidences of piety, taste, sobriety, and good judgment with which Lectures iii.—xiii. abound. The author's mind is of a serious and reflective cast, not without acuteness or comprehension. Accordingly, he has produced a volume instructive and edifying in its tone, which may be perused with profit by the intelligent reader. Occupied as it is with the admonitory and introductory portion of the Revelation, it is fitted to warn and instruct the churches in times pregnant with the tokens of coming trial and future triumphs to the disciples of Christ. The style is simple, neat, perspicuous, occasionally rising to beauty and imbued with true eloquence.

It must not, however, be concealed, that the author has contributed nothing towards the interpretation of the Apocalypse. Though he has doubtless studied the book with minute attention and diligent care, he throws no light on its dark and

mysterious pages. His first and second lectures render it apparent that he has entirely misapprehended its object and structure. It is little consolation that he has erred along with the great majority of Protestant commentators in this country. Lectures of this stamp we desire not. They are already abundant, as those of Bryce Johnston, Snodgrass, Macleod and others testify. The writer does not even seem to be aware of the powerful arguments which have been advanced against many of his views; but proceeds in his own easy, unperturbed way, without stumbling at difficulties, or usually condescending to notice them. The learned and critical need not therefore have recourse to the first and second lectures for any assistance in understanding the book; and should the illiterate reader implicitly adopt the explanations given, he will not only fail to apprehend the entire scop of the Apocalypse, but imbibe at the same time many erroneo views.

That the Revelation exhibits a 'prophetic view of the church of Christ from the close of t apostolic age, to the end of time,' is a position that can never be rendered probable. All who have attempted to expound it on this principle have totally failed; and should the pres writer continue his lectures, he will not succeed better than s predecessors in the same field.

As a specimen of the perf ctory manner in which the author deals with an important pr p of interpretation, we refer to pp. 202—205, where he de t opinion that a day is put for a year. He assumes at once, that the Apocalypse was written in the Isle of Patmos, A.D. 95 or 96: although internal evidence warrants the conclusion that it was composed prior to the destruction of Jerusalem. As to the fact of John's banishment by *Domitian*, early ecclesiastical history is divided. Some authorities attribute it to Nero; others to Claudius; and others give the fact without the name of any emperor. It is therefore incorrect in part to say, that the fact of John's banishment to Patmos by Domitian, 'rests upon the testimony of Eusebius, the most authentic historian of the church in those times, and *upon the universal agreement of antiquity*.' Thus there is room for complaint in regard to the easy manner in which the author disposes of such grave questions, as those of the authorship of the book, and the time at which it was written. Although it may be quite proper to banish discussions of a searching nature from the ordinary range of pulpit ministrations, it is both befitting and necessary to introduce them into a book sent forth to the world, and professing to cast some light upon the topics treated.

Art. II. *Memoirs of the House of Commons, from the Convention Parliament of* 1688—9, *to the passing of the Reform Bill, in* 1832. By Charles Townsend, Esq., A.M., Recorder of Macclesfield. Vol. II. London: Henry Colburn.

THE subject selected by Mr. Townsend yields to very few in interest or importance; and our estimate of his fitness for its successful treatment was recorded in our notice of his former volume.* That estimate has not been materially affected by the continuation of his labours, which we have much pleasure in introducing to the favourable notice of our readers. The volume now before us evinces the same diligence in the collection of materials, and is constructed on a similar plan to its predecessor. It brings together a large mass of information illustrative of the character and career of many public men, and throws considerable light on the usages and habits of the Commons' House. Mr. Townsend's performance will not, however, supply all which we should like to see effected, and for which the present state of our historical literature furnishes ample materials: but it will pave the way for those who come after him, and who bring to the task higher powers than he evinces. The history of the House of Commons, in order to subserve all the ends for which it is adapted, should be composed by an intellect of the first order, richly endowed with the fruits of inquisitive and impartial research, of acute and penetrating judgment, of profound sagacity, and of intimate sympathy with the highest and most permanent interests of human society. In its records we meet with the purest specimens of patriotism, and the noblest efforts of genius, associated with whatever is mean, truculent, and base. Eliot, Hampden, Vane, Russell, and Sidney, stand side by side with a host of courtly sycophants, —witnesses for truth, martyrs for human freedom, they sealed their testimony with their blood, and now call on their posterity who inherit the fruit of their labours, to vindicate their memory and to cherish the inheritance which they bequeathed. The Commons' House has been the arena on which powers of the highest order have contended for supremacy, each working in its own fashion, and according to its vocation, to liberate or to imprison the human intellect, to advance to its highest perfection the body politic, or to establish the arbitrary sway of a monarch, or an oligarchy.

It is in this point of view that Mr. Townsend's subject specially interests, and he will not, therefore, misapprehend us when we say that his anecdotal volumes, though well fitted for

* October, 1843.

the majority of readers, fail to realize our own conceptions. They constitute a work of a different order, which however supplies much interesting information, and is not wholly destitute of the lessons of political wisdom with which the past is fraught.

The first three chapters of the present volume complete the account furnished of the eminent lawyers who sat in the House, subsequently to the revolution. The most eminent of these were Harcourt, Cowper, King, and Jekyll, of whom the first was a tory, and the remaining three whigs. The contrast presented in the characters of Harcourt and Cowper was as marked as that existing between their political creeds. 'Descended alike from ancestors of rare antiquity, rivals in Westminster Hall, antagonists in St. Stephen's chapel, the leading champions of their party, still more renowned in the senate than the forum, and elevated by their oratory to the height of legal ambition, they might be compared together after the manner of Plutarch, though their political character affords rather a subject of marked contrast than comparison. Unscrupulous as a public man, unprincipled, unstable, at the suggestion of self-interest versatile, a renegade on calculation, lord Harcourt has left a name, which it required a century of merit in his descendants to redeem from ignominy. The mild, disinterested course of Cowper, beaming with public virtue to the close, and never shadowed over with even a fleeting suspicion that he acted from motives of sordid ambition or pelf, has shed a lustre on his name, which adds an adventitious grace to the spotless reputation of the pure-minded poet, the author of the 'Task.'

This description is substantially just. Cowper did not, however, wholly escape from the malevolence of party attacks, but all the evidence we possess proves his innocence of the charges preferred against him. Of Lord Chancellor King we may be permitted to furnish a more extended account. As the author of the 'Inquiry into the Constitution, etc., of the Primitive Church,' his name is frequently introduced into the ecclesiastical controversies of our day, and is, therefore, of special interest to dissenters. Mr. Townsend thus describes his early habits and career.

'Another Chancellor, of whig creation, under George I., of less repute, and ungraced with pomp of heraldry, was Peter King, the only son of Mr. Jerome King, a substantial grocer and dry salter in the city of Exeter. He was born there in the year 1669, and designed by his father for the useful though inglorious occupation, which had secured to himself a comfortable income. Young King, after acquiring the rudiments of an ordinary provincial education, at the grammar school of his native city, was introduced behind the counter, to learn the thriving

business to which he was taught to look for his future support. Who (says a biographer, with amusing *naiveté*), that had stept into the shop of Mr. Jerome King, and had there seen his son up to the elbows in grocery, could have perceived in him a future Chancellor of Great Britain! But the prospect of knowledge, and some dim glimpses of ambition, visited him even through this ungenial atmosphere. All the pocket-money he could hoard he devoted to the purchase of books, and every hour of leisure to their eager perusal. Bred up chiefly among dissenters, it is not surprising that his studies should have comprehended inquiry into those religious questions which, at the period of the Revolution, occupied and divided the country; but it cannot be doubted that his relationship and intercourse with the illustrious Locke, his near kinsman by the mother's side, contributed largely to impress his mind with the superior importance and interest of such subjects of investigation.

'Before completing his twentieth year, he had put the finishing hand to a work of some extent, an 'Inquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the Primitive Church, that flourished within the first three hundred years after Christ; faithfully collected out of the extant writings of those ages'—a title which of itself inferred the expenditure of much research and learning, of a kind that would have been supposed least likely to attract the pursuit of a young man in his condition of life. The question of a comprehensive union between the Established Church and the Dissenters, by the mutual concession of some of the points of external discipline and ritual upon which they differed, had at several periods occupied the attention of the legislature and the clergy. The Revolution appeared to the Dissenters to furnish them with a desirable opportunity for reviving this project. They felt slight satisfaction in the relief then afforded them by the passing of the Toleration Act, which they regarded less as an extension of favour, than as an injurious invasion of their right to an equality of religious profession. They had warmly recommended themselves to the countenance of the new sovereign, himself a Calvinist, by the assistance they had rendered him in his enterprise; while, on the other hand, some of the most influential in the Establishment had denied his right and abjured his supremacy. They drew up, accordingly, various plans of accommodation or comprehension, in all of which they sought to be treated as the equals in every respect of the church; and the proposed terms were such as to imply a preference in the frame of their own constitution, discipline, and worship, over the established forms. The same question was also, by the king's recommendation, submitted to the discussion of the bishops and clergy in convocation.

'At this conjuncture, and in order to render all the aid in his power to the design of a comprehension, our young author employed himself upon the inquiry which formed the subject of his work.

'It sealed the emancipation of the writer from the unwelcome occupation to which he had been destined. At the earnest recommendation of his illustrious kinsman, his father acquiesced in his desire to seek, in the profession of the law, the field in which his talents and knowledge might be applied with the best prospect of finding their due reward.

As Locke bore, from his own experience, little love towards the maternal discipline of the English universities, where, perhaps, the subscription of the articles formed also an obstacle to the introduction of the young champion of presbyterianism, the liberal philosopher recommended that his pupil should repair, for the prosecution of the preparatory studies, to the university of Leyden. There, accordingly, King fixed his residence in 1692.

'He lived even then in the enjoyment of no common acquaintance; his letters to Locke show him in communication with Newton and Somers, and in familiar intercourse with Lords Peterborough, Shaftesbury, and Pembroke. To these advantages it was, doubtless, that he owed also his introduction into parliament, being returned at the general election in 1700, for Beeralston, in conjunction with Cowper, this little close borough returning two future Lord Chancellors. For this borough he continued to sit without interruption, through all the parliaments of Queen Anne's reign, a zealous partizan, as might be inferred from his early pursuits, of the whig principles of that day.'—vol. ii. pp. 36—39.

Amongst the most eminent of the second class of legal members, our author mentions Chief Justice Holt, whose inflexible integrity and fearless bearing were proof against every seduction. He was born in 1642, and spent his youth in pursuits of frivolity and vice. When judge, he recognized, as one of his early companions, a prisoner who was convicted of felony; and on visiting him in jail, and inquiring about some of their associates was told, we are informed, 'Ah, my lord! they are all hanged but myself and your lordship.' Such was the promise of his spring; but a change happily passed over him. He cast aside his vicious habits, applied himself vigorously to legal studies, and secured an honourable place amongst the worthies of English law.

'When the mighty change had passed over all the institutions of the land, Serjeant Holt was one of the eminent lawyers selected as legal assessors to the Lords, in the room of the judges, whose official functions had ended with the flight of their misguided sovereign, and whose character commanded no respect. He was elected for Beeralston, in the place of the veteran Serjeant Maynard, who had been returned also, and made his election to sit for Plymouth. He argued for the word 'abdication,' suggesting a dangerous proposition, that the Government acted under a trust, and that any acting contrary to it was a renouncing of the trust. The throne had been filled for several weeks before the Bench was new-modelled. Every privy councillor was directed to bring a list of twelve lawyers, whom he considered best fitted, by learning and integrity, to fill the vacant seats; and, from a comparison of these lists, the twelve judges were nominated. The first was Sir John Holt, then in his 47th year, appointed, accordingly, Chief Justice of England. In defence of the constitution, he successfully resisted both the Lords and Commons. The judgment on the case of the Aylesbury burgess, in which, contrary to the opinion of the three puisné judges, he asserted

the rights of an elector to claim damages at law against the returning officer who refused to record his vote, was solemnly ammmed in the House of Lords, and deserves praise for its masculine and independent tone. 'The Parliament cannot judge of this case, nor give damage to the plaintiff for it; they cannot make him a recompense. Let all people come in and vote fairly; it is to support one or the other party to deny any man his vote. By my consent, if such an action comes to be tried before me, I will direct the jury to make him pay well for it; it is denying him his English right, and if this action be not allowed, a man may for ever be deprived of it. It is a great privilege to choose such persons as are to bind a man's life and property by the laws they make.'

'Upon this noble judgment has been framed an ingenious fable, which has floated down the traditional anecdotes of the last century. The Speaker, we are told, came in person, his Serjeant having been repulsed, to summon the audacious Chief Justice, to appear at the bar of the House, to purge himself of a contempt. 'Go back to your chair, Mr. Speaker,' thundered Sir John Holt, 'within these five minutes, or you may depend upon it I will send you to Newgate. You speak of your authority; but I tell you, that I sit here as an interpreter of the laws, and a distributer of justice, and, were the whole House of Commons in your belly, I would not stir one foot.' We grieve to pronounce this honest John Bull speech a pure invention. Not a hint of such an occurrence is to be traced in any of the King's Bench reports—not a word of the Chief Justice is to be found in the journals of the Commons. The scene was well imagined; for, could the Speaker have been made to troop to the Queen's Bench—the main difficulty—the words put into the mouth of the judge were probably those that would have been spoken.

'The same independent fearlessness with which the Chief Justice had braved the displeasure of the Commons, he displayed on a later occasion, in defence of the rights of his order against the encroachments of the Lords. Having allowed the Earl of Banbury, when indicted for manslaughter, to claim a trial by his peers, the Lords, who disputed his right to the peerage, summoned Sir John Holt before them, and demanded the reasons for his decision. His firm refusal and the subsequent proceedings are thus reported in Vernon's letters:—

''The House of Lords sat till near six, upon the business of my Lord Chief Justice and Judge Eyre, who kept to their point, not to inform the House, any more than they did the Committee, of the reasons for their judgment in the Earl of Banbury's case, but stood upon it that they were at liberty not to answer in a matter that he charged upon them: nobody being bound to accuse himself, or furnish an accusation to his prejudice. If the judgments they gave shewed a weakness in them, it might be a reason to the king for displacing them; or, if they were guilty of corruption, there was another way of providing against them; and, if their judgments were disliked, they might be reversed by writ of error. But they could not submit to be schooled and catechised for all that they delivered upon the Bench, where they were entrusted with the execution of the laws and the dispensing of justice, and acted upon their oaths.

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'The Chief J retired unmolested to his court, for all respected, if they did not dread, that manly fearlessness and judicial independence of spirit, that self-assured feeling, that grasp and vigour of intellect, which none who ever sat on the Bench, unless it were Lord Thurlow, displayed with more energy, united with a steadfast political integrity to which that judge was a stranger.'—ib. pp. 67—70.

Several succeeding chapters are devoted to the history of the vindictive privileges of the House; and numerous examples are adduced in support of Mr. Townsend's views, which are strongly hostile to their continuance. That the privileges claimed by the Commons' require continued watchfulness, lest they should run into tyranny, we readily admit. It is in the nature of all such claims to do so, and special hazard of injustice is incurred in the case of a popular assembly, where the heats and animosities of faction are frequently rife. No power, therefore, requires to be exercised with greater caution. It should be appealed to as infrequently as possible, and when brought into action, its justice and necessity should be so obvious as to carry the concurrence of the great body of the community. But whatever hazard may attend the possession of such privileges, the evil is considerably less than would flow from their annihilation; nor is our conviction of this weakened by the cases adduced by Mr. Townsend. Amongst others, mention is made of those of Steele and Defoe, whom we specify on account of the literary interest attaching to their names. The persecution —for such only can we call it—of the latter, occurred in the reign of Anne, and is thus described:—

'These committals to the flames, owing to the polemical excitement and intolerant spirit of the times, were never prosecuted with such eagerness as against tracts of controversial divinity. The House seemed anxious to usurp the office of the lower House of Convocation, with so much avidity were schismatic writings seized upon, and dreamy metaphysics consumed by fire. The church of England was engaged in a perpetual struggle, during the reign of William, for protection, and in that of Anne for supremacy. Soon after the accession of that nursing mother of the church, when a tory legislature strove to put down the scandal of occasional conformity, the celebrated De Foe wrote an ironical treatise, 'The Shortest Way with Dissenters;' arguing, with pretended gravity, that a system of extermination was the best.

'The House, we are assured, was at first completely bit by this clever banter, caricaturing their own violence; but seemed kindled to fury when awakened to a sense of the raillery that had been passed upon them. The libeller fled, to escape the terrible consequences of their anger. They prayed the queen to proclaim a reward for his apprehension; and, in accordance with their petition, the following description of his person was inserted in the London Gazette:—

''January 10, 1702-3: St. James's Palace. Whereas Daniel De

Foe, alias De Fooe, is charged with writing a scandalous and seditious pamphlet, entitled, 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters.' He is a middle-size spare man, about forty years old; of a brown complexion, and dark brown-coloured hair, but wears a wig; a hooked nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth; was born in London, and for many years was a hose-factor in Freeman's yard in Cornhill, and now is owner of the brick and pan-tile works near Tilbury Fort, in Essex. Whoever shall discover the said Daniel De Foe to one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, or any of her majesty's justices of the peace, so as he may be apprehended, shall have a reward of £50, which her majesty has ordered immediately to be paid upon such discovery.'

'Who could recognise, in the late hose-factor and proprietor of pan-tiles, the inventor of a new world in Robinson Crusoe's Island—the vivid painter of death in his History of the Plague—the great magician of the heart in exciting wonder and pity? But, had his genius been as great as Milton's, on whom the prison of the House formerly closed its gates, it would not have saved the hunted libeller from his prosecutors. The attorney-general instituted a prosecution by the command of the Commons, and poor De Foe was, among other punishments, sentenced to the pillory, to which he afterwards wrote an ode, replete with rugged rhymes and sentiments of masculine courage.'—ib. pp. 191—192.

The following remarks on the banishment of Bishop Atterbury are deserving of attention, as indicating a principle, the violation of which—however plausible the pretext—is uniformly productive of greater mischiefs than such violation averts.

'Not less flagrantly unjust, in open violation of the principles of equity, was the banishment inflicted, under the penalties of an *ex post facto* law, by the ministers of George I., upon the plotting Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, the first prelate who visited the Tower as a prisoner since the revolution, and the last. The great reproach which the bishop's punishment incurs—for, of his guilt, there can be no doubt—is the setting aside those ordinary forms and safeguards which the law enjoins—a violence, the danger of which may not be felt, only because the precedent has happily not been followed. To condemn, to amerce, and to punish by particular acts of penal justice, upon exigencies unprovided for in the criminal code, to be extreme to mark what is done amiss beyond what has been written, seems too great and too dangerous a power for man to exercise over man.'—ib. p. 207.

Several cases of impeachment occurred in the parliaments immediately succeeding the revolution, but the issue was not such as to encourage the frequent repetition of this form of procedure, in more recent times.

'Of the sixteen impeachments instituted by the House, between the years 1689 and 1724, seven were tacitly abandoned without proceeding to trial; three were thrown up in disgust, in consequence of disputes between the two Houses; in one, that of some poor foreigners for frauds on the revenue, the parties pleaded guilty; in another, Dr.

Sacheverell's untoward prosecution, the sentence seemed a derision on the vindictive Commons: in two only, the trial of Lord Derwentwater and the rebel lords, whose lives paid the fearful penalty of treason, and the prosecution of the Lord Chancellor Macclesfield for peculation, was the event worthy of the occasion. According to the excellent figure of Lord Somers, this favourite weapon, their longest and sharpest, ought to have hung up like the sword in the temple, only to be unsheathed at periods of peculiar exigency: it was found too ponderous for ordinary hands, too unwieldy for common use.'—ib. p. 208.

An extended account is given of the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell, which afforded an occasion for signal triumph to the opponents of the whig ministers of Queen Anne. The trial will be read with interest by all who are concerned to trace the history of that eventful period, and especially by such as are desirous to mark the earlier and more violent developments of the high church spirit. The nation was then in one of its periodical frenzies. The hopes inspired by the revolution of 1688 had been disappointed, like those excited in more recent times by the Reform Bill. It was soon found, to the bitter mortification of the people, that that event had only effected a change of ministers,—that it had established the aristocratic element of government more firmly than ever, and had substituted the concealed tyranny and corruption of many, for the open despotism of an individual. Hence they turned away from their leaders with mistrust and indignation, and the high-church and tory party were not slow to avail themselves of the apathy which followed. A reaction, as it was termed, took place, and the trial of Sacheverell evinced its character and impetuosity.

Our author's account of this trial, is too extended for extract, and does not admit of abridgment. We shall therefore content ourselves with transferring to our pages his biographical notice of the church-champion for the day. It will be borne in mind, that the punishment of Sacheverell had been a suspension merely for three years.

'Dubbed a D.D. at the early age of thirty-four, conscious of a fine person and graceful delivery, and emulous of a larger sphere, he obtained the lectureship of St. Saviour's, Southwark, and caught at distinction by the pert petulance of his discourse and extreme high-church opinions. Of the rival clerical candidate he spoke as the 'dullest soul that ever mounted timber,' and inveighed against Drs. Tillotson and Stillingfleet as the poorest writers in the English language. The Bishop of Bristol he called a fanatic in lawn sleeves, because he had directed the Litany to be read, not chaunted. King William, according to him, deserved to be *de-Witted*, for he made none but fanatic bishops, adding, 'I could have pardoned that king all his villainies, if he had not left us the accursed legacy of the Hanoverian succession.' The orthodox divine

placed the portrait of this schismatical Dutchman, together with that of Oliver Cromwell, in a sort of holy alliance, behind the door of his study.

'An orator so given to railing and unscrupulous censure could not fail to meet with partisans in the city, where politics ran high; he was chosen by the Lord Mayor to preach the annual sermon at St. Paul's, on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot. To the delight of many civic dignities, the pulpit pamphleteer applied to Lord Treasurer Godolphin the well known nick-name of Volponé, from the Fox of Ben Jonson, a play then frequently acted, and with the clever tricks of whose cozening usurer the audience were probably familiar. Whether published at the request of the Lord Mayor or not—the timid official disclaimed his permission—the sermon was read as never sermon had been read before, and ministers injudiciously elevated the author to a more exalted stage than his own pulpit. King William shewed better sense, when his consent was asked before impeaching a divine. Having enquired the clergyman's character, he was told that he was the most hot, positive fellow in England; so extremely wilful, he would rejoice to be a martyr. 'Is he so?' said the sagacious monarch, 'then will I disappoint him.'

'But the sagacity of King William was not shared in this instance by the ministers of Queen Anne. 'They had a parson to roast,' says Bolingbroke, 'and kindled so fierce a fire as to burn themselves.' The long-protracted trial was one continued scene of mortification and annoyance to Godolphin, his prosecutor. He writes in March, 1709-10, 'This uneasy trial does not only take up all my time, but very much impairs my health, and how it will end I am not at all certain, but I certainly wish it had never began, for it has occasioned a very great ferment, and given opportunity to a great many people to be impertinent!' and again, after a fortnight's sad experience, 'This sorry trial makes the life of a galley-slave paradise in comparison with mine.'

'With Sacheverell, on the other hand, the protracted trial was one long festive triumph. Prayed for, even in the Royal Chapel, as a person under persecution—escorted to Westminster by enthusiastic friends—riding in the same chariot with the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, through a chorus of huzzas—the idol of lovely women, who had his portrait painted on their fans and kerchiefs—the hero of the multitude—the champion of the church, whose leading divines actively supported the clergyman, however much they might despise the man—fêted by the London citizens—presented with 3,000 guineas by one munificent devotee, Dr. Sacheverell found himself suddenly famous, a martyr without the pangs of martyrdom, a hero without heroism.

'An exemplary punishment had indeed been contemplated for the scurrilous polemic. 'Ministers,' says Lockhart, 'designed nothing less than the pillory, and his being whipt at a cart from the Royal Exchange to Charing Cross; besides a severe fine, long imprisonment, and deprivation of his livings, with an incapacity of any preferment in the church for the future.' The real sentence could scarcely be said to hurt his vanity; for he was still to be gazed at in the desk and on the platform, was still the mould of fashionable coteries, and drew his income at

leisure. It became a popular fancy with people of distinction to invite the handsome confessor to christen their children, and to call them by his name. He made a circuit of the London churches to read prayers, and scarcely standing room could be found for the pious multitude who thronged to make their responses. He published a collection of prayers called Sacheverell's Thanksgiving, with an allusive text, to which he made a profane application: 'My soul is escaped, even as a bird from the snare of the fowler: the snare is broken, and I am delivered!'

'As a royal progress had often been attempted with success to propitiate popularity, Dr. Sacheverell was advised to commence a triumphant tour through the country. On his route to take possession of a small living in Wales, he was received by the orthodox counties of Oxford, Hereford, and Salop, and by the high tory Welshmen, with honours greater than were ever paid to priest since the days of Thomas à Beckett. Presents of wine, chaplets of flowers, thanks by mayors, speeches of recorders, the firing of cannon, ringing of bells, processions headed by 3,000 gentlemen on horseback, bonfires, and illuminations, attested the gratitude of the country to their clerical deliverer.

'However unworthy the object whom these fervid rejoicings encircled, they proved, even when mistaken, the enthusiasm of the nation, and the sincerity of its attachment to the church of England. It was a blind superstition which made, in this instance, like some idol of Egypt, a monkey their god. The loyal exultation elicited by his presence, influenced favourably for government the approaching elections. On the first public opportunity, soon after his suspension was ended, he preached before the grateful House of Commons, by their desire, at St. Margaret's, Westminster, and was thanked for his loyal effusion. Better than their 'empty praise' was the 'solid pudding' that followed—the rich rectory of St. Andrew's, Holborn, with which he was amply requited for past persecutions. * * * * * * *

'The secret of his temporary inflation having escaped, he subsided for the remaining sixteen years of his life into comparative obscurity. On the accession of George I., he trooped with the London clergy to present loyal addresses, and preached on coronation day an appropriate sermon at Sutton, near Birmingham, where two hundred of the populace assembled at night to shout the old war-cry of 'Down with the whigs, and Sacheverell for ever!' But the fire was burnt out. It would have been difficult to foretell the extent of the conflagration, had Bishop Atterbury's daring offer of proclaiming the Pretender at Charing Cross been accepted. The prelate's inflexible zeal would have braved the ordeal; but we doubt whether Sacheverell would have acted up to his professions, and stood in that hour of instant peril by his side. True to his genius for railing, the doctor contented himself with inveighing against the procession of the Duke of Marlborough, who made a triumphant entry into London, as 'an unparalleled insolence, a vile trampling upon royal ashes.' Harmless invectives like this the doctor would freely scatter from his pulpit, and brave the danger. We read no more of the divine, except in some parish vestry brawls. Certain repairs being wanted for St. Andrew's, to the extent of £1,500, an opposition was threatened, but the veteran tactician put the question of finance as a question of ortho-

doxy to the vote, 'You that are for the church, hold up your hands: you that are against the church, hold up yours,' and carried his point. For the effect of his vituperation Dr. Sacheverell could never be forgiven by the whigs. He died soon after the banishment of Atterbury, to whom, with a natural feeling of gratitude, he had left a legacy of £500, in 1724, a 'scandal', says Oldmixon, 'to his name, to his function, and his country.'"—ib. 280—285.

It is well known to all students of parliamentary history, that much disinclination formerly existed amongst constituencies to incur the expense of having representatives in parliament. A great contrast is observable between the ancient and modern feeling on this point, and the gradual developement of the latter marks the change which has silently passed over the public mind. When the constituents were little better than serfs, and the Commons' House was little more than an office for registering the edicts of the sovereign, it was not marvellous that a very low estimate was placed on the privilege of appearing there, either in person or by representative. But when the people began to feel their political importance, and rightly to appreciate their power and interests, a new order of feelings arose: and amongst the manifold objects of human ambition, one of the foremost was that of taking part in the councils of the nation as the representative of a borough or a county. Immense sums it is well known are now expended in election contests, and the poorest constituency in the empire would resent as the greatest injury and insult which could be offered, any attempt to deprive them of the political franchise. From having been a burden, the right of returning members is converted into a gain. Instead of receiving 'wages,' as in ancient times, the member has to pay dearly for his seat, and then to reimburse himself, as he best may, by the sale of his vote, or some other less openly flagitious mode. But irrespective of this corrupting process which is perpetually at work, there are higher and purer influences operating on the public mind. Knowledge has been widely diffused, political rights are better estimated, the tendencies of party are more clearly seen, and a growing conviction is cherished that it is only as the people understand themselves,—their position, capabilities, and rights,—and secure for these an honest and able representation, that the great end of government will be accomplished. It is well, however, to review the past, and the following will probably be regarded with surprise by some of our readers.

'The House consisted, in Fortescue's time, and under the Plantagenets, of three hundred members, though the precise number was constantly changing. To the middle of the fifteenth century, the numbers were rather diminished than augmented, petty towns feeling more acutely the

burden than the benefit of burgesses, and seeking any excuse to evade the payment of their wages. Richard II. granted as a boon to the borough of Colchester, towards defraying the expenses of fortifying the town with stone and lime, that for five years they should be discharged from finding or sending any burgesses to parliament. The county of Northumberland obtained a similar exemption from Edward III., on the plea that they were so harried by the Scots, that they had no money to pay two knights for setting out on their journey. The gallant town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne sent no burgesses, for the still better reason that the safety of the city was too much perilled for them to spare a single citizen who could man the walls. The sheriff of Lancashire, for several successive parliaments, implored the clemency of his liege for the places summoned to return members in his bailiwick, that they could not return any citizen or burgess, on account of their impotence and poverty.

'But when the council of the nation had obtained higher consideration, and began to interfere with more boldness in affairs of state, a dim conviction slowly dawned upon the minds of the constituency, that the privilege was at least commensurate with the cost. Henry VIII. conceded to the Principality the boon of returning twelve members to represent the Welsh marches; and, on their petition, added four members to the county palatine and city of Chester, hitherto unrepresented. The sovereign, by virtue of the prerogative, never questioned till its final exercise by Charles II., granted the franchise to new boroughs or restored it to the old. In Cornwall alone, Edward VI. added twelve members, Queen Mary four, and Elizabeth ten. Twenty-four boroughs had the privilege of sending members restored to them by James I., and must have been willing to incur the charge; for as many as fifty-one boroughs never recovered the right which they had voluntarily abandoned, giving up their birthright, with Esau-like rapacity, for a mess of pottage. From the reign of Henry VIII. to the accession of Charles, the House had received an addition, by writs from the crown, of fifty-seven members. The House claimed for itself and exerted a similar privilege. Prynne complains that gentlemen, over-ambitious of being elected members of parliament, failing in their attempts upon their own county, and having good friends in the Commons, have obtained a favourable report for some forgotten borough, which had ceased to return burgesses for one or two hundred years; and, with the connivance of the House, procured fresh writs with a view to their own election.'—ib. pp. 358—360.

Notwithstanding the trouble and expense perpetually incurred to obtain a seat in parliament, the attendance of members is exceedingly lax, and much difficulty is frequently experienced in making a House. This should not certainly be matter of surprise when the composition of the House is taken into account, but it is clearly to the discredit of the constituencies which elect representatives so neglectful of their duty, and shews as in the light of open day, that other motives than those avowed on the hustings lead the majority of members to seek a place in the lower House. The following passage reflects no honour on our legislators.

		Public.	*Private.*	
The parliament of King William passed		343	466	Acts.
,,	Queen Anne ,,	338	605	,,
,,	George I. ,,	377	381	,,
,,	George II. ,,	1447	1244	,,
,,	George III. ,,	9980	5257	,,

In parting from Mr. Townsend we tender him our thanks for the service he has rendered. His volumes furnish the result of extensive reading, abound in valuable information, and occupy a niche in historical literature, previously vacant. We are not disposed to dwell on minor faults. A severe revision will remove most of these, in the event of a second edition, and further reflection may possibly modify some of the opinions he has expressed.

Art. III. *Eight Sermons: being reflective discourses on some important texts.* By the Rev. Robert Montgomery, M.A., author of 'Luther,' &c. London: Baisler, Oxford Street. 1843.

We have never before, to the best of our recollection, been in so hesitating a state of mind whether we should or not undertake the review of a book, as in the present instance. Whenever we have looked over it — (and again and again we have wished that it might have been obviously consistent with our duty to have *overlooked* it)—the thought has risen up, is it worth while to bestow any critical notice upon this volume? Sometimes, having glanced at a few of its splendid nothings, we have indignantly pushed it aside and said, no; till the counterworking thought of the name and notoriety of the author, together with the obvious claim of our readers to have the tares and the wheat separated for their use, has led us to reverse the decision, and answer, yes. But to neither of these purposes have we been able steadily to adhere long enough to produce half a dozen pages; and hence we have been driven on to the very extremity of the period within which we ought, if at all, to express our opinion. And now, as in re-examining the state of our mind on the subject, there seems to be, in the language of the celebrated Majocci in the queen's trial, 'more yes than no' in us, we yield ourselves to the preponderating affirmative.

Let us not, however, be supposed to take the blame of our acknowledged vacillation, or be misunderstood as to the grounds of our present decision. The blame is attributable to the book, and the decision too. It is worth reviewing, because it is worth dispraising; for instruction, and valuable instruction, may be

gained from the vices as well as the virtues of composition; from the display of folly as well as from the manifestation of wisdom. In fact, exhibitions of the former, both in literature and life, are so multiform and multitudinous; they encompass us so entirely, crowding and pressing upon us with their intermeddling hands and hideous stare of vacancy, that an exposure of them, or some one of them, seems to be a constant duty, lest conceit should be still more conceited, and gazing stupidity be still more stupified.

Among the terms that might be employed conveniently to designate this volume, there is one in our judgment most accurately descriptive of the whole: it is the word *pretence*. From the opening to the closing page, the reader is inundated with pretence. In the aspirations after sublimity, the long prosings and short phrases, the language marching upon stilts and decked with the gaudy attire of a May-day queen—in the assumptions of profound theological knowledge and acute discrimination of the meaning or particular applications of scriptural sentences—in the semi-poetic form into which mystical and incongruous ideas are cast—in the mock-heroic manner of seeming, or professing to aim at the conscience—in all there is pretence, and that, too, of the worst kind. Now we hold it to be a solemn obligation to expose pretence and affectation, especially in public, and above all, in clerical men who, from their positions, may be likely to exercise some influence in society; and therefore we have determined to notice these 'Reflective Discourses,' by the Rev. Robert Montgomery.

As to this word *reflective*, according to the lexicographers—and really we are obliged to go to dictionaries for some of our author's words, to spell out, if we can, a meaning—this word signifies either throwing back an image, or considering the past; throwing back, as it were, our thoughts upon things past. In which of these senses the eight sermons are to be understood, we know not how to divine. They have plenty of images, indeed, but they are not reflective ones. They are unique and self-originating, reflecting indeed the distorted imagination of the writer, but this could not be intended in the subtitle. What sort of reflectiveness there is on the past, we know not, except as every discourse, with a text for its motto, refers to the doctrine or promise long since given, or the fact long recorded as a matter of history and revelation. But in this case it is not peculiar, appropriate, or descriptive. What, then, is the meaning of the term reflective here? So far as we can discover, it means, like numberless passages in the volume, just nothing!

The primary object of Mr. Montgomery's ambition was to be

a poet, and he eagerly seized upon all kinds of subjects to secure immortality—Messiah—Satan—Woman—we know not what—and an immortality he did secure. By dint of puff and parade, he, as it were, at once gained and lost his fame: it was victory and death.

He now turns sermon writer, having invested himself, or been invested, with clerical distinction. He is a preacher whom we have never had the felicity to hear; but judging from the manner in which these sermons are elaborated, his discourses must be written out, perhaps read; and we hear him therefore in his works. With this we are content, and can cheerfully dispense with the charms of his oratory; the more so, if what we are informed is true, that he tricks out his person ere he meets the popular assembly; and this fact, by the bye, assists us in comprehending the meaning of the dubious phrase 'reflective discourses'—for certainly they exhibit the great image of self; stiff, powdered, and pompous.

If our readers are becoming desirous, as by this time we presume they may, of seeing some specimens of these originalities, we will apply ourselves immediately to the task of amusing their curiosity.

The first text discussed is, 'Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest.' The title given to this 'reflective discourse' is 'the great invitation.' In this the language is justly characterised; let us see how it is managed. The first sentence of the sermon and of the book is as follows: 'The tongue of an infant may be taught to lisp the sound of these syllables, but the intellect of an archangel cannot contain all the magnificence of their meaning; for the truths they involve in their upward aspect cast a glory over the heights of the reconciled Godhead; and by their downward reference irradiate the depths of redeemed humanity.' Certainly this is a hopeful beginning. Where the discourse was preached we are not informed, or to whom; but we will suppose the audience to consist of 'the poor to whom the gospel is preached'—in a country village, for instance, where some are utterly ignorant, others inquiring, and a few gathered together to be reminded of admitted truths, and refreshed by the simple and glorious doctrines of the Saviour. Would any one of these classes (we might almost say, of any other) understand this magniloquent commencement? We fancy we see the peasant's stare of astonishment at this first blast of the preacher's trumpet; and as he proceeds in a similar strain, in pure wonder exclaiming, 'vastly fine! vastly fine!' Perhaps, however, it may be deemed hardly fair to put Mr. Montgomery to so severe a test as that of trying whether the 'common people' could comprehend his

meaning, and therefore 'hear him gladly.' Let us, then, imagine what is more probable, that this sermon was delivered to 'ears polite.' Let us suppose an audience of a higher grade—in fact as exalted as possible; and we then ask, could even these understand the meaning of truths in their *upward aspect*, casting a glory over the *heights of the reconciled Godhead:* or guess at the idea of *irradiating the depths of redeemed humanity!*

But let us turn the page, and we read, 'a fine analogy exists between the veiling influence of His manhood, when considered as a concealment drawn over his essential glory; and the shading effect of his language when contemplated as a shroud thrown over the indwelling splendour of his announcements.' Wonderful analogy, indeed, between a veil and a shroud, and between the manhood of Christ and the shading effect of his language, the object of which is not to hide but to reveal! Let us turn another page, and try once more. 'He stands forth as the great originality of all time; breaks the long silence of four thousand years touching the real happiness of our nature, and undertakes at once to be the Almighty Halcyon to a sin-troubled world.' *Originality:* quere meaning? *Almighty Halcyon:* very edifying, truly! And after this fashion does our author spin out ninety-four pages of absolute bombast, under the four heads of discourse, which are the only things bordering on simplicity that we have found, namely: first, the invitation, 'come;' secondly, the inviter 'unto me;' thirdly, the invited, 'all who labour and are heavy-laden;' and fourthly, the encouragement that concludes the whole, 'and I will give you rest.'

What think you, gentle reader, of the following piece of brilliancy? 'For a spirit of sublime appropriation is characteristic of faith. And the same assurance which convinces him how all the amazing series and scenes of truths and trials were mapped out before the omniscience of Christ in heaven; so that Tabor, Hermon, and the Mount of Olives towered in his ideas before their forms rose in this world; and the blue waters of Gennesareth must have sparkled on the mental eye before they served as a liquid carpet for his human feet to tread; while the cross must have been erected *in the Calvary of his infinite purpose* (!) before the dreadful expiation of sin was there achieved: although this must have been the case, and a thoughtful believer will be exalted by such a retrospect of Christ in the bosom of the Father; yet the prospect does not terminate here,' &c.

Or of the following? 'Wherefore he is able to save to the uttermost all that come to God by him.' 'To the uttermost:' 'that is, *till the eclipse of positive damnation hath blackened around the wailing spirit in the regions of the undone,* (!) through all the ages of time, through all the complexities of experience, and

through all the dangers and difficulties of spiritual warfare—there is centered in him, as the changeless Melchisedec of the church, whatever the soul may require in its access to God.'

Or again? 'But here we feel that the most *anatomising precision* of language can 'rightly divide into their distinctions all the delicacies of inner experience, which mark and accompany the young receiver of the 'principles of the doctrine of Christ' into the ripening manhood of intense christianity. The path of transition from the darkness and degeneracy of nature into the light and purity of grace is patent; and not difficult to be traced by words and described by terms.'

Or, 'We can find no key to the original style of the Redeemer's language, except on the basis of his being the incarnated God. For had he been simply human, we do not believe, *without being convulsed into an ungraceful movement,* (!!) that a mere finite being could have delivered such awful announcements as we find him declaring; nor could he have borne the disturbing majesty of the ideas they involve and the principles they contain.'

As to brief absurdities thrown into single sentences, there is no end of them: such as 'the hidden life of the spirit's world palpitating *under the shroud of those syllables* which here invest it.' 'What a *radiance* reposes over the *sovereignties* of the Divine will!' 'Patriarchs and prophets, martyrs and saints, let us learn to think of them, as each now *reposing upon the centre of their own conscious individuality.*'

It may be supposed that we have picked out a few objectionable phrases and sentences from a mass of different matter, and thus exhibited a caricature picture of our author's genius. We cannot wonder at such a supposition; for scarcely any one would believe that a writer, *soi disant* poet and divine, could commit to paper, at any length, such monstrous verbiage. But so it is; and to show that this kind of writing is the rule, not the exception, the very staple and soul of the work, we shall cite one or two extended specimens.

'We will not, however, pause to prove that *if,* for one instant, the intellect embraces the doctrine that nature is governed on one principle, and providence and grace, each also by a different principle, then do we libel the moral perfections of God, and reduce his character into a tremendous inconsistency! No, my brethren, God is ever at unity with himself; and can no more bestow a crumb of bread on a sinner, but through the medium and merit of that *great ordinance, an atoning Saviour,* (!) than he can give the archfiend a coronet of glory. Leave it, then, we entreat you to the mock sentiments of a certain *school of emasculated authorship,* (!) so to speak of the most glorious God, as if he were little more than an infinite resource for supplying mortal necessities! Or, some eternal placability who, seated aloft in the serene

radiance of his own perfection, looks down with *bland and easy connivance* on the weakness of unfortunate man. And while leaving him to suffer much from his own doings and desires, is yet on the whole exceedingly gracious to his demerits; and thus adorns nature with glories and beauties over which science may ponder; and variegates all creation with rainbows and flowers, and tender landscapes; among which sentiment may dream of opening Paradise, and poetry warble hymns of pathetic thansgiving.'—p. 180.

The following morceau, in reference to the Corn-Law agitation, may amuse our readers. How far it will be regarded as suitable to a sermon is another question, which we leave them to determine. We wish, however, that the author's furious theology were always as innocuous and self-correcting as his furious politics. Hear then, ye 'mob-kings,' and rearers of 'treason-banners!'

'Nor can we proceed to handle after a textual order the words we have selected for our instruction, without alluding to a coincidence of a sad, and yet of a sublime character; and which (without any desire to interfere with the sensitiveness of political bias), is far too striking to be passed over in neglectful silence. While, therefore, the empire has been rocking with popular discontent, and provoked into disastrous excitement by fierce and fiery discussions on 'Corn-laws;' and while the treason-banners of the mob-kings have been waving over the heads of a deluded, and therefore a dangerous populace—the creative energies of a benevolent God have been secretly and silently at work. And, as if to rebuke the rash predictions and reckless audacities of political calculators, we find, not only that the unseen agriculture of the Almighty has neither lessened nor languished, but that the harvest of the year has abounded with a fruitful produce of far more than wonted extent. And can you not sympathise with us, in adoring the imperturbable majesty and the inexhaustible mercy of him 'whose ways are, indeed, not as our ways?' And what a contrast might we have enjoyed, had it been possible suddenly to have transported one of these anarchs of democracy from the centre of the infuriated rabble who were raging around him, as an oracle of whatsoever is untrue in fact, and treasonable in principle; and to have located him for a few minutes amid the green solitudes of nature, and the glowing spread of some quiet landscape, where the ripened harvest was displayed before him in all the affluence of its supply! Yes, and could we have watched the man so encircled with expressions of God in his own works apparent, with no rebuke would we have ventured to assail him: with no argument would we then have plied him: with no frowning demonstration of the error of his words and ways would we then have visited him. But if, under the mild sorcery of nature's loveliness, there did pass over his rough heart and rude spirit a tranquillizing charm; while the sunbeam was busy at its bright labour, the bee on its happy wing, the sky overarching him like a canopy of peace, and the golden corn-fields were undulating to and fro before him, as the tall wheat bowed its head to the salute of the

passing wind;—*then* should have we delighted to see, perchance for a moment, how eloquently victorious over even the savage emotions of rebellious pride and scowling discontent, the unsyllabled arguments and dumb appeals of creation itself may *sometimes* be. And, in the midst of his transient reverie, the only interruption we would have ventured, might have been to have reminded the prophet of corn-laws of 'the man Christ Jesus,' who is indeed the unfailing 'Lord of the harvest.' And then gently to have breathed into his soul,—'Whilst the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease.'"—p. 98.

After marking several other most tempting bits for quotation, we shall abandon them to their fate—namely, to sink, as they most likely will do, together with the whole family of nonsense in this volume, in the quiet waters of Lethe; and we heartily wish them a good voyage to the bottom. We must not forget, however, to inform the reader, that our author has a wonderful facility of treating all kinds of subjects. His 'Reflective Discourses' are surprisingly excursive, and can throw a 'radiance,' as he says, over 'sublimities,' as well as illuminate the depths of the sea. Nay, his genius, too mighty and blazing to be 'shrouded,' as he has it, in his 'language,'—though we should have thought it big-worded enough to shroud anything,—positively leaps at once from earth to heaven—now frowning down the corn-law agitators, and, anon, walking gloriously among the stars! For instance; and we will inflict only this one quotation more; premising, that it is in some respects a favourable one.

'Here let us pause; for there is a magnificence of truth and stretch of meaning of almost *intolerable effect* (!) in this passage—('By him were all things created,' &c.); when a believer in Christ is thus informed WHO and WHAT that stupendous Being is, who 'sweat, as it were, great drops of blood in the garden of Gethsemane.' By it we are taught that, far as the sense can travel, thought expatiate, or imagination soar, *until the spreadings of eternity and immensity* (!) life, being, and form, matter and motion—all are *of* Christ, as well as designed *for* him! But, instead of losing ourselves in vague generalities, which but remotely expand the intellect, and but rarely affect the heart,—let us concentrate your attention on one aspect of the omnipotence of the Son of God which this ascription of creation unto him includes. For instance; by a calculus, whose scientific accuracy has been confirmed beyond suspicion, we are informed, among other sublimities, of the following truths. The circumference of our earth is about 25,000 miles, and contains about two hundred millions of square miles; over whose continents and climes, islands, seas, lakes, and forests, and rivers, &c., life, and faculty, and sensation exist in every conceivable mode and form. But if from this orb of ours, we (as David did) lift a religious eye to the planetary system, what a testimony to the *grandeurs* of Jesus

Christ blazes and bursts on our astonished apprehension. For example, the sun's diameter is computed at eight hundred and eighty thousand miles; and as a physical mass (!) exceeds our earth by an excess of magnitude equal to thirteen hundred thousand times'—(common people would have simply said, the sun is so much larger than the earth, but great men must use great words)—'and over whose surface, at the rate of thirty miles per day, it would take two hundred millions of years to pass! Take one more specimen of the omnipotence of Jesus;—we allude to the planet Saturn, which is nine hundred of millions of miles distant from the sun, and about nine hundred times larger than our earth. Around this planet there is what astronomers call the double ring, or two concentric rings of light, which are distinct from each other, but which are carried along with the enclosed planet in its circuit round the sun. The exterior of the outer ring, or arch, is, in diameter, 204,000 miles; and the exterior of the inner ring is 184,000 miles in diameter; and all the motions and appearances of this planet and its rings and seven moons, are described by the devoutest of the astronomers, as astoundingly beautiful beyond words to unfold. Well, then, brethren, we take you back from this brief glance at the work, to the presence of the worker; and bid you remember, that 'by him,' who died for sinners, all these things,—these miracles of light, these orbs of radiance, these systems, suns and worlds, with their unutterable accompaniments,—by Him, we say, were they originally created; and by him do they all consist; and by his sleepless energy and omnipresent activity, are their forms and motions what they are. Yes, and while the man of mere earthly science warms into philosophical rapture, or is *lulled into an aimless trance of meditative bliss* (!) when the astronomer tells him of the magnitude, number, velocity, force, speed, and splendour of those bodies to which the solar system is related;—the disciple of the cross will associate with all this something better than intellectual wonder and philosophical devotion; and regard the entire display as a part of that revenue of exceeding glory and power which appertains unto 'THE MAN CHRIST JESUS.'"—pp. 185, 186.

This passage, like some others, has produced upon us an almost 'intolerable effect;' but we cannot say it is that of being 'lulled into an aimless trance of meditative bliss;' at least we suppose not, for really what this kind of trance may be it is difficult to divine. It is probably like Mr. Montgomery's 'grandeurs'—if not 'aimless,' at least pointless.

Seriously, we deprecate the utter want of taste and good sense, aye, and even truth, too, in all this rhodomontade. We confess that this development of the scientific 'calculus,' as here introduced and paraded, does not at all affect us, unless it be with disgust.

Mr. Montgomery may vapour about 'vague generalities' as he pleases; but they are just the kind of generalities that are employed in the illustration of this subject in the Scriptures, and much more calculated to inspire thought and 'expand the

intellect,' than his details. For instance; 'The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handy work,' we should think infinitely preferable to giving the diameter of particular globes, or even the dimensions of Saturn's rings. 'He hangeth the earth upon nothing;' or, 'He made the stars also;' or, if you wish for something in detail, 'who can bind the sweet influence of the Pleiades;' seems to us incomparably more sublime than to state, that it would take millions of years to cross the surface of the sun, at the rate of thirty miles a day.

Not that we are unimpressed by the facts of science, or unenchanted by the discoveries of astronomy. On the contrary, we can testify from our personal experience that such studies are eminently calculated to elevate the mind, and give expansion to the intellect. We cannot view, without astonishment and admiration, these wonderful works of God; and from our earliest days have traversed the fields of nature and the spaces of the starry firmament by the light of science, with ever renewing gratification. Nor are we insensible to the fact, that from the phenomena of the external universe, many apt and beautiful illustrations may be drawn to confirm and enlarge our ideas of the wisdom, power, and goodness of God. But let judgment be exercised, and everything be put into its proper place, and assigned its just proportions. Science and religion may be advantageously associated; but the pulpit will gain nothing by being turned into a rostrum for the delivery of a philosophical lecture. In this case, if in any, will be exemplified the poetic adage—

'A little learning is a dangerous thing.'

The use of a journal or a scrap book, is not to enable the boaster, by copious extracts, to astonish the vulgar; but to assist the memory, that by brief and suitable references on proper occasions to important discoveries, knowledge may minister to the impressions of religion. Let literature and science ever be kept in due subordination to the highest ends of instruction, and the sacred claims of inspired truth.

We should not have dwelt so long upon a book like this, had it not been the production of one of a school of preachers and theologians, who seem to aim far more at surprising than at profiting, who mistake pomp for grandeur, and verboseness for force, and the glare of whose diction distorts even the evangelical truth they deliver, diverting the mind from what is really glorious in the gospel. What with pomp and Puseyism, the christian world is greatly liable to be misled; and the spiritual interests of the young especially, miserably betrayed. The one class are setting up their idol of

words; and the other, their idol of tradition; but for our parts, we had almost as soon join in the Egyptian worship of onions and garlic.

Art. IV. *Tracts for the Last Days.* Vol. I. London: William Edward Painter, Strand.

As we were one day walking in the Strand, our attention was arrested by some Tracts exhibited for sale in the window of No. 342, which is the office of the 'Church and State Gazette.' One of these we purchased, and have been induced by the perusal of it, to procure the remainder of the series. On enquiring at the publisher's by whom they were written, we were politely informed that the authors were clergymen, but that their names could not be disclosed. This is all we know of these strange productions.

The volume extends to 400 octavo pages, and comprises 24 Tracts. Of these, eight are on 'The One Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church;' six are on 'Subjects of Difference between the Greek, Roman, and Protestant branches of the Catholic Church;' and the remainder have the following titles: 'Ecclesiastical Buildings, Furniture, and Property;' 'The One Hope of the Catholic Church;' 'Ecclesiastical History and Antiquities;' 'The Present Estate of Christendom;' 'Worship;' 'Evangelicalism the Apostacy of the Last Days;' 'How to be Catholic;' 'The Restoration of the Jews;' 'The Second Advent of the Lord Jesus Christ;' 'Justification by Faith.'

Disclaiming all connection with the authors of the 'Tracts for the Times,' and gently censuring some of their tenets, the authors of these Tracts for the last days, advocate most of the errors known by the name of Puseyism, and blend therewith a novel form of millenarianism: the result is, one of the wildest specimens of theological jargon ever offered to the public. The writers express themselves as though they were in earnest, and, we are inclined to believe, are so; but how any body of serious men could combine to publish these hallucinations, it is not easy for ordinary mortals to conceive. We quite despair of conveying to the reader a complete idea of this last effusion of clerical theology and zeal; but will endeavour to give him some acquaintance with the contents of the volume.

It will be perceived from the titles of the tracts, that the one subject of them is, the church. Very properly, therefore, are we furnished, as early as the fourth page, with a definition of the church.

'The church of Christ is the aggregate company of all who are, and who ever have been, or. who ever shall be, baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, in every country and in every age, since the day of Pentecost, and who are separated by their baptism alone from all other men. . . . . It is His body and not any fragment of the same which is the dwelling-place of God by his Spirit, being also called the temple of the Holy Ghost.'

Every section of this now divided church has, we are told, some pre-eminence over other sections of it. The highest place seems to be assigned to the Romanists; and, among national religious establishments, the lowest to the Scotch church. The non-conformists of many names and countries are an anomaly, and their ecclesiastical status is left doubtful.

In this church, say our authors, God has instituted certain ministries, in which ecclesiastical authority resides, and through which spiritual blessings flow from God to man. In the sacrament of baptism regeneration is given; and by 'the unbloody sacrifice' the life imparted in baptism is preserved and strengthened. The various manipulations of the church of England are not only signs, but 'do operate the things which they do express.' In the consecration of a bishop, superior grace is imparted to that conferred on priests; and on the latter superior grace to that bestowed on the laity. 'The anointing and coronation of a christian king, is an effectual means by which God constitutes the governor and the governed, one covenant people in the Holy Ghost:' but 'kings and priests chosen by the people are ordinances of hell.' Kings are said to receive their appointment directly from God—how the appointment is signified is not explained—and the grace to fulfil their duties they receive through the church.

Some clergymen will stoutly maintain that their church is immaculate, or nearly so: but these authors roundly assail it, as being disfigured by deficiencies all but fatal to its claim to be considered a church: and so little preference do they give to any one form of church government, that they coolly recommend catholics and Greeks, protestant episcopalians, and even non-conformists of every grade, not to be proselyted, but to remain where they are.

'If men have been led to choose for themselves teachers and pastors, they must remain faithful to those under whom they have placed themselves, and abide the consequences of their own acts, until God, in his providence, do by some means give them deliverance,'—p. 1.

These clerical writers mourn over the bondage in which the church of England is held by the state, manfully explode the dogma of apostolical succession, plead for transubstantiation or

something exceedingly like it, commend the confessional, provided the use of it be not obligatory, sigh for monastic institutions, and heartily approve of prayers for the dead. They censure the Scotch church, because it has no priests; the English church, because it has no deacons; the Romish church, because the pope is not an apostle; and the Greek church, because in it the essentials of christianity are lost through its abandonment of 'filioque,' that is to say, of the orthodox theory of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. But these censors-general reserve the greatest severity of their rebuke for evangelical doctrines, and those who hold them.

The age in which we live is said to be an age of common places, but these writers seem resolved to break the spell, and bless us, to say the least, with novelties.

'It is evident that, so far from true toleration being better understood and practised in protestant countries, toleration means nothing more than the inability of the civil or ecclesiastical authorities to restrain the publication of any thing that any one may please to print. True toleration, however, is a thing essential to the harmony and peace of the christian church, and this can only be attained by everybody refraining from teaching, either by printing or otherwise, who is not commissioned of God to be a teacher; and further, that those teachers abstain from addressing any one out of their own border and sphere of mission.'—p. 117.

Of course no one is commissioned of God to be a teacher who has not been ordained by the church, and thus do we arrive at the following beautiful theory for covering the earth with truth and righteousness: a theory which is unblushingly avowed in these tracts for the last days. The people in a parish are to be taught by the priest, who is at liberty to preach to them, and converse with them, and write to them, and to address them by the press; but he must not extend his instructions beyond his parish: and the people in that parish are to receive him as the 'authorized' expounder of the word of God. The bishop is in like manner to confine himself to his diocese, and by no means to attempt to instruct those without it. Besides which, the bishop is the intercessor of his diocese: for though the people and the priests may pray, they are not to venture on the work of intercession, which pertains to their ecclesiastical superiors. The bishop is also to develope and preside over prophetic utterances, 'miraculous healings, when the devil attacks any with sickness,' the casting out of evil spirits, and the interpretation of revelations.

'At all periods of the christian church, supernatural power has been manifested in miracles, prophesyings, healings, estatiche, stigmatiche,

etc.; . . . The church has ever maintained that true discernment of such things was an ordinance, and resided only in bishops.'—p. 72.

Thus far the theory—and these writers are far above troubling themselves with facts—moves on glibly. All the people in a parish are to bow to the dictum of the priest; and all the priests in a diocese are to bow to the dictum of the bishop, but, Who shall decide when bishops disagree? Apostles, reply our authors: and bitterly do they bewail the absence of apostles (as also of prophets) from the church at the present day: a loss which they attribute to the sins of the church, and of the reparation of which they seem to have but the slightest hope.

'Dignitaries of the church, kings and princes, statesmen, all who have worldly honour and power, though they admit the existence of evils which they cannot remedy, will laugh to scorn the idea of apostles, associated in their minds as that ministry is with the lowly estate of the fishermen of Galilee; and the evangelical portion of christendom, with its host of self-constituted teachers and expounders of God's word, will regard its own position with too much self-gratulation to admit that there is either necessity or possibility for the sending again of apostles to the church. It is, nevertheless, what God must be entreated to do—it is what alone can meet the wants of Christendom; and men must accustom their minds to the event who knowing the evils which afflict the church, and deploring them, do earnestly desire their remedy. It is however also true, that it is impossible for such a ministry to be exercised in the present condition of Christendom, both with respect to the civil and ecclesiastical laws, by which all the baptized are bound down.'—p. 144.

The expectation, however, of the writers of these curious tracts is evidently turned chiefly to the second and speedy coming of the Son of man; when, according to their creed, the few who are looking for his appearing will be changed: but this number they imagine will be very small, probably bearing 'only the same proportion to the present population of Christendom, as the number 8 bore to the population of the world in the time of Noah.' These few, together with the risen saints, will be caught up to meet the Lord, and constitute his kingdom in the New Jerusalem. But this assembly is not to comprise Abraham, or Moses, or any pious Jews; all of whom are to be left on earth, and to constitute 'the Ezekiel dispensation,' with David in person, presiding over it as king in Jerusalem; in addition to which two classes, there is to be a third composed of 'the nations;' but what is to be their condition on earth does not appear.

'As in the Unity of the Divine Essence there is a Trinity of Persons, which leads to three modes of operation, and three classes of men who are the subjects of these operations, so it is revealed that in the kingdom

of heaven there will be a three-fold distinction, which was represented in the temple by the most holy, the holy place, and the court of the Gentiles, and which is spoken of as the heavenly Jerusalem, the earthly Jerusalem, and the nations of the earth—all existing at the same time, in that condition of things which is called the kingdom of heaven.'—p. 358.

With the utmost facility do these writers affix all manner of mystical interpretations to the events and metaphors of scripture. Edom, and Moab, and Ammon are supposed to express the three great divisions of the western church, the Roman, Anglican, and Presbyterian national churches. The battles typified by Sennacherib and Midian, &c. are only accomplished at Armageddon. The first, as seen in Isaiah, represents the infidel in league with apostate christians; and the form of the destruction of the infidel power is represented by the slaughter of Midian, where every man fell by the sword of his brother: and the work, we are further told, is begun in Spain, and is proceeding in Ireland; and so civil war shall spread all over Europe, as predicted by —— the late Mr. Canning.—p. 387.

It may be thought that we are eagerly gathering up from these tracts a few vagaries interspersed here and there throughout a volume, which, on the whole, is instructive. But such is by no means the case. This number of our journal might be filled with quotations as amusing as any that have been made. If the reader has a taste for the ludicrous, and withal be willing to spend a few shillings on the gratification of that taste, we recommend him to purchase this volume of ecclesiastical curiosities. Its proper place in the library is by the side of 'Punch;' though certainly the reader must find his mirth checked by the sad recollection that some of the worst heresies contained in these tracts are, through the church of England, taught to myriads of our countrymen. These be thy Gods, O Britain!

No humane and discerning man, who casts his eye over the roll of history, can altogether escape the feeling of despondency, which its dark contents are adapted to awaken. Not warned by the fall, the human race multiplied their sins, as they multiplied their numbers. The deluge proclaimed that the Lord our God is a jealous God; but little heed was paid to its terrible lesson, and the earth emerged from its awful baptism but to be again polluted by the presumptuous sins of its inhabitants. The election of Abraham and his race brought out manifestations of human obduracy and folly before unknown: and in christian times, the light of life has been changed into the densest darkness in which a besotted people have ever enwrapped themselves. It is not surprising that seers who have no data for their guidance but the records of the past, should—although as largely

endued with the prophetic gift as the late Mr. Canning—dip their pencil in very sombre colours. Earth's brighter and gladdening auguries are discerned by the eye of faith alone. But of all gloomy prophets, our authors are the most gloomy and faithless. They hang their harps on the willows, and sit down by Babel's stream, and weep, and say, 'the former days were better than these, and these are better than those to come.' Within and without their roll of prophecy there is written 'lamentations, mourning, and woe;' and to him who eats this book, it must be bitterness in the mouth, and gall in the belly.

'The whole and every part of the christian church is equally Babylon. One sect may be the great street, and another a small alley; but it is equally part of the city of confusion. * * * We have been engendered in schism, shapen in iniquity, and in sin did our mother church conceive us. We are children not only of adultery, but of incest; not only of Bathsheba, but of the daughters of Lot. * * On every side schism is gloried in by Romanist, Anglican, and Dissenter. * * No church is honestly crying to the Lord to come and save her, although a service for some churches in Paris, and some expressions in the burial and other services of the church of England might indicate to these churches the only way by which help to them could arise. * * * There are some who, whilst admitting the reality and fearful character of the approaching dangers, dream that this is a passing tempest, which, however destructive in its progress, shall effect the removal of the infectious principles which have disorganized society. But this is a vain illusion. MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN—God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it—the time of the end is come—thou art weighed in the balances, and found wanting—thy kingdom is divided and given to others: this sentence is written upon every earthly institution, whether civil or ecclesiastical, as surely as it was written of old on the palace wall of the king of Babylon.'—pp. 335, 337, 339, 15.

It will be observed that the quotation last made is from page 15. It occurs in the first tract of the series. Thus early do these sons of Jeremiah say, 'Turn our eyes whither we may, we see not a ray of hope from any visible quarter, and it cannot be necessary to stop to show the futility of that hope which some entertain, of amendment arising from unauthorized confederacies of laymen and women to disseminate Bibles and tracts.' p. 7. Thus early do they plainly intimate their opinion that God 'hath no further dealings in store but the outpouring of the vials of consuming judgment.' And having so gathered around the reader the premonitions of the near and awful overthrow of all things human: an overthrow not less terrible than that in the days of Noah, and in its results more weighty and woeful, these authors conduct us to what we presume they regard as a kindred topic. Words utterly fail to describe the mingled astonishment, pity, and contempt with which, on taking

up the second tract, we read as follows: 'Tracts for the last days, No. 2, ecclesiastical buildings, furniture, and property.' The contents are appropriate to the title. The most essential thing, we are informed, is an altar. Great care is to be taken that the pulpit be not placed within the choir. The position of the font is carefully discussed, and it 'should have a small pipe and stopper in the centre, by which the water which has been sanctified may pass off, after the ceremony is finished, into the ground, and not be poured into any irreverent place.' The different kinds of windows are explained, particularly the circular one sometimes seen at the eastern end of a church: 'this is emblematical of the rising sun, the emblem of Him whose rising with healing on his wings is the cure for all the ills, moral, physical, and spiritual of creation, who is to swallow up death in victory, and therefore to be always held up as the object of hope, especially in the most solemn moments of kneeling before the unbloody sacrifice of the altar.' The various materials for church building are pointed out: the shape and position of the confessional minutely described: the situation of the organ is not overlooked, nor the carved work by which the interior is to be embellished. Finally, the last page is adorned with drawings of several kinds of windows, the two last being specimens of pointed trefoil and of pointed cinque foil.

'Escape for thy life, look not behind thee,' was the instruction of the angels to Lot, as the dark clouds of ruin were gathering over Sodom. 'Let not him that is in the field return to take his clothes,' was the warning given to his disciples by the great Teacher in anticipation of Jerusalem's doom. But these prophets of the last days assure us that the most awful times are near, as predicted by the late Mr. Canning and themselves, and then attempt to solace themselves and save us by a service for some churches in Paris, a stopper at the bottom of the font, and specimens of pointed trefoil and pointed cinque foil. Something like tolerance may be felt for the monks of past times, who contrived to while away their idle hours in the carving of hobgoblins, or in fixing the position of the confessor's chair: and the study of ecclesiastical architecture now, in all its branches, by those who take the ordinary view of human prospects, is not to be condemned. But that any men should step forward and tell us that 'the last notes of the knell of this world's dispensation are pealing,' and yet lecture us about 'wimples and crisping pins,' is not to be borne. 'Ye scribes, ye strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel.'

To explain the data and ratiocination by which these illuminati arrive at their conclusions, would require far more pages than we are permitted to occupy. Suffice it therefore to say,

that the main reason for believing that the end of the world is very near, and that but few, as in the days of Noah, shall escape, is found in the existence of 'spiritual lawlessness described in Job xli,' and of which 'lawlessness the system called evangelical is, at present, the most perfect expression. And though it be a startling proposition, it is, nevertheless, a true one, that this system carries in its womb every element of evil of which the last and most fearful form of apostacy is constituted.' (p. 260.) No language can be more decisive than that in which the doctrines and practices of such men as Simeon and Thomas Scott are held up to reprobation, and represented as the ruin of the church, and the surest signs of coming judgment.

'In a fatal hour, the Government appointed an evangelical bishop to the bench. . . . The placing of an evangelical on the bench was as fatal to the church as the introduction of a chartist to the privy council of the king would be fatal to the crown. . . . The evangelicals do not believe that God the Holy Ghost—the divine nature itself—is communicated in baptism: they do not believe that the Deity is brought down from heaven, and 'the flesh and blood of Christ verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper: they do not believe these foundations of the christian faith; and this is the ground of their vituperation of popery and tractarianism—it is because papists and tractarians are sound in their faith, on these points at least, whatever may be their errors on others: and without these truths THERE IS NO CHRISTIAN CHURCH.'—pp. 265—282.

Thus do these clergymen, belonging to a body which was wont to make a loud boast of being the bulwark of protestantism, inculcate some of the very worst heresies of popery. Pretending to boundless catholicity (by which, however, they mean absolute and universal tyranny) they pronounce sentence of excommunication against the most enlightened and pious members of their own communion; and shrink not from the effrontery of explaining the partial revival of sound doctrines among the episcopalians of England, as the iniquity pourtrayed in darkest colours in the New Testament, and the most striking evidence that this is 'the last time.' And who are the writers that dare to avouch these things? Men guilty of violating their own rules. Are they priests? Why do they not confine their antiscriptural sentiments to their own parishes? Are they bishops? Why do they not satisfy themselves with illuminating their own dioceses? Are they apostles? Why do they not declare themselves? Will they point to their productions, and tell us to observe in them, evidence that the authors have their commission from above? Alas! they affirm that the doctrine of justification by faith is 'only the first element of natural

religion—not christian or evangelical at all, in any peculiar sense:'* detect the picture of evangelicalism in the scaly leviathan of the book of Job:† roundly assert that 'there is no doubt the Church of Rome is *a* church;'‡ teach us that 'the first step towards having the mind of Christ towards his church, is to be thoroughly penetrated with this truth, that all baptized men are christians:'‖ they look back with regret to 'the time when the poor man heard the teaching of his parish priest, and doubted not:'§ and gravely tell us that christianity possessed most fervour, devotedness, and self-denial in this country when Gothic architecture was in vogue:¶ and amid all the evils which they deplore, and the anticipations of the disasters foretold by themselves and Mr. Canning, they point us to a service for some churches in Paris, to lancet-shaped windows, and the plug of the font.

It is right the public should know what sort of doctrines can now be held and published by *Protestant* clergymen; and episcopalians may fairly be called upon to tell us plainly, whether they hold the Reformation to have been a blessing or a curse. Who would have believed, twenty years ago, that he should have lived to witness the issuing from the 'Church and State Gazette' office, of such doctrines as the following?—

'The painted glass of the windows, the lights on the altar, the emblem of the Enlightener, whose presence ought always to be seen and felt; the ascending incense which should always arise where true intercession on behalf of a suffering creation is offered by the bishop, the representative of Him who ever liveth to make intercession for us; the ornamented crosses which every utensil and piece of furniture in the sacred shrine should bear, to indicate that it is the glory, and not the shame, to which the worshippers look forward; all these things combine to lift up, and not to depress the soul, and inspire that calmness without which there will be no great endurance of faith, whenever circumstances shall arise to put its strength to the test.'

'God raised up the authors of the *Tracts for the Times*, to recall the attention of the church to the wholesome Catholic principles and practice which she enjoyed before Protestantism first, and since Evangelicalism, despoiled her.' 'Without the use of the confessional no bishop

* P. 397. † P. 260.

‡ P. 4. 'The true church is an universal congregation or fellowship of God's faithful and elect people. . . . It hath always three marks, whereby it is known: pure and sound doctrine, the sacraments administered according to Christ's holy institution, and the right use of ecclesiastical discipline. . . . Now if you will compare this with the Church of Rome—as it is presently, and hath been for the space of 900 years and odd—you shall well perceive the state thereof to be so far wide from the nature of the true church, that nothing can be more.'—*Second part of the Homily for Whitsunday.*

‖ P. 327. § P. 202. ¶ P. 29.

can perfect his flock in holiness.' 'The absolution pronounced in the confessional is sacramental. It is an outward sign conveying spiritual grace. The whole essence of the church of Christ stands solely and entirely in her priesthood and sacraments.'—pp. 30, 77, 228, 231, 297.

Not satisfied with broaching these heresies, our authors fearlessly exhibit and assail the untenable position, which the evangelical clergy are vainly toiling to maintain. With no discernment of the beam in their own eye, they see plainly enough the mote in the eye of their brethren.

'One of the worst consequences of the evangelical system is the position of dishonesty into which, of necessity, it puts those of the clergy, and there are many, who maintain it. Whatever may be their mental reservation on the subject, they stand before men as the ministers of that church, whose orders they bear, and whose emoluments they receive; and they are bound in all conscience to teach her faith and conform to her ordinances. If, therefore, they shall say, that they do not believe that they receive the Holy Ghost by the imposition of the bishop's hands in their ordination—that the form of absolution, prescribed in the office for the visitation of the sick, is presumptuous and blasphemous—that baptism is not regenerative; if they will not teach children of their flock the doctrine contained in the catechism, that in their baptism they were 'made members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven;' if they will neither consider rubrics as of any force, nor the rule and authority of bishops, whom they have sworn to obey in things spiritual as binding, and yet will continue in the bosom of the church, whose formularies they set at nought, and whose faith, in so many instances, they contemn, they cannot escape the charge of dishonesty.'

'We have a right generally to demand from the bishops, that they do not suffer the pulpits of the Church of England to be used in the denial of her rites, in the contradiction of her doctrines, in the setting at nought of her bishops, and the attacking the sacraments of the Catholic church. We have a right to demand that the chaplains of the queen be not permitted to preach against that church, of which the queen is the acknowledged head.'—pp. 272, 276.

The most mischievous of the errors, which in these tracts are boldly avowed, are deeply rooted in the Church of England. They are part of her constitution. The doctrine of sacramental, and therefore of priestly efficacy, is, as these tracts affirm, the key-stone of the whole fabric. That pernicious dogma, the very ground-work of every anti-christian system, has been for ages working its dreadful effects among the unthinking millions of our countrymen. Sometimes, as in the example before us, it makes its appearance on the surface, and in its most startling shape; but more commonly it is diffused as slow poison, and, without awakening suspicion, preys on the vitals of the com-

munity. Can any nonconformist doubt the truth of this? and if not, can any duty be clearer than that of exposing this great and noxious error, fully and fearlessly?

Thousands of dissenters who really grieve over the deadly heresies of the Church of England, are, notwithstanding, alarmed at the decisive measures adopted in the present day with the view of exposing and dispelling them. Their recommendation is, that gentle and cautious means should be employed, lest we should but arouse the zeal of episcopalians, and induce them to put themselves in an attitude of defence. The issue which these well-meaning men deprecate is, we conceive, greatly to be desired. How are episcopalians to be brought to the knowledge of the truth, unless by being quickened into activity? They cannot attempt their own defence without thinking; and they cannot begin to argue without exposing a bad cause, and arraying themselves against one another. The Church of England is safe only in silence and inaction. The least movement shakes the crazy structure; and every such movement diminishes the resources, and impairs the strength of those who make it. Our friends whom we esteem very highly, but who do sometimes provoke us, and sometimes make us smile, by their very self-complacent assumption of discretion, seem to imagine that for the advocates of establishments to bestir themselves, is of necessity to consolidate their strength. They forget that the machine is rusty and rickety, and requires only rapid motion to break it in pieces. Or, if the illustration may be changed, they perceive not that the advocates of establishments are like quarrelsome men embarked on troubled waters in a small and crowded boat; if they can be induced to devote all their attention to the careful maintenance of their own equilibrium—if they will make it their sole care to sit still—they may be safe; but anything that creates a stir among them is inevitably fatal to the whole.

The events of the last few years are surely confirmatory of these views. The attacks made upon established churches constrained their friends to undertake their defence. Their most eloquent advocate was summoned from the North, and the Hanover Rooms shook with aristocratic plaudits. What dissenter now wishes that his brethren had been quiet, instead of eliciting the lectures of Dr. Chalmers? The progress and boldness of dissent were among the avowed causes of the publication of the *Tracts for the Times*; tracts which unquestionably have done great mischief. But they have also been productive of great good. They are the very means which are now gradually preparing the evangelical party for quitting the establishment; which have already alienated from it the whole

body of Wesleyans; and are fast hastening on the final crisis. In Scotland, the voluntaries girded themselves for a mighty and determined attack on the kirk. The immediate and apparent result was, the strengthening of the kirk; but the ultimate and not distant result will be its overthrow. The sure effect of all these controversies carried on in Scotland and England, and elsewhere, has been and must be, to clear away the clouds of misapprehension, and bring out the great question of the day into clear view, divested of all the perplexing sophistries amid which it has heretofore been concealed and defended. It was on the 13th of June, 1843, and after the secession of the Scotch ministers and people, that Lord Aberdeen, in introducing his celebrated bill, expressed himself thus in the House of Peers. We quote from the '*Morning Chronicle.*'

'It was quite impossible for any measure, such as the present, or any other that could have been devised, to have prevented the secession that had taken place. The question had in fact ceased to be one of intrusion or nonintrusion. That point had become of little importance . . . but the seceding ministers had claimed a spiritual independence, as they called it, which in truth was utterly inadmissible in any country or government which recognized an established church. A really spiritual independence no one ever thought of contesting with them. This right, so far, was admitted by all parties, by all tribunals; and no person ever attempted to diminish the full recognition of their spiritual independence. But they claimed more. They claimed to decide what was spiritual, and what was civil . . . a claim which it would be impossible for any state to permit. . . . No legislature could tolerate such pretensions (namely, such as the nonintrusionists had put forth) for a single moment. Indeed, rather than sanction such monstrous claims as were set up by this party, he believed and declared that it would be better that the establishment itself should be abolished altogether.'

Cheered by the great and substantial progress of the few past years, we look to the future with brightening hope. Duty and expediency combine to bid us agitate, agitate, agitate! No systems can be more unfitted to endure discussion, than the ecclesiastical establishments of Great Britain and Ireland. There is no coherence between the different parts of these establishments. They are not like the image of gold set up in the plains of Dura; but like the monster of Nebuchadnezzar's vision, which was part of gold, and part of silver, and part of iron, and part of brass, and part of clay; and which was enduring so long only as it was undisturbed. To smite was to destroy it.

Art. V. *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men, of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: with Notes and Illustrations* By Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S., &c. Pp. 460.

THIS volume is put forth by the Camden Society, under the editorial superintendence of Sir Henry Ellis. Many of the letters are curious, and many very interesting; yet we have experienced a feeling approaching to disappointment, that with the extraordinary means and resources of the learned editor, he should not have produced a volume more interesting: for many of the letters have nothing but the names of the authors to recommend them, and most assuredly would never have assisted either in giving or supporting the reputation of the writers.

The entire absence of every thing that would lead us to suspect that they were intended for the public eye, has given a *bonâ fide* character and an intrinsic value to these letters, which are unfortunately wanting in many, perhaps in most, compositions of the kind. Those of Pope, almost the only readable ones in the English language at the time of their publication, were not merely intended for the press, but (if we may credit the authorities cited by Johnson, and we see no reason to doubt them) he himself contrived—for he *contrived* everything—to have them published. Again, the elaborate ease of Walpole, who is perhaps the best letter writer in our language, was not without its meaning. Arbuthnot was one of the least artificial writers of his day: but of all the letters with which we are acquainted, those of Cowper are the freest from every thing like labour or pretension. They *tell* the better for it, and present us assuredly with a truer transcript of the author's mind.

Negative qualities are not in general those by which men or things are most advantageously distinguished, but in epistolary correspondence the absence of labour and contrivance assumes the form of a positive recommendation. Collections of letters derive their principal value from the consideration, that in them, if in any place, the real thoughts and opinions of the writer may be found; yet, if the style is strained or artificial, the conclusion is involuntarily adopted, that the thoughts may be so too: though, as it has been remarked by Dr. Johnson, it is very difficult to distinguish between affectation and habit.

In communications between particular friends, or even more common correspondents, where no especial interests are involved, the sincerity of a party may perhaps in general be taken for granted, unless indeed—which is possible—he wears a mask without knowing it himself. From this kind of suspicion the

letters before us, with a few exceptions, appear to be singularly free.

Men who have lived long in the world, are much given to deplore the departure of the good old times; but good and evil are relative, and sometimes conventional terms, and often mean no more than the presence or absence of something which habit has rendered necessary, or at least desirable. Such a preference may be easily accounted for, they are seldom inclined to look forward for enjoyment, seeing that what is future must be new, and their relish for novelty is blunted: their tastes were formed by other times and other things, and cannot now be changed: they *feel* too the miseries of their present lot, while those of former times are but remembered. Younger spirits, on the contrary, who have little to remember, will look for happiness to the future: to the latter belong the dreams of hope, to the former those of memory; in both cases 'tis distance lends enchantment to the view.' But why is distance necessary? Why must time past or to come interpose, before we can be satisfied? Because, in an imperfect state of things, it necessarily happens that the mind can never be satisfied with the present—that is, when things are felt and present, their imperfection is perceived; it requires the agency of the imagination to make them perfect.

> 'The mind has no 'to-day:' the present things
> Are for the senses, never for the soul.'

Looking to the ultimate object of our being, it may be better that it should be so; yet, as a discontented state of mind is in itself an evil; and, as suffering to be beneficial, must be borne with patience; we look upon a record of the thoughts and feelings of a former age, as a valuable agent in promoting so good an end. It shews the old that their fathers looked backward with regret as well as they, and with just as little reason; that yesterday was no better than to day; and, as the future will be but a repetition of the past—the same motives, aims, and feelings carried out by different actors—it may teach the young as well, to be more contented with present things.

There is nothing that lets us so fully into the *niceties* of former times, as the authentic private correspondence of those who flourished in them: supplying that unpremeditated and internal evidence, which, to us, is stronger and more conclusive than any other; relating not to the great events, or men, or motives of the day, which, after all, are much alike at all times; but to the bent of mind, the tastes and habits, and modes of thinking, which give to life its light, and shade, and colour.

It is curious to trace the progress of events, as modified by mind and opinion—as all things sooner or later must be—from the times which knew no argument but force, to those which know no force but argument.

The letters before us might assist to some extent in such an investigation, had we space to enter into it. Some of the first are addressed to Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh; and serve to mark the point at which men had arrived, in their transition state from absolute vassalage under the feudal nobility who flourished before the wars of the Roses, to that condition of regulated freedom which is enjoyed at the present day. The arbitrary power of the individual appears to have been in a great measure transferred to the office which he held; for, if we may judge from the abject style of the letters, Cecil, when Lord Treasurer, should have been as absolute as Warwick when dictator. We do not mean to say that he was so; the Virgin Queen was not in leading strings; but the tone of the letters addressed to him is such as to shew, that the dread of arbitrary power, if lessened, was not extinct: and that the power itself, if not to be dreaded from so many quarters, was sufficiently formidable where it still existed. So formidable indeed did it continue to be, as long as it depended on the will of those who wielded it, that it soon became abundantly evident to the growing intelligence of the age, that some other will must be acknowledged and exerted too, before the rights and liberties of the nation could be considered safe. Hence arose that gradual opposition to absolute authority which began to manifest itself even in the latter days of Elizabeth; and which continued to increase, till tyranny, in the reign and person of Charles the First, was finally brought to bay. Except in the light in which we have placed them, these letters are not interesting, and the style is that 'which the learned call rigmarole.' We cannot quote them.

We must leave the reader to follow out, or not, as he pleases —for it does not come within the scope of this article—the clue which we have given him; we turn to matters of more homely and private interest, and capable of more compendious illustration. In these points of view we do not know that any thing more attractive can be selected than the letters of John Strype, the ecclesiastical historian, to his mother. They pourtray the private character of the man, the condition of a poor scholar at the universities in the time of Charles the Second, and some of the customs and usages of the day, in so graphic a manner, that they must amuse, if not instruct, a reader of the nineteenth century. The author entered the University of Cambridge in 1662, and the letters to which we refer were written from that

place. In the same year—day and month not given—he writes as follows:—

'Concerning the taking up of my Things, 'tis true I gave one shilling too much in the hundred: but why I gave so much, I thought indeed I had given you an account in that same letter: but it seems I have not. The only reason is, because they were a Scholar's goods: it is common to make them pay one shilling more than the Town's people. Dr. Pearson himself payed so, and several other lads in this College: and my Tutor told me they would expect so much of me, being a Scholar: and I found it so.

'Do not wonder so much at our Commons: they are more than many Colleges have. Trinity itself (where Herring and Davies are) which is the famousest College in the University, have but three-halfpence. We have roast meat, dinner and supper, throughout the weeke; and such meate as you know I not use to care for, and that is Veal: but now I have learnt to eat it. Sometimes, neverthelesse, we have boiled meat, with pottage; and beef and mutton, which I am glad of; except Fridays and Saturdays, and sometimes Wednesdays; which days we have Fish at dinner, and tansy or pudding for supper. Our parts then are slender enough. But there is this remedy; we may retire into the Butteries, and there take a halfpenny loafe and butter or cheese; or else to the Kitchen, and take there what the Cook hath. But, for my part, I am sure, I never visited the Kitchen yet, since I have been here, and the Butteries but seldom after meals; unlesse for a Ciza, that is for a Farthing-worth of Small-Beer; so that lesse than a Peny in Beer doth serve me a whole Day. Neverthelesse, sometimes, we have Exceeding: then we have two or three Dishes (but this is very rare): otherwise never but one: so that a Cake and a Cheese would be very welcome to me: and a neat's tongue, or some such thing, if it would not require too much money. If you do intend to send me any thing, do not send it yet, until you hear further of me; for I have many things to send for, which may all I hope, be put into that Box you have at home: but what they are I shall give you an account of hereafter, when I would have them sent: and that is, when I have got me a Chamber: for as yet, I am in a Chamber that doth not at all please me. I have thoughts of one, which is a very handsome one, and one pair of stairs high, and that looketh into the Master's garden. The price is but 20s. per annum, ten whereof a Knight's son, and lately admitted into this College, doth pay: though he did not come till about Midsummer, so that I shall have but 10s. to pay a-year; besides my income, which may be about 40s. or thereabouts. Mother, I thank you kindly for the Orange pills you sent me. If you are not too straight of money, send me some such thing by the woman, and a pound or two of Almonds and Raisons, &c.

'I understand by your letter that you are very inquisitive to know how things stand with me here. I believe you may be well enough satisfied by the Woman (his laundress, who carried his letters). My breakings-out are now all gone. Indeed I was afraid at my first coming it would have proved the Itch: but I am fairly rid on it: but I fear I

shall get it, let me do what I can; for there are many here that have it cruelly. Some of them take strong purges that would kill a horse, weeks together for it, to get it away, and yet are hardly rid of it. At my first coming I laid alone; but since, my Tutor desired me to let a very clear lad lay with me, and an Alderman's son of Colchester, which I could not deny, being newly come: he hath laid with me now for almost a fortnight, and will do till he can provide himself with a chamber, &c.

'We go twice a-day to Chapel: in the morning about 7, and in the evening about 3. After we come from Chapel in the morning, which is towards 8, we go to the Butteries for our breakfast, which usually is five Farthings, an halfepenny loaf and butter, and a cize of Beer. But sometimes I go to an honest House near the College, and have a pint of Milk boiled for my breakfast, &c. &c.'

There is another letter relating to the taking of his degree, with the charges for it, &c. which our space will not allow us to quote. In this letter he spells his mother's name with an *e* at the end; and we refer to this for the sake of pointing out the singular uncertainty or carelessness which formerly prevailed in the spelling of proper names. In three letters the historian spells his own name in as many different ways. And this was common. Take for instance the first two names that we happen to recollect, those of Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Edward Coke, the former of which was spelt in half a dozen different ways; the latter in three at least, and it could not possibly be spelt in more. It is not so long since a family offered, through the medium of the newspapers, a reward to any person who would tell them how their own name was spelt some hundred and sixty years ago. The information was wanted for the tracing of some legal right, and the uncertainty of the old orthography rendered the identity of the claimants doubtful.

Most of our readers have some acquaintance with the writings, if not with the character of De Foe. The versatile talents of the man are known and acknowledged; but the more pleasing peculiarities of his genius are most strongly marked in his History of Robinson Crusoe; which though of a less ambitious character than his controversial works, required the exercise of different, and of higher—that is of the inventive—faculties. It was long looked upon as a real history. The following account, if true, would shake the foundation on which this part of his fame is grounded; we give it as we find it, and offer no opinion on the point.

'The following anecdote relating to De Foe's most celebrated publication, 'The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe,' occurs in a volume of memoranda, in the hand writing of Thomas Warton the poet-laureate, preserved in the British Museum.

'Mem. Jul. 10, 1774. In the year 1759, I was told by the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Holloway, rector of Middleton Stoney in Oxfordshire, then about seventy years old, and in the early part of his life domestic chaplain to Lord Sunderland, that he had often heard Lord Sunderland say, that Lord Oxford, while a prisoner in the Tower of London, wrote the first volume of the History of Robinson Crusoe, merely as an amusement under confinement; and gave it to Daniel De Foe, who frequently visited Lord Oxford in the Tower, and was one of his pamphlet writers. That De Foe, by Lord Oxford's permission printed it as his own, and encouraged by its extraordinary success, added himself the second volume, the inferiority of which is generally acknowledged. Mr. Holloway also told me, from Lord Sunderland, that Lord Oxford dictated some parts of the manuscript to De Foe.

'Mr. Holloway was a grave conscientious clergyman, not vain of telling anecdotes, very learned, particularly a good orientalist, author of some theological tracts, bred at Eton School, and a Master of Arts of St. John's College, Cambridge. He lived many years with great respect in Lord Sunderland's family, and was like to the late Duke of Marlborough. He died, as I remember, about the year 1761. He used to say, that Robinson Crusoe, at its first publication, and for some time afterwards, was universally received and credited as a genuine history. A fictitious narrative of this sort was then a new thing.

'T. WARTON.

'Lord Oxford was committed to the Tower July 10, 1715. Released July 1st, 1717. Robinson Crusoe was published 1719.'—p. 320.

We certainly should not have suspected Lord Oxford of this kind of authorship, yet the character of Warton's informant appears to have been above suspicion; and Warton himself was not a man to be lightly imposed on, or to impose on others. But Lord Sunderland?

We have met with no letters in this volume that have made so unfavourable an impression on our mind as those of Swift, addressed to his patron Lord Halifax. Artificial, querulous, farfetched, impertinent, and affected. Assuming a sort of equality with his noble correspondent; not exactly asserting it in words, but aiming at it in manner; with an apparently painful consciousness, not only that it does not belong to him, but that he is treading on delicate ground in affecting it; and is by no means certain, though he wishes to appear to proceed with confidence, that his footing will not give way under him: a kind of awkward, embarrassed impudence on the one hand; on the other, the most nauseous flattery, disguised in conceits:—the one offensive to the dignity and feelings of a nobleman; the other to his taste and judgment. One hardly wonders that the writer's pursuit of preferment should have been so unsuccessful, when his mode of seeking it was so ill chosen.

In very agreeable contrast to all this, is the correspondence

of Matthew Prior with the same Lord Halifax. The poet was a gentleman, and a man of considerable diplomatic talents; and was employed in many affairs of consequence. His letters are those of one who feels himself worthy of the friendship of his patron, but who is by no means desirous to annihilate the distance between them. In these particulars, as well as in their easy and straightforward style, they are the complete antipodes of Swift's. We must give a quotation which contains some curious political matter, and furnishes a very pretty little comment on the kind of spirit, and degree of conscience, which we suspect are characteristic of most political negociations.

'Paris, the $\frac{19}{29}$ Aug. 1698.

'* * * * This Court is gone to see their monarch a cock-horse at Compiegne; I follow as soon as my English naggs arrive, and I shall a little have settled my Lord Jersey. I faced old James and all his court the other day at St. Cloud; vive Guillaume! You never saw such a strange figure as the old bully is, lean, worn, and riv'led, not unlike Neale the projectour; the queen looks very melancholy, but otherwise well enough; their equipages are all very ragged and contemptible,

'I have written to my Lord Portland and Mr. Secretary the summ of several discourses I have had with Mr. de Louzun and others, or rather they with me, about the pension which we were to allow the queen. Do we intend, my dear master, to give her the fifty thousand pounds per annum or no? If we do not, I (or rather my Lord Jersey now) should be furnished with chicaning answers when we are pressed upon that point, for it was fairly promised; that is certain: if we do, the giving it openly and generously would establish the king a reputation in the minds of the French, which, if we gave twice that money to purchase would not, I think, be bought too dear, but this is my own sentiment and to my own master, for the rest, *quæ supra nos nihil ad nos*..

'Adieu, master; nobody respects the Chancellor of the Exchequer more or loves dear Mr. Montague better, than his old friend and obliged humble servant,

'MAT.'

'The last paragraph but one is explained by the following passage in Dalrymple's Memoirs.

'The peace (of Ryswic) was accompanied with two pieces of intended generosity by the king to the exiled family. By the one, he obliged himself to pay fifty thousand pounds a year to King James's Queen, the jointure to which she would have been entitled had her husband died king of England. By the other, he consented that the young son of King James should be educated a protestant in England, and succeed to the crown at the end of the (then) present reign.' The author of the latter project was Louis XIV. He made the overture of it to King James, but it was rejected.'—pp. 265, 266.

There is a private letter of Joseph Addison, addressed from Paris to Lord Halifax, then Mr. Montague, in which he speaks

as an eye-witness of the prevailing fashion of that day in France —for every thing there is a fashion—of being religious. This was the dotage of superstition—a fashion introduced by Madame de Maintenon (as thorough a devotee as ever was the mistress of a king), who had succeeded, by the force of her example, in drawing a veil of sanctimony between the hitherto unblushing profligacy of the court, and the world at large. We can give that part of the letter only.

'As for the present state of learning, there is nothing published here which has not in it an air of devotion; Dacier has been forced to prove his Plato a very good christian, before he ventures to translate him, and has so far complied with the taste of the age that his book is over-run with texts of scripture, and the notion of pre-existence supposed to be stolen from two verses out of the Prophets. Nay, the humour is grown so universal that 'tis got among the poets, who are every day publishing legends and lives of saints in rhime. My imperfect acquaintance with the French language makes me incapable of learning any more particular news of this kind, so that I must end my letter as I begun it, with my most humble acknowledgments for all your favours.

'Paris, 8^{br} 14, 1699.'—p. 294.

The correspondence of John Ray—'the father of English naturalists,' 'the greatest,' in the opinion of the editor, 'that has appeared in England,' furnishes no fewer than nine letters to this volume: they are all addressed to Sir Hans Sloane, his most intimate friend, but are almost exclusively on topics which would scarcely arrest the attention of the reader now. The last however, written in the prospect of death, and but a few days before that event, to take leave of his old friend, we must insert:—a fac simile of it is given.

'Dear Sir,—The best of friends,—these are to take a final leave of you, as to this world. I look upon myself as a dying man. God requite your kindnesse expressed any ways towards me an hundred fold, blesse you with a confluence of all good things in this world, and eternall life and hapinesse here after. Grant us a happy meeting in heaven.

'Sr. eternally yours,

'B. Not. (black Notley) 'JOHN RAY.'

'Jan. 7, 1704 (*i.e.* 170$\frac{4}{5}$.)'

'When you happen to write to my singular ffrend Dr. Hotton, I pray tell him I received his most obliging and affectionate letter, for which I retourn thanks, and acquaint that I was not able to answer it.

'For Dr. Hans Sloane,

'At his house in Southampton Square, London.' pp. 206—7.

That the reader may not part with us under the influence of that feeling, which the quenching of a great light should naturally produce in a world that has not too many:—we quote in conclusion a

letter of Sir Richard Steele, soliciting for his projected work, the Tatler, the good offices of Lord Halifax, who appears to have been the correspondent of every body worth corresponding with. It is neat, ingenious, and perspicuous, and has that cast of playfulness in which great minds—on proper occasions—are given to indulge; and which little ones are afraid to venture on, and therefore affect to depreciate.

'The reader need hardly be told that Isaac Bickerstaffe was the name which Sir Richard Steele assumed when writing the Tatler.

'Jan. 26th, $170\frac{9}{10}$.

'My Lord,—I presume to enclose to your Lordship, Mr. Bickerstaffe's proposall for a subscription, and ask your Lordship's favour in promoting it, having that philosopher's interest at heart as much as my own, and am, indeed, confident I am the greatest admirer he has. The best argument I have for this partiality is, that my Lord Hallifax has smiled upon his labours. If any whome your Lordship recommends shall think fitt to subscribe more than the sum proposed for a book, it may be said that it is for so many more books. This will make the favour more gracefull, by being confer'd in an oblique way, and at the same time save the confusion of the squire, whom I know to be naturally proud.

'I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged,

'most obedient humble servant,

(p. 345.) 'RICHARD STEELE.'

Our selection has been made for the use of the general reader, yet, we think, without detriment to the tastes or interest—if we may use so grave a term—of the more exclusively literary man: for the letters in general are more valuable as genuine relics of the writers, than for any intrinsic excellence, or for any abiding interest in the subjects which they notice. It is amusing to see how lovers of mere antiquity can trifle, and with such serious faces too. Witness the Roxburgh Club, expending its means and energies in reprinting 'The Shippe of Fooles,' and 'Cocke Lorel's Boate,' or matters equally valuable.

Perhaps there never was a neater satire in a smaller compass than in Cruikshank's delineation of an antiquary. A hale, elderly gentleman, buttoned up in his blue coat and long drab gaiters, and, with stick in hand, walking vigorously away; but with his face set *behind* him, and his pigtail hanging down in front. Far be it from us to place Sir Henry Ellis in the same category with this ancient personage; we would not deal so unfairly with the worthy editor. On the contrary, we are thoroughly convinced, though we do not quote this volume as a proof, that he looks before him as well as behind.

Art. VI. *Rambles in Germany and Italy, in* 1840, 1842, *and* 1843. By Mrs. Shelley. In two volumes. London: 1844.

THESE volumes comprise the hasty and rambling, but not uninteresting, memoranda, penned by their author, during two tours in Belgium, Germany, Italy, and France. They are, however, principally occupied with the two countries mentioned in the title-page. The memoranda themselves are of the mixed character usual in such works, relating, as the case may be, to the personal narrative of the author and her companions, the features of the countries visited, and the physical and moral character of their inhabitants. We could have wished that she had found it convenient to take a little more pains in committing her impressions to writing, for they give frequent indications of a liberal, candid, and, in some respects, cultivated mind; and might, without much effort, have been presented to the public in a condition which would have done fuller justice both to the author and the reader. We never miss in her reflections the refinement of the gentlewoman; but we should have perused her work with greater pleasure, had she composed it with more care, and used sufficient pains to ensure correctness in some of her statements.

The first tour described in these volumes led the author through Paris, Metz, and down the Moselle to Coblenz; thence up the Rhine to Mentz; and afterwards by Frankfort, Darmstadt, Heidelberg, Carlsruhe, Baden-Baden, Freyburg, the Black Forest, Schaffhausen, Zürich, the Via Mala, and the Splugen, to the Lake of Como, which was her destination, and chief point of rest. This route was hastily traversed, and is as hastily described; which is indeed of little consequence, for it is familiar to the general reader. We were pleased, however, with the author's brief notice of the far-famed Falls of the Rhine, trite as the subject is; and not less so with her description of the Via Mala. But the land of the Cypress and Myrtle is her delight, and nearly all the interest of her first tour is concentrated on the lake of Como. Her month's residence at Cadenabbia is very agreeably described. The Albergo Grande, the Brentain family, the lake, the shores, the mountains, are all before our eye. We feel for the poor mad Englishman, whose delusive terror of assassination is so graphically narrated; (how many crowds are gathered by the mad freaks of our countrymen abroad!) and imagine, not without interest, the author's eye following, on the smooth or ruffled lake, the zigzag course of that little boat in which her heart's surviving treasure risks his father's fate. Mrs. Shelley gives some interesting details respecting the families Sfondrati and Serbelloni, which successively

inhabited the villa Serbelloni, above Pellagio. But we are chiefly interested with the notices her memoranda supply concerning the manners of the people among whom she passed her brief sojourn.

'I have spoken in praise of the Italians; but you must not imagine that I would exalt them to an unreal height—that were to show that misrule and a misguiding religion were no evils. It is when I see what these people are,—and from their intelligence, their sensitive organization and native grace, I gather what they might be,—that I mourn over man's lost state in this country.

'The country people, I have already told you, hereabouts are a fine handsome race; many of the young women are beautiful, but their good looks soon go off. There are silk mills at Cadenabbia and Bolvedro, which employ a great many girls, who laugh and sing at their work, and, leaving it in troops at the Ave Maria, pass under our window singing in chorus with loud, well-tuned voices. Their dress is picturesque; they wear their hair bound up at the back of the head in knotted tresses, to which are fixed large silver bodkins, which stand out like rays, and form a becoming head-dress; but unfortunately, as they seldom take these bodkins out, and even sleep in them, they wear away the hair. You may guess, from this fact, that neatness and cleanliness are not, I grieve to say, among their good qualities.

'It is strange that, though the men and women here are mostly handsome, the children are very plain. The contrary of this occurs in parts of Switzerland. Here, it a good deal arises from the diet; all the children look diseased—as well they may be, considering their food—and the wonder is, so many arrive at maturity. The deaths, however, are in a much larger proportion than with us. I hear of no schools in this part of the country, and the people are entirely ignorant; neither are the priests held in esteem. Thus thoroughly untaught, the wonder is that they are as good as they are. The church indeed is respected, though its ministers are not, but the enactments of the church are most rigorous with regard to fastings and ritual observances. If toil be virtue, however, these poor people deserve its praise. They work hard, and draw subsistence, wherever it can be by any toil abstracted, even from the narrow shelving of the mountains on which rich grass grows. The young men go to cut it each year, and it is so dangerous a task, that each year lives are lost through the foot of the labourer slipping on the short grass, and his falling down the precipice. Fishing, of course, affords employment; and there is a good deal of traffic on the lake, which is carried on by flat-bottomed barges, impelled by large heavy sails, or by long oars, which they work by pushing forward. Unfortunately, in this part of Italy, they are not as sober as in the south, and drunken brawls frequently occur. The drunkenness of these men is not stupifying, as usually among us, but fierce and choleric. Great care is taken by government to prevent their carrying arms of any kind, even knives. They have, however, an implement called a *falcino*, in shape like a small sickle, which is used for weeding and cutting grass on the mountains; this they are apt to employ as a weapon of offence. It

consequently, forbidden to carry it polished and sharpened, but simply in the tarnished worn state incident to its proper uses. This enactment is, of course, constantly evaded. They are drawn in every brawl, and the wound they inflict, a long ugly gash, is less dangerous, but more frightful than a stab. One evening there was great excitement on a man being *fulcinato* at a drinking bout at a neighbouring inn. One of my companions went to see him, and came back horror struck, he had a large deep gash in the thigh, and was nearly dead from loss of blood. When a surgeon came, however, it was found that the wound was not dangerous. He was carried home in a boat; but it was two or three weeks before he could get about again. When these outrages occur, the police carry the aggressors to prison, where they are kept, we are told, ill off enough, till they consent to enlist. The life of a soldier in the Austrian service is so hard, ill-fed, and worse paid, that these poor wretches often hold out long; but they are forced, at last, to yield,—nor is the punishment ill-imagined, that he who sheds blood should be sent to deal in blood in the legal way. But the root of the evil still rests in the absence of education and civilization; and one must pity the poor fellows, taken from their glorious mountains and sunny lake, and sent to herd among the sullen Austrians, far in the north, where the sound of their musical Italian shall never reach them more.' —vol. i. pp. 97—100.

From Cadenabbia our tourist proceeded with her friends to Milan, the various lions of which city, including the Duomo and Leonardo Da Vinci's Last Supper are briefly described. If we have said that these volumes are hastily and carelessly written, we are certainly bound to add that they possess the charm of appearing to be artlessly and truly written. The author describes what she sees and what she feels, but does not eke out, as many do, a barren and unproductive survey with matter from the guide books. A simple, natural, and truthful air thus pervades her work. At Milan the party separated, her companions being 'tied for time,' and leaving her in that city, whence she returned in the autumn by the Simplon, the valley of the Rhone, Geneva, Lyons, Chalons, and Paris. We would make room if we could for the account of her friends' dangerous journey between Faillo and Airolo (pp. 148—151). It is written in a very lively manner. The author's own remarks respecting the change which has of late years passed over the manners of the French we cannot however suppress. It forced itself on our own notice when last in the country, but we do not remember to have seen it described and accounted for in any work so well as it is here.

'By this time I became aware of a truth which had dawned on me before, that the French common people have lost much of that grace of manner which once distinguished them above all other people. More courteous than the Italians they could not be; but while their manners

were more artificial, they were more playful and winning. All this has changed. I did not remark the alteration so much with regard to myself, as in their mode of speaking to one another. The '*Madame*' and '*Monsieur*,' with which stable-boys and old beggar-women used to address each other, with the deference of courtiers, has vanished. No trace is to be found of it in France. A shadow faintly exists among Parisian shopkeepers, when speaking to their customers; but there only the traditional phraseology is still used: the courteous accent, the soft manner, erst so charming, exist no longer. I speak of a thing known and acknowledged by the French themselves. They want to be powerful, they believe money must obtain power, they wish to imitate the English, whose influence they attribute to their money-making propensities; but now and then they go a step beyond, and remind one of Mrs. Trollope's description of the Americans. Their phraseology, once so delicately, and even, to us more straightforward people, amusingly deferential (not to superiors only, but towards one another), is become blunt, and almost rude. The French allege several causes for this change, which they date from the revolution of 1830. Some say it arises from every citizen turning out as one of the National Guard in his turn, so that they all get a *ton de garrison*; others attribute it to their imitation of the English. Of course, in the times of the *ancien régime*, the courtly tone found an echo and reflection from the royal ante-chambers down to the very ends of the kingdom. This had faded by degrees, till the revolution of '30 gave it the *coup de grâce*. I grieved very much. Perhaps more than any people, as I see them now, the French require the restraint of good manners. They are desirous of pleasing, it is true; but their *amour-propre* is so sensitive, and their tempers so quick, that they are easily betrayed into anger and vehemence. I am more sorry, on another score. The blessing which the world now needs is the steady progress of civilisation; freedom, by degrees, it will have, I believe. Meanwhile, as the fruits of liberty, we wish to perceive the tendency of the low to rise to the level of the high—not the high to be dragged down to the low. This, we are told by many, is the inevitable tendency of equality of means and privileges. I will hope not; for on that hope is built every endeavour to banish ignorance, and hard labour and penury from political society.'—vol. i. pp. 142—144.

Mrs. Shelley's second journey was much more extended than the first, and her account of it, besides affording many topics of greater interest, is better written than the other. Her course this time lay through Belgium, by the Rhine to Mentz, through Frankfort, Kissingen, Brückenau, the great road from Fulda to Leipsic, Berlin, Dresden, the Saxon Switzerland, Prague, Salzburg, the Tyrol, Verona, Venice, Florence, Rome, Naples and its environs. Nothing very new is told us, yet her memoranda comprise various interesting details, both descriptive and historical. Occasionally we meet with an amusing scene, 'such,' she says, 'as are familiar to wanderers.' We select the follow-

ing as one the counterpart of which probably some of our readers may have met with.

'The man who acted as steward on the steamer, a thin, pale, short insignificant-looking fellow, had taken his bill to him of our party whom, I suppose, long experience in such matters had led him to divine was the most *insouciant*. The bill was paid without a remark, and then brought to me. I was startled at its amount, and examined it. First I cast it up, and found an overcharge in the addition. This was pointed out to the man. He acknowledged it very *debonairely*. '*Ah, oui, je le vois, c'est juste;*' and he refunded. Still the bill was large; and I showed it to a lady on board, who had paid hers, and had mentioned the moderation of the charges. I found that the man had charged us each half a florin too much for dinner. Again the bill was taken to him. This time he was longer in being convinced; but when our authority was mentioned, with a look of sudden enlightenment, he exclaimed:—'*Madame vous avez parfaitement raison,*' and refunded. But this was not all; my maid came to me, to say that she hoped I had not paid for her, as she had paid for herself. True enough, she was charged for in our bill. We were almost ashamed to apply again; but a sense of public justice prevailed, and again we asked for our money back. In this instance, the man yielded at once. Clasping his forehead, he exclaimed;—'*Mon Dieu; que je suis bête!*' and repaid us. In the evening of this day, as K—— was gazing on the splendour of the setting sun, the false steward stood beside him, sharing the rapture, and exclaimed;—'*N'est ce pas, Monsieur, que c'est magnifique!*'—vol. i. pp. 167, 168.

Had Mrs. Shelley not said a word directly on the subject, it would have been easy enough to see where her preferences lay between Germany and Italy. As she approaches the warm south her heart warms too, and the colours of her imagination heighten with the growing brilliancy of more southern skies. This, however, has prevented her doing justice to the countries which she traversed in the earlier part of her second tour, and she had better, in our judgment, have suppressed her notes respecting Kissingen and Dresden, than have given such a meagre and drab-coloured account of them. It is true that the diet at Kissingen is enough to spoil all the romance of travelling if one chooses to be treated as an invalid, according to the royal-medical regulations. But then, why should what has once marred the pleasure of the author, be suffered to disturb a second time that of her courteous readers? The fact is, that the places in question are very endurable after all; and that Dresden in particular, with its beautiful environs, is not at all a fit subject for an invalid lady's pen. Prague also deserved a fuller notice than it has received at our author's hands.

Mrs. Shelley's journey through the Tyrol naturally suggested some remarks upon the spirit of the people and the principal in-

cidents of their memorable struggles, under Hofer, against the French and Bavarians. There is something very moving in the paroxysm of mental anguish which laid hold of the peasant-hero after he had accepted the command of his fellow-patriots, and before the actual renewal of the war.

'When General Hormayr, the Austrian Commander, withdrew from the Tyrol, he persuaded several of the chiefs to accompany him in his retreat. Hofer refused to go, and exerted his eloquence to prevail on his friends to remain, imploring them to make 'one more effort in behalf of their beloved country.' Yet his own resolution was not entire. He felt that he was about to lead his countrymen against forces which held the whole of Europe in awe, which had humbled that emperor, under the protection of whose sceptre he had desired to remain. Could any thing but ultimate defeat ensue? On the other hand, he could not contemplate, with any sense of resignation, a renewal of the tyranny of Bavaria: and doubtless he entertained a hope that their continued resistence would cause Austria to make another, and probably a successful effort to claim its own. He paused several days in his native valley of Papeyr, a prey to irresolution, striving to seek a decision by the force of prayer.'

The greatest hero may well pause to pray before he commits himself irretrievably to the responsibility of a movement in which the lives of thousands become a certain sacrifice, to say nothing of the incalculable horrors of such a war. The first act of the succeeding tragedy was an awful proof of the fierce spirit of the mountaineers. Who is there but must shudder at such a useless sacrifice of life!

'Meanwhile, General Lefevre, at the head of a force composed of French, Saxons, and Bavarians, penetrated to Innspruck, took possession of the city, and advanced southward, across the Brenner. The peasantry assembled in arms; and Hofer not appearing, Haspinger came forward to lead them. Father Haspinger was a Capuchin friar; he was young and athletic. In his student days, in 1805, he had fought the French; since then he had lived secluded in his monastery, but the cause of his country called him out. He had been present at all the previous battles; and was always seen in the thickest of the fight, bearing no arms except a large ebony crucifix, with which he dealt tremendous blows on the heads of his adversaries, and did great execution. In the absence of Hofer, this singular man came forward to direct the exertions of the peasantry. It was in the narrow pass below Mittenvald, that he prepared a fearful ambush. He caused enormous larch trees to be felled, upon which were piled huge masses of rock, and heaps of rubbish, the whole being held together by strong cords, and thus suspended over the edge of the precipice. 'We had penetrated to Innspruck,' writes a Saxon officer, belonging to Lefevre's army, 'without great resistance, and although much was reported about the Tyrolese stationed upon and round the Brenner, we gave little credit to it, thinking the rebels might

dispersed by a short cannonade, and already looking on ourselves as nquerors. Our entrance into the passes of the Brenner was only opposed small corps, which continued to fall back after an obstinate but short sistance: among others, I perceived a man full eighty years of age, sted against the side of a rock and sending death among our ranks at ery shot. Upon the Bavarians descending from behind to make him isoner, he shouted aloud, *Hurrah!* struck the first man to the ground th a ball, seized the second, and with the cry, *In God's name*, precipited himself with him into the abyss below. Marching onward, we ard from the summit of a high rock—*Stephen, shall I chop it off yet?* which a loud, *Nay!* reverberated from the other side. This was told the Duke of Dantzig, who, notwithstanding, ordered us to advance. ie van, consisting of 4000 Bavarians, had just stormed a deep ravine, ien we again heard over our heads, *Hans, for the most Holy Trinity.* ie reply that immediately followed completed our terror. *In the name of e Most Holy Trinity, cut all loose above!* and 'ere a minute had elapsed ousands of my comrades in arms were crushed, buried, and overielmed by an incredible heap of broken rock, crags, and trees, hurled wn upon us.'

'Mr. Alison, in his 'History of Europe,' tells us, that in 1816, he ited this spot, and says 'the long black furrow, produced by the ling masses, like the track of an avalanche, was even then, after the se of seven years, imperfectly obliterated by the bursting vegetation ich the warmth of the Italian sun had awakened in these beautiful eps.' Now, thirty-three years, with their various seasons, have drawn reen veil over the ruins; and there is nothing left to tell the tale of eat and death.'—vol. ii. pp. 53, 54.

Venice occupies several letters, and is treated *con amore*. The neral aspect of the city and its public buildings,—the ducal lace, academy of the fine arts, and various churches—are well forth. Many of the most remarkable pictures are also desbed and discussed. Our author was at ease in Venice, and s made her letters interesting. Had we room we should exct her account of Venetian society, to which she considers eat injustice has been done by English visitors, especially Lord ron, and his circle. She remarks justly, that 'if a foreigner me to England, and chose to associate with the most vicious our country-people, both nobles, and that worst race who e by the vices of the rich, he might find as much to abhor as rd Byron in Venice.' She contends, in opposition to him, that ere is a different class; and common sense would intimate e same thing, though it is not at all wonderful that a profligate nobleman did not discover it. She goes however too far her defence, when she maintains the superiority of Italian rality in preserving the domestic affections generally. She mits, indeed, the superior sanctity of the marriage bond in s country, but adds, 'in how many instances do our affections

and rot in idleness at home, because the customs of society do not allow them to go forth and earn an honourable maintenance by the sweat of their brow, or the labour of their brain. It certainly has its dark side as respects morality, that the customs of English society induce young men to postpone marriage till they can maintain a family, on what is certainly an artificial scale of respectability; but to learn to what excesses the customs of Italy lead, which almost entirely prevent the marriage of the younger sons of noble families, by shutting up the resources of private enterprize and diligence, we must have recourse to the annals of that country. How much it has to do with *cicisbeism* may be easily imagined. And what can the public spirit of a people be worth, who have so little private independence? What she says afterwards is very *naive*: 'Unmarried women all over the continent have so much the worst of it, that few remain single. How they contrive to dispose of their girls, now convents are in disuse, I cannot tell: but as I have said, there are not so many as with us, [why not?] and they usually contrive to marry.' This completes the picture, certainly, and we are therefore glad to find a saving clause at last. For the rest 'though I cannot pretend to be behind the scenes, and though, as I have said, their morality is not ours, I am sure that there is much both to respect and love among the Italians.' We hope so too, and should be very loth to blame Mrs. Shelley for endeavouring, under the influence of such an impression, to say what she can in their favour, but she very far exceeded the proper bounds, when to exalt them by comparison, she used a tone of irony in describing the domestic life and virtues of her native land.

While at Florence, the productions of the Florentine school naturally occupied a large share of attention. Ghirlandajo, Fra Angelico, Poccetti, Michael Angelo, here bore sway. Many of our author's remarks, though she makes no pretension to connoisseurship, are conceived in a fine spirit. There is great truth in the following paragraphs:—

'Such is the spirit that animates the earlier school of Florence. But as painting became more of an art, and grew to represent domestic scenes and portraits, artists broke from the confinement of mere religious subjects, or treated them in a mundane manner. Then it was that their imagination so degenerated, that they had recourse to portraits to represent Christ, the virgin, and the saints; some of them even fall so far from the ideal of sinless chastity, as to paint their mistresses, and women of unworthy life; offering to the worship of the pious, the image of mere physical beauty, without the superior grandeur of moral excellence.

'I must confess that any rules (except the immutable laws of moral

rectitude) that tend to limit the objects on which man is to exercise his faculty of the imagination, appear to me contrary to the scope of our creation. . . . . Bigotry is ever to be eschewed in all that pertains to man; to confine painters to one class of pictures, is to turn some who would be great, if allowed to originate subjects of a lower grade, into tame copyists, and humble, lifeless imitators of the thoughts of others. As well insist that all poets should write hymns and heroic poetry, as that painters should confine the pencil to the delineation of the conceptions of religious mysticism.

'The genuine school of christian idealism is for the present come to an end. And I confess, as far as I may be allowed to judge, that it strikes me that the Germans of the present day, who are endeavouring to revive it, fall into the same mistake as our sculptors, who employ themselves in imitating the ancients;—they are good copyists, but are never original. And what appears to prove this is, that the Germans are not content with endeavouring to reproduce that composed and severe expression which the earlier painters yet knew how to ally to vitality in its highest sense, but they return to the dry colouring and meagre composition, which is the chief defect of the infancy of painting.'—vol. ii. pp. 148—150.

We conjecture that the three Titians seen by Mrs. Shelley in the roof of the sacristy of the church of Santa Maria della Salute, at Venice, and which, she says, overpaid her for twisting her neck to look at them, mainly preserved herself from the artistic bigotry she disapproves in the preceding extract. At Berlin and Dresden she was quite in love with Raphael's early style, and few pictures had much charm for her in comparison with those in which angelical simplicity and devotion were expressed. Of these Titians, which represent respectively David's victory over Goliath, the sacrifice of Isaac, and the death of Abel, she says: 'Methinks they ought to convert the exclusive admirer of the mystic school, who would confine painting to the expression of one—it is true, the most exalted, among the passions—adoration, love, and contemplation of divine perfection. These paintings are, what surely pictures ought to be allowed to be, dramatic in the highest sense. They tell a story. They represent scenes with unsurpassed truth and vigour.' The description of them which follows is very good, and it is a great merit in all Mrs. Shelley's criticisms on works of art, that though unpretending, they always direct attention to that wherein the true character of the work consists. It is evident that her own leaning still is in favour of the mystic school.

We must omit all notice of Mrs. Shelley's descriptions of Italian scenery, many of which are beautiful, and very different from the meagre references of her first volume, as well as of the curiosities and works of art in Rome, and content ourselves with

a very partial view of the account which she has given of recent literature, and particularly of the revolution in the literary taste of the Italians, which brought the romantic style into vogue.

'This began in 1818, when Berchet, a poet of merit, descended suddenly into the arena, throwing, by way of challenge, a translation of the Leonora of Burgher, [Bürger] accompanied by an essay, discarding the old models, and planting a new banner, beneath the shadow of which the flower of the Italian youth eagerly crowded to contend, displaying the more enthusiasm, because under this literary discussion was hid the hope of regenerating the political opinion of Italy. The classists [classicists] were not slow in meeting the attack; and when they found their authority, which had been respected for centuries, was in danger of being overthrown, they hurried to the rescue. Monti fought with them. Angry epithets, ridicule, abuse, were bandied about by both parties in the ardour of fight. Book succeeded to book: pamphlets and articles poured furiously down, each breathing the ire of an earlier and more uncivilized age. The Romanticists wished to banish the mythology—to make poetry patriotic—that is, founded on national faith, chronicles, and sympathies. They added example to precept. Berchet published a volume of odes, which met with eminent success. The subjects were Italian, and breathed great force of passion and feeling. Grossi, the rival, or rather, as he calls himself, the pupil of Manzoni, commenced with 'Ildegonda,' a tale in verse, founded on a Milanese story, which was received with immense applause. Manzoni published his 'Carmagnola,' Pellico his 'Francisca da Rimini,' and 'Eufemio da Messina.' Pellico, afterwards so sadly celebrated for his misfortunes, was, at this time, tutor to the sons of Count Porro. He projected founding a periodical work, which should serve as a common link between the writers of every state in Italy. Porro and Gonfalonieri seconded him, and hence arose a periodical publication named 'El Conciliatore.' Gioga Romagnosi, Manzoni, Grossi, Berchet, and Montani contributed to its success, without mentioning the political contributions of Gonfalonieri, Porro, Pecchio, Arrivabene, and many others, who were then secretly conspiring against the government, and preparing the ill-starred revolution of 1820 and 1821. The first number of the 'Conciliatore' was published on Thursday, the 3d of September, 1818—it came to an end in 1820. From its birth the Austrian government had decreed its extinction; but its short life was yet glorious, since it excited the public mind to free discussion, and gave an impetus to letters.

'Manzoni rose into notice as the poet of this party. His sacred hymns, and his tragedy of 'Carmagnola,' appeared at the time when the literary war raged hottest. His poems were received with enthusiasm. 'Carmagnola' and 'Adelchi' were hailed as national dramatic dramas; their fame spread into Germany and France. Goethe speaks of them as making 'a serious and profound impression, such as great pictures of human nature must always create.' 'Let the poet,' he says, 'continue to disdain the feeble and vulgar portions of human passion, and attempt only such high arguments as excite deep and generous emotions.'—vol. ii. pp. 194—196.

Manzoni's history is singular. Brought up as a child on the banks of the lake of Como, he afterwards went with his mother to France, and lived with her at Paris for some years. Returning in 1808 to Milan, he soon after married a protestant lady, the daughter of a banker at Geneva. This lady, however, visiting Rome with her husband, became a convert to Romanism, and through her earnestness, Manzoni himself was brought over from his mere formalism to that sincere and zealous profession of catholicism, which his writings uniformly breathe.

Another eminent poet of modern Italy is Niccolini, the writer of 'Polixena,' and some other tragedies, written on the classic model, but more distinguished as the author of the 'Foscarini,' in which he led the way in adapting great national subjects to the Italian stage, and realized the most flattering success. Mrs. Shelley mentions some circumstances connected with his second effort in the same line, which are worth transcribing.

'The 'Foscarini,' a national subject, in which he paints, in the liveliest and blackest colours, the dark tyranny of the Venetian aristocracy, had a success on the stage previously unexampled in Italy. The enthusiasm spread among every rank of society; country people, farmers and labourers from the environs of Florence, were seen mingled with the lower classes of citizens, besieging the avenues of the theatres for hours before the opening of the doors. Animated by this success, Niccolini composed the 'Sicilian Vespers,' which is, in fact, a protest in favour of Italy. This drama was received with transports of enthusiasm. The French secretary of legation, M. de la None, had the folly to complain to the Tuscan government of certain expressions levelled against the French nation. The Austrian minister laughed at his application, and saw through the artifice. *Vous ne voyez pas*, he said, *que si l'addresse est à vous, le coutteau est pour moi* An interesting and sad incident occurred on the first representation of this play. The mother of Niccolini, an aged woman, insisted on being present—the immense success and triumph of her son were too much for her—she was carried dying out of the theatre, and only survived two days.'—vol. ii. pp. 203, 204.

The copious extracts we have given from these volumes will enable our readers to form their own judgment respecting them. We have already said that the narrative of the first tour is very inferior to that of the second, and we are really unable to see any sufficient reason, looking at the reader's interest only, why the former tour, or the German portion of the second, should have been published. It is clear that the author did not consider it worth her while to get that knowledge of Germany, or of the German language, which was necessary to give interest to her book, or to secure her from mistakes. In consequence of this, we find her, (vol. i. p. 206,) after stating that at Fulda she was shown some subterranean vaults 'in which Aniaschiadus, a

saint and confessor, lived,' she thinks they said, 'for seven years hid from the persecution of the Arians,' adding that she speaks in doubt, for her guide was German, and she could only guess at his meaning. From the same cause, as we suppose, she tells us 'that Luther's cell at Erfurt is preserved as when he lived in it,' the fact being that the walls have been since entirely covered with tapestry, and that the cell contains no memorials of him which are not of a date posterior to his occupation of the cells, as for instance, his own copy of his translation of the Bible, his pocket Testament, his table and writing apparatus, and fly leaves taken from his folio Bible, which, as containing some autograph inscriptions of Melancthon, Justus Jonas, and one or two other friends, with his own, have been, for security, framed and glazed, and are now hung in the recess of the window. In page 206, again, she speaks of her hopes of ascending the Elbe as far as Prague, being defeated by the dry season. As Prague is on the Mulda, not the Elbe, we must relieve the 'dry season' of the heavy charge of disappointing a lady. We are sorry to point out mere inaccuracies, but the earliest reformers did not spring up in Prague, as stated in Vol. ii. p. 2. (for Wickliffe, whose writings were spread in Bohemia very soon after his decease, through the intercourse of that country with England, in consequence of Richard the Second's marriage with Anne of Bohemia, preceded him by several years;) and Huss was not born at Prague, as she intimates, (page 8,) but at the village of Hussinetz. But one, (Königstein) not *some*, of the highest rocks in Saxon Switzerland, has been used as a fortress; the French, indeed, tried for a short time to assail it from Lilienstein with a few cannon, but without success. We must likewise object to Alstadt, for Altstadt, Drink-gelt, for Trinkgeld, Swansikers for Zwanzigers, Kirch-wasser for Kirsch-wasser, Kutcher for Kutscher, which we noticed among several other errors of the same kind; and we were surprised to find our old friend Albertus Magnus mystified as 'Albert the Great.'

We are also sorry to find such a piece of *cant* as the following: (vol. i. p. 12,) 'God has not reduced our dwelling place—as Puritans would his—to a bare meeting house.' The fact is, that the Puritans recognized God's presence everywhere, and were just as fond of natural scenery as other people: although it certainly never entered into their minds to account any temple made with hands, however beautified, a fit abode for Him who fills heaven and earth with his presence, or in the face of our Lord's explicit statement in John iv. 21, 23, 24, to maintain the special holiness of any edifice as his reputed dwelling-place. But perhaps Mrs. Shelley had no objection to a little

fling at the Puritans. High-churchmen and infidels have this appetite in common.

Yet notwithstanding these deductions, we can speak of the work, but principally the second volume, as containing many interesting details. The contents are varied, the descriptions often picturesque, and the observations upon manners, art, and literature in many instances instructive.

Art. VII. *The History of Christianity from its Promulgation to its Legal Establishment in the Roman Empire.* By W. Cooke Taylor, LLD London: Parker.

THE period to which this volume relates, forms the most important era in the history of the world, and the subject of which it treats is perhaps the most solemn and deeply-interesting which could secure the attention of the writer. If, instead of living above eighteen hundred years after the coming of Jesus of Nazareth, we could suppose ourselves anticipating his approach and could put back the dial of the world's history all the space that has intervened since his advent, how complete and extensive would be the change in ourselves, our country, and the nations of the earth around us. And, if alive at the hour of his coming, we had been permitted to live on to the present age and as silent, impartial, and constant spectators to mark the progress of that 'kingdom which cometh not with observation' and by something higher than human intelligence to perceive all the influence which has been exerted by the religion of Jesus, how much reason must we have seen for gratitude that the Messiah ever came. As our knowledge of the nature of the christian religion increases, and we study its benign results, we shall be glad that our lot has been fixed so many years after the advent of its author, and that we are permitted to enjoy the blessings which every day, in increasing number, is pouring into the lap of man.

The history of christianity during the period even of its childhood, is a theme of no common dimensions, which enlarges on our view as the mind contemplates it, and as the period of its existence advances. It is distinct from the history of christians whether those who have worthily or unworthily borne so illustrious a name. That might be called with propriety the history of the christian church, employing the word church according to the acceptation which it has received through so many ages. The history of christianity presents a more extensive subject. It is the narrative of the publication, the developme

the continued and progressive effect of truths, peculiar to this one system, which, ever since the moment of their promulgation, have been accomplishing the mightiest results; changing, in not a few instances, the very natures of men, and in others, more numerous than the former, partially regulating their thoughts, controlling their actions, and determining the forms of their social order and condition. To trace completely the effect of christianity, it would be necessary minutely to understand the spiritual history of every man born since its publication; to analyse the complex motives which have formed his character, and determine how many of them, whether consciously or unconsciously to the spirit itself, are to be attributed to the presence of the Messiah on the earth; to enumerate all the outward conditions of being,—the circumstances of human life—and ascertain how far in every individual case these have been influenced immediately or remotely by the occurrence of the same great event. The beginnings of such a process can only be discerned by an infinite mind, but even now in our world it has been so far accomplished as in many places to be perceptible by human observers, and reason is capable of informing us that although christianity is not yet universally promulgated, it may exert some power in determining the character and condition of every inhabitant of the earth.

Of this extensive and noble theme, Dr. Cooke Taylor has selected a part. He has confined himself to the History of Christianity during the earlier stages of its existence, until the fatal period of its legal establishment in the Roman empire. We would not wish to make any formal objection to the expression which our author has seen fit here to employ, but deem it proper to observe that it was christianity only as associated with human imperfection and sin which was taken under the patronage of the Roman Power. It is a subject of grateful reflection, that whilst christianity in its own most solemn laws repudiates any alliance between itself and the meagre forms of earthly greatness, it is likewise as a system of divine truth of so subtle, ethereal, and pure a nature, as to be incapable of a complete amalgamation with meaner elements. It is free and incorruptible as the light of heaven, and eludes the grasp of those who would arrest and confine it for their own selfish purposes. It is thus defended alike from the malice of its enemies and the false kindness of its friends. Herein christianity is distinct from a church. A church, which is an assembly of sinful, though professedly renewed men, may become corrupt, and yield itself, perhaps even with unanimity on the part of its members, to the degradation of becoming the slave of the civil power. An union of churches, no longer retaining their inde-

pendence of each other, but subject to one ecclesiastical government, having over them a peculiar body of men as clergy, and forming themselves into one corporation, may call itself, thus extended, a church, and may be equally liable to the same general corruption. Suppose that a church, so numerous and extensive as to be without a rival, should yield itself to a covenant with the state; in that case christianity,—the ever living truth of God,—would pass beyond its boundaries, and within individual minds, scattered at intervals nearer or more remote, would maintain the purity and freedom of the sons of God. And, moreover, throughout that heterogeneous mass formed by the union of a church with a state, there would remain the authority of spiritual truth quite distinct from that of its spurious representative. Now this was exactly realized in the union of the church with the Roman power. Happily it has never yet been within the reach of man's ingenuity so to confine the influence of religious truth within any one body, however numerous, as to render it subservient to his own purposes. However man may have partially succeeded in his efforts, the Almighty, by laws of being which can never be broken, has taken care that all his spiritual children shall not together toil in ignominious thraldom, but that some shall ever be free to assert the supremacy of heaven, and to vindicate the rights, and attempt the rescue of their enslaved brethren. The invisibility of that catholic church, which is spiritually and indestructibly one, and which is the only proper embodiment of christianity, is a secure defence against the aggressions of foes or the injuries of friends. A church or churches may betray the purity and freedom of truth—but these will be cherished and preserved in the minds and hearts of individuals, who, as recognised by an omniscient eye, together constitute the one spiritual and invisible church, the members of which may be found both within and beyond the limits of the most unworthy or the holiest communities. The alliance effected by the civil power of Rome was truly between it and a degenerate church, which, although retaining formal unity, was by no means a complete or sincere representative of the genuine christianity even of its own age, and between whom and 'pure and undefiled religion,' the distinction became continually more palpable and clear.'

Dr. Taylor has displayed great skill and care in the treatment of so extensive a subject, within so small a space. His work consists only of 350 pages foolscap octavo, and forms a valuable volume, of a very convenient size. We have often observed in less skillful writers, that, if their matter is ample, and the topics of which they treat numerous, a small volume from them is

likely to resemble a copious table of contents, the various subjects being with equal abruptness, introduced and abandoned. This evil Dr. Taylor has most successfully avoided. His work, though various in its subjects, and small in its size, has the merit of a continued narrative. It consists of seventeen chapters, terminating with the destruction of the Western empire. It is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Dickenson, late bishop of Meath. Three chapters may be considered as introductory, presenting the reader with sketches of the condition of the pagan world; the Jewish religion; and the preparation for christianity in the mission of John the Baptist. The first chapter is highly valuable and instructive, presenting, in a plain and popular style, the substance of many learned treatises respecting the origin and progress of idolatry. Dr. Taylor appears to assign a very early date to the rise of idolatrous worship after the flood, and gives his sanction to the opinion that 'the tower of Babel was designed to be the centre and citadel of one great idolatrous church and empire, and the means employed by Providence for the frustration of such a project was a disturbance of the uniformity of religious worship.' He adduces a note from Hinds's Christianity, a book from which he has several quotations, asserting that 'a miraculous confusion of tongues is certainly not, we should suppose, likely, from the strong marks which the several languages retain of a common original, and of their difference being the gradual results of the dispersion.' From the opinion thus expressed in the note, we entirely dissent, and even doubt the probability of the city and tower of Babel in the first instance having had anything to do with idolatrous worship, though subsequently, perhaps, appropriated to such a purpose. At the same time, the former opinion seems to us of the more importance, as requiring an interpretation of the words of scripture, which they do not legitimately admit. There is nothing in the expression *confusion of lip*, to signify religious worship, and so far from the study of languages justifying the idea of a gradual difference having arisen amongst them, it bears testimony to the probability of an abrupt and sudden change in corroboration of the plain meaning of the scriptural narrative. This agreement between fact, as ascertained by the researches of science, and divine revelation is too valuable to be lost sight of; and we look with some degree of jealousy on a surmise which is both in opposition to the natural meaning of the divine work, and contrary to the indications of the phenomena of language. In the admirable lectures of Dr. Wiseman on the Connection of Science with Revealed Religion, this subject is discussed with great learning and ability, and the testimonies of philologists, who in their enquiries were without prepossession in favour of

the narrative of Moses, are adduced to prove the agreement between the facts of science and the record of revelation. With regard to the object of the city and tower of Babel, we think it to have been that of forming the centre of an universal monarchy rather than of idolatrous worship. The testimony of the Jewish rabbis, indeed, favours the latter opinion; but it is supplementary, if not contradictory, to the statement in Genesis, in which the design is declared to have been the aggrandisement and fame of the projectors.

Dr. Taylor proceeds, after these introductory chapters, to carry on the history during the life of Christ and his apostles. The subjects of the following chapters are—Christ the subject of christianity; the history of christianity during the lifetime of its founder; the descent of the Holy Ghost, and the preaching exclusively to the Jews; the first preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles, and distinctions between Jewish and Gentile converts; notices of the lives and labours of the apostles, and the destruction of Jerusalem. The second of these chapters we consider the feeblest which the book contains. It is not what it professes to be; the facts in our Lord's life being either entirely omitted, or passed by with very brief comments, whilst the space is occupied with very long quotations from Archbishop Whateley's 'Sermons,' and Hinds's 'Christianity.' One extract alone from the archbishop's sermon on the marriage at Cana in Galilee occupies not less than twelve pages, a space which, although employed in the explanation of the first miracle performed by Christ, is very disproportionate to the remainder of Dr. Taylor's work. The extract also contains, as it seems to us, an exposition of that miracle, which is, indeed, deeply interesting, but in some parts dubious and fanciful; the archbishop discovering in the water and wine a reference to the two symbolical rites of christianity. The opinion of such a writer, our readers may be assured, is not presented without some evidence in its favour; we must leave them to decide whether it is sufficiently strong to establish the truth of his conclusion.

The chapter which follows, on the condition of the christian churches at the close of the apostolic age, is an exceedingly valuable one. From it we select a passage, which may enable the reader to form his own estimate of the author's merits. It gives us an outline of the rise of the spirit of martyrdom in the early church, and the abuses which arose out of it:—

'The pure lives of the christians did not save them from persecution; the very letter that bears such honourable testimony to their character, points them out as fit objects of punishment on account of their 'contumacious and inflexible obstinacy.' The great success of christianity,

which is also noticed in this document, appears to be the reason why the heathen raged so furiously. 'This contagious superstition,' says Pliny, 'is not confined to the cities only, but has spread its infection among the country villages.' He goes on to lament that the temples had been almost deserted in Asia, that the sacred solemnities had been intermitted, and that there was no demand for victims to offer in sacrifice. This change must have greatly diminished the gains of those who, like Demetrius of Ephesus, derived employment from the gorgeous pageantry of idolatry; and it must also have excited the rage of the rabble, when they ceased to be gratified with pompous shows and splendid processions. Hence the persecutions to which the christians were exposed from the Gentiles were not always authorized by the magistrates and emperors; they were frequently outbreaks of popular prejudice and fury, excited by interested calumny, and continued by sheer ignorance. 'Hence it happened that the sacrifice of one or two conspicuous objects, which would have been insufficient and weak as a political measure for suppressing the sects, was often enough to stay persecution.'

'Martyrdom, under such circumstances, was like the fabled self-devotion of Curtius; the martyr died a witness for the truth, but he also died to protect the church by giving its enemies an object on which to exhaust their rage. The bishop died to save his flock, the presbyter's life was sacrificed for his congregation.

'At such a time the feelings of a martyr must have been somewhat similar to those of a soldier volunteering on a forlorn hope; he was almost sure to fall, but his death was the only means of ensuring victory. These circumstances filled the early martyrs with a zeal and enthusiasm almost amounting to a thirst for death, which can scarcely be comprehended without a diligent attention to the peculiarities of the age, and the circumstances by which they were surrounded. Ignatius may be said to have courted martyrdom when he presented himself to the emperor Trajan, but ambition of fame or a desire of being reverenced after death had no share in his motives. Trajan had from the commencement of his reign permitted, if not encouraged, some of those bursts of popular violence ever ready to break out against the christians. His arrival at Antioch was therefore regarded by the bishop, Ignatius, as a warning of imminent peril to the church. He boldly met the danger by presenting himself to the emperor, and asserting the divinity of Christ before his tribunal. Sentence of condemnation was pronounced against him in the following terms: 'Forasmuch as Ignatius has confessed that he carries about within himself Him that was crucified, we command that he be carried, bound by soldiers, to the great Rome, there to be thrown to the beasts for the entertainment of the people.'

'As the christian communities felt that the martyrs were not only sacrificed for the truth, but for the preservation of the churches, they naturally held their memory in the highest honor. They assembled round their graves at the anniversary of their martyrdom, and there celebrated divine worship with the Lord's Supper, as on the Lord's day; they read also some account of the life and death of the saint whom they commemorated, usually called 'the Acts of the Martyr,' and made

collections for the poor. From this innocent and laudable custom several evils arose, which greatly injured the purity of christianity; it sometimes produced an eagerness for martyrdom not quite consistent with the mildness and gentleness of the christian character; there were those who 'gave their bodies to be burned, but had not charity;' at the commemoration of a martyr, it was scarcely possible to prevent some feelings of indignation arising against the authors of his death, and some anticipations of divine vengeance overtaking his persecutors. An earthquake, a pestilence, or a famine following any outbreak of popular hatred, or any persecution countenanced by authority, would be represented by heated imaginations as a display of God's righteous anger for the slaughter of his saints. The punishments inflicted on the Jews for their lapses into idolatry, would be represented as types of the vengeance which was about to overtake the entire heathen world, and these gloomy presages not being kept secret, necessarily increased the alarm with which the masses of the populace viewed the progress of a new religion.

'Other corruptions followed; the 'acts of the martyr' were interpolated with the vague legends of tradition, and with the inventions of perverted fancy; the commemoration gradually lost the simple character of grateful remembrance, and assumed that of homage or worship, until the saints and martyrs were invested with something of a mediatorial character, and invoked as intercessors.'—pp. 190—194.

The subjects of the remaining chapters are the contest between christianity and paganism; an examination of the causes that led to the great extension of christianity, in which the fallacies and covert infidelity of Gibbon are successfully exposed; the final contest between christianity and paganism; the early divisions in the christian church; the legal establishment of christianity by Constantine; its progress under his successors; and its final triumph and establishment in the Roman empire.

Our author, with a mind certainly not prejudiced against the clergy, but with impartiality and historical truth, traces the gradual usurpation of the ecclesiastical power after the days of Constantine over the helpless and divided state, showing how, by the destruction of civil liberty, opportunity and strength were afforded to an arrogant priesthood in succeeding ages to prepare and fasten on those whose fathers had parted with their outward freedom the fetters of a stern religious despotism. In illustration of the important alliance which subsists between civil and religious freedom, and which renders any subversion of the one the first step towards a successful inroad on the other, we had intended to have given another extract. Our limits, however, are exceeded, and we take our leave of Dr. Taylor with many thanks for his excellent volume, in the hope that the public will appreciate and reward this addition to his many worthy labours.

.rt. VIII. 1. *Fisher's Drawing-Room Scrap Book*, 1845. By the author of 'The Women of England.'

. *Fisher's Juvenile Scrap Book*, 1845. By the author of 'The Women of England.'

. *China, in a Series of Views, displaying the Scenery, Architecture, and Social Habits of that Ancient Empire.* Drawn from original and authentic sketches by Thomas Allom, Esq. With Historical and Descriptive Notices by the Rev. G. N. Wright, M.A. Vol. III. London: Fisher & Co., Newgate-street.

'HE presence of an old friend is always welcome. His appearnce calls up the memory of former days, and gives promise of he renewal of joys which have long since faded: the familiar spect of his countenance sheds light upon our spirits, and nables us to look into the future without those forebodings of vil which the trials of life are adapted to awaken. Hence nuch of the pleasure with which we anticipate the seasons of ocial enjoyment that occasionally occur, when friends are rought together, and the scattered members of a family are emporarily reunited. The tendencies of this age are somewhat nfriendly to the maintenance of these good old habits. The buses to which, in some cases, they gave rise, brought them nto disfavour with a portion of the community, whilst the ecessities of the present day, and the hard struggle for subistence to which many are doomed, are obviously unfriendly to heir maintenance. Family ties are thus weakened, full play is fforded to the selfishness of human nature, the feeling of elationship is lost, and with it the sense of obligation, and much f the happiness of life. Such are the reflections awakened by he return of Christmas, some of the harbingers of which are ow before us. These elegant publications, which herald in the merry season,' are indicative of a revolution having passed over he tastes and habits of our countrymen. The noisy merriment and ensual indulgence which formerly characterized the English Christmas, have given place in no inconsiderable degree to more asteful and purer enjoyments, in which the higher features of nan's nature have found their appropriate aliment. In this point f view the class of *Annuals* is more important, and better worthy f study than might at first sight appear. They mark a transiion, and while they leave the dark region of sensuality behind, will themselves terminate in something better and more hopeful. Light and ephemeral, addressing primarily the imaginaion, more adapted to please than to instruct, to wile away a winter's hour, than to store the mind with knowledge, or to

brace its faculties for action, they are yet graceful companions, whose mirth is innocent, and on whose beautiful page the cultivated eye loves to rest.

Fisher's Drawing-Room Scrap Book, is one of the best of its class, and has outlived most of its compeers. Its appearance this year is more than usually tasteful, and the whole getting up is highly creditable to the publishers. As on former occasions, the engravings are selected from several illustrated works issued by the Messrs. Fisher, and are therefore distinguished by greater variety than those of any other volume. There are in all thirty-six plates, many of which are distinguished by great beauty and are executed in the first style. The frontispiece is a beautiful engraving of the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal, from a painting executed by command of the Queen.

Mrs. Ellis has executed her part with skill. Her poetry is easy and graceful, aptly illustrative, and full of pure English feeling. The following stanzas attached to a splendid engraving of Rheinfels, one of the finest points of scenery on the Rhine, is but a fair specimen.

RHEINFELS.

'Say not that human life is sad,
When sunny spots like these appear;
And o'er the wave, so bright and glad,
Reflected in its bosom clear,
Glides many a bark, from morn till night
Their silvery pathway lost in light.

'What though beneath those hoary towers
Oppression reigned of yore,
The blood-red flag no longer lowers,
Nor murmurs count the lingering hours;
The tyrant's rule is o'er;
And glittering ivy, green and young,
Hangs where the warrior's shield has hung.

'What though within yon dungeon deep,
Once beauty wept in vain;
Let old St. Goar the secret keep,
Nor Rheinfels, from his hoary steep,
Repeat the tale again.
Enough, that now through arch and wall
Ten thousand rills of sunshine fall.

'Enough, that peasant girls should weave
Rich vintage wreaths, and sing

With rosy lips, the songs that leave
A melody like spring;
When forest birds, in music clear,
Sing to the flowers they warble near.

'What though the rocks are wild and high,
The hollow caves are still;
There sits a glorious majesty
Enthroned on every hill;
And spirit voices seem to say,
While pointing to those ruins grey,
'Behold the work of yesterday!'

'Yes, beautiful are mountains bold,
And valleys deep and green,
And waves, their crystal course that hold,
Those shadowy banks between;
And but to picture such a scene,
And think it never can grow old,
Is almost bliss enough, I ween.

'But, oh! to stand upon that shore,
To watch those very sails pass by,
To trace the sunshine lingering o'er
Some spot 'twere rapture to explore,
And gaze upon that summer sky—
It must not, and it cannot be
That chariot-wheels drag heavily
Through such a scene, so soft, so fair,
With happiness so mirrored there.'

Mrs. Ellis, though far from deficient in descriptive power, excels most in those passages where the moral sentiments come into play. There is, therefore, discernible throughout her writings a perpetual tendency to these. She recurs to them as by instinct, finds them in every scene, and evolves from the beauties and wonders of creation that aliment of love and devotion which is specially appropriate to her woman's heart. The following is full of just sentiment, and reads a lesson which many seniors would do well to heed.

ST. PETER'S, ROME.——*The Holy Fane.*

'Nina, thine eyes are drooping. Look not so;
Straight to the gilded altar let us go;
And where undying lamps their splendour cast,
There let us kneel beneath those pillars vast;
While deeper anthems swell upon the ear,
And incense pours its perfume far and near.

Nina, thy step falls weary on the ground :
Cheer thee, my child—look up, and gaze around.
Have I not brought thee from our distant plain,
To worship here in this most holy fane ;
And feels thy heart no rapture in the sight,
Where all is great and glorious, rich and bright ?'

' Mother, my step is weary. I would kneel
Before some lowlier shrine. I cannot feel
That God would hear beneath this mighty dome,
Such trembling words as from my lips would come.
It seems to me that kings should worship here ;
And—dare I speak it—heathen gods should hear.'

' Nay, heaven forgive thee, Nina ! Say not so ;
But o'er the whole one glance observing throw.
Behold what sacred forms on every hand,
Angels and saints, popes, priests, and martyrs stand :
Behold what faith has laboured, patience won,
What wealth has purchased, and what art has done.
But hark ! they come—see how the banners wave.
Kneel, kneel, and call on all the saints to save.
Now rise, and come within this gilded grate,
Another moment, thou may'st be too late.'

' Too late, my mother ! 'Tis a fearful word.
Is heaven, then, guarded by a flaming sword ?
And must we enter with this pomp and show,
Or turn unpardoned, weeping as we go ?
Mother, I know not why, but bliss to me
Has never seemed a scene of pageantry ;
And I have often, as thou knowest well,
Held humble worship in our mountain dell.
Yes, I have wandered forth at eventide,
With none but thee, sweet mother, by my side ;
I've heard the wind blow through the forest trees,
I've seen the swell of ocean in the breeze,
I've watched the opening flowers in early spring,
And listened where the wild bird loves to sing,
I've seen the shadows of the cypress wave
Beneath the moonlight o'er my father's grave ;
And felt more sense of God's own presence there
Than 'mid these sculptured forms of holy men,
These walls of marble, and these pictured saints.
'Tis man who builds them, and his hand that paints.'

The Juvenile Scrap Book, edited by the same lady, is w adapted to the class for which it is designed. 'There was, h year,' remarks Mrs. Ellis, 'some complaint of the volume bei

rave. It was then prepared in illness—this year in health. pology is therefore left for her if there does not breathe igh these pages a thankful, healthy, and contented spirit!' contents of the volume will not disappoint the expectations excited. The embellishments are more than usually varied, he poetry and the tales will both interest and benefit the ile reader. Who does not sympathize with the strain of ollowing, entitled—

THE OLD FASHIONED HALL.

'I remember the sweetest of evening hours
Were spent in an old-fashioned hall;
A garden grew round it, all spangled with flowers,
And ivy crept over the wall.

'People said it was haunted—that old-fashioned place,
By things that were frightful to see;
But I saw nothing worse than my grandmother's face
Peeping out when we climbed the oak tree.

'People said it was gloomy; but never did fire
Burn brighter than ours on the hearth,
When we piled up the faggots still higher and higher,
And the hall echoed loud with our mirth.

'Ah! welcome was spring-time and summer to those
Who dwelt in that old-fashioned home;
When gaily we wandered to pluck the wild rose,
And gather the hawthorn in gloom.

'But lovelier still was the moonlight that fell
So soft on that grey mossy wall;
When we tried not to hear the loud nursery bell,
Nor answered my grandmother's call.

'For, oh! it was pleasant to wander along
That terrace all shaded by yew,
To listen the nightingale's happiest song,
And see the bright moonbeams shine through.

'A splash in the water, a rush of the wind
As it swept through the high sycamore;
How it startled the one that was loitering behind,
Though laughing the moment before.

'Then half, in our terror, and half in our fun,
We ran to the window, and tried
To see if the servants their supper had done,
By the light of the kitchen fireside.

And pleasant it was at the close of the day,
When the moon shone alone in the heaven,
To lie down to slumber, and think as we lay
That our mischievous pranks were forgiven.

Yes, those were the days when we dreamed not of care,
When pleasure still came at our call;
For warm was the greeting that welcomed us there,
In my grandmother's old-fashioned hall.'

We are sorry to see in such a volume an engraving so false to history as is the frontispiece, entitled 'Oliver Cromwell.' It was not in the character of the Protector to be scared by a likeness of the king, nor do we believe he ever doubted the justice of his doom. To the wisdom of his execution he may probably have seen reason to demur, but the whole course of Cromwell belies the sentiment of the painter.

China, its scenery, architecture, social habits, &c., is just such a volume as we like. Rich and beautiful, full of novelty and interest, combining the attraction of the *Annual* with the story of the traveller, it answers the double purpose of enlarging our knowledge, and gratifying our taste. The present constitutes the third volume of the work, and together with its predecessors, is worthy of a place on every drawing-room table.

Art. IX. *The Public and Private Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon; with selections from his correspondence.* By Horace Twiss, Esq., one of her Majesty's Counsel. In three volumes, 8vo. London: Murray, Albemarle street. 1844.

BIOGRAPHY is certainly amongst the most attractive departments of literature: and this is more especially the case when there is a subject before us connected with a system in either politics or religion. Now Lord Eldon was the very personification of Torvism. He and his colleagues in office, not merely seemed to be pillars of a particular social fabric, but they were the edifice itself—an edifice towards which the clergy and aristocracy of these realms evermore turned their eyes, until new times, new men, and new principles effected its utter ruin. Upon those walls, so long venerated as a sort of sanctuary within which the genius of the constitution resided, but where in fact only its counterfeit was installed, we may now write *Fuit Ilium*! Their worshippers indeed admit the truth of this statement in

having adopted another name; which, whether it be a fair one or not, the lapse of years will presently show. However this may be, all will allow that the volumes before us are replete with interest: and whilst we intend, as usual, to deal candidly and freely with them, we are happy in offering our best thanks to the eminent barrister, who is their author, and to the no less eminent publisher, who has ushered them, with his accustomed taste and liberality, into the world. The entire work is beautifully got up; and will of course take a high place as one of the standard publications of the age. Nothing like it, in our humble opinion, has illustrated the current season.

In an obscure street of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on the 4th of June, 1751, was born John Scott, the eighth of thirteen children, whom his father had by Jane Atkinson, his second wife. We may pass over the heraldic nonsense as to his armorial bearings and ambiguous descent. The worthy tradesman, William Scott, was a coal-fitter, a person who conducts sales between the owner and shipper of that most useful commodity. He appears to have been in every respect an estimable man, comfortably situated at the lower extremity of Love Lane, where, by industry and unsullied good conduct, he raised a considerable fortune. Five pounds had been paid with him, as an apprentice-fee when he began life; and at the close of it, he was enabled to leave his eldest son, afterwards Lord Stowell, £24,000, besides above £4,000 or £5,000 to each of his other children. His habits were plain and sound, somewhat stern and strict, but never degenerating into any thing like ill-nature. Jacky, as he was called, had the nearest escape possible, when very young. His mother, being in one of her confinements, had put him into a go-cart for the sake of safety; but the nurse left the room for something, and away went the future chancellor after her, tumbling down a whole flight of stairs, with his noisy apparatus around him. Happily no harm ensued beyond fright and bruises. His first schoolmaster was one Dominie Warden, whose peculiar manner of teaching to read lay in muffling the consonants. Our author intimates that it was said to have been very successful with the learners. It never struck the public, we believe, that Lord Eldon could be described as a good reader. In the house of lords he was always thought to mumble his words, on ordinary occasions; and when he grew excited, he rather mouthed them. His manner in delivering the royal speeches never appeared remarkable either way. It was indeed, in one sense, strictly conservative; inasmuch as it abjured improvement, and clung to ancient precedent. With his two brothers, William and Henry, he was sent at a suitable age to the royal grammar-school, then under the auspices of the Rev.

Hugh Moises, formerly fellow of Peterhouse. This excellent pedagogue enjoyed the assistance of the celebrated Professor Hutton, in the mathematical department of his seminary; nor were the classics neglected, over which he himself more particularly presided. He loved Greek and Latin, and possessed the rare faculty of inducing his scholars to love them too. His mind and manners materially contributed to mould those of the three young Scotts. John was often flogged, and apparently not altogether in vain. His most frequent delinquencies were apple-stealing and lying; nor could he ever be brought to see the genuine height and depth of criminality involved in robbing orchards. Here we may observe the latent seeds germinating, which subsequently developed an infinity of mischief. The notion of venial sins remained, so as in a greater or less degree to lower his standard of perfect uprightness; on which, nevertheless, in all the mistaken pride of human nature, he was accustomed, in after life, exceedingly to plume himself. On one occasion, with sixteen others, he annoyed an old lady in the streets, who reported them all at head quarters. They were every one destined to receive handsome flagellation: but John, already a cunning rogue, contrived to come up last; and as he was seventeenth, the arm of master Moises had by that time got rather tired. A severe fall from a window-seat, backward against a desk or bench, laid his head open; and as he was taken up insensible, we leave it to craniologists to decide how far his future judgments might have been affected by a deep indentation on his skull, near the crown, which continued to the end of his days. He and his brothers were every now and then disposed to overreach their worthy parents at home; not in serious matters, it is true; but just in those minor ways which lead to a substitution of external decency for internal principle. Hence the religion of the Scott family could be no other than formalism in connexion with worldliness. Take a specimen of it by way of illustration:

'I believe,' said Lord Eldon to his niece, 'I have preached more sermons than any one who is not a clergyman. My father always had the church service read on the Sunday evenings, and a sermon afterwards. Harry and I used to take it in turns to read the prayers, or to preach: *we always had a shirt put on, over our clothes, to answer for a surplice.*'—Vol. i. p. 42.

The italics are ours, that so trifling, yet curious, an incident may not escape notice. As the twig is bent so is the tree inclined! His father seems to have been particularly anxious that he should succeed in caligraphy and dancing. Skill in the former was attained: and for the latter, he had eight teachers. His left arm, however, never would move gracefully; but his

Christmas hornpipes were long remembered. 'At our dancing schools,' he subsequently tells us, 'the young ladies always brought their shoes with them, and we deemed it a proper piece of etiquette to assist the pretty girls in putting them on. In those days lasses of the best families wore white stockings only on the Sundays, and one week-day, which was a sort of public day: at other times, they wore blue Doncaster woollen hose, with white tags. We used, when we were at the head school, *early on the Sunday mornings, to steal flowers from the gardens in the neighbourhood of the Forth,* and then we presented them to our sweethearts. Oh! those were happy days—we were always in love then.' Here again we have a picture of orthodox manners and morals according to the good old times. In what exquisite keeping and consistency were the commencements and terminations of such Sabbaths. Yet these high tories and church people could turn up their noses at the truthfulness and integrity of George Washington in those well-known anecdotes of his youth; and afterwards revile him as a rebel in maturer years.

Surely, cause and effect must be considered as inseparable: nor will this be less apparent, as we proceed. At fifteen he set out for Oxford, where his elder brother, William, had already hewn out the first arduous footsteps for an ambitious ascent. The coach, which carried him up to London, was called, on account of its quick travelling, the Fly: since it was only three or four nights on the road! On its pannels were painted the words *sat cito si sat bene;* which, upon his own testimony, 'made a most lasting impression on his mind, and had an influence upon his conduct in all subsequent life.' How little could the builder of this unfortunate carriage have anticipated that it was to become a type of future proceedings in equity, and affect the court of chancery literally for a quarter of a century. Lord Eldon himself says,—'In all that I have had to do, professional and judicial, I have always felt the effect of this early admonition, on the doors of that vehicle, which conveyed me from school. It was the impression of this which made me that deliberative judge—as some have said too deliberative: and reflection upon all that has passed, will not authorize me to deny, that whilst I have been thinking *sat cito si sat bene*, I may not have sufficiently recollected, whether *sat bene si sat cito*, has had its due influence.' In fact, from this memorable journey, selfishness became lord of the ascendancy in him. In ninety-nine instances out of an hundred, it took the form of extreme caution; but now and then it put on that of extreme rashness. Having passed through the academical course of Oxford, a university notorious 'for at least as much hard drinking as hard

study,' he fell in love with a young lady named Elizabeth Surtees, whose father was a banker in his native town; and who, possessing uncommon personal charms, used to be occasionally introduced at Northumberland House, by the amiable duchess of that title, as her 'Newcastle Beauty!' The attachment would seem to have been mutual; for the young people had contrived to meet and understand one another; and since parental consent on either side could not but be out of the question, they eloped to Scotland, and were there married. Strange to say, the match, contrary to nearly all experience, turned out well. After much struggle, reconciliations were effected between the friends and connections, and with an income so narrow, that it could not exceed for years £150 per annum, Mr. and Mrs. John Scott embarked on the ocean of matrimonial trials. The gay Lothario was now upon the point of taking orders, simply that he 'might eat a piece of bread.' He had become a fellow of University College before his marriage, and was merely waiting through what is termed the year of grace, after his nuptials, to vacate his fellowship, or until a living should happen to fall in. In all his character, there was not a feature which could fit him for any sacred function; except that in an established church, his bitter hatred for nonconformity might perhaps go a good way with his superiors. What we mean may receive illustration from an anecdote, which he relates in reference to the author of Rasselas, then visiting Oxford:—

'I had a walk in New Inn Hall Garden, with Doctor Johnson, Sir Robert Chambers, and some other gentlemen. Sir Robert was gathering snails, and throwing them over the wall into the premises of his neighbour. The doctor reproached him very roughly, and stated to him, that this was unmannerly, and unneighbourly. 'Sir,' said Sir Robert, 'my neighbour is a dissenter!' 'Oh!' said the doctor, 'if so, Chambers, toss away—toss away—as hard as you can!'—vol. i. p. 88.

At length his wife decided him to abandon the church for the bar, since no ripe pear of preferment happened to drop within the time. He entered, therefore, as a student in the middle temple, on the 28th of January, 1773. His brother William made him some presents, and probably accomodated him with occasional loans. Yet he must have known much of necessity in what he styles 'his first perch,'—a very small, poor, house in Cursitor Street. Many a time had he to run in the dark to Fleet Market, 'to get sixpenny-worth of sprats for supper!' He worked inconceivably hard, quitting his bed at four in the morning; and at night, in order to prevent the invasion of drowsiness, studying with a wet towel round his head. When remonstrated with by those, who could see from his looks, that

he was labouring 'not wisely, but too well,' he replied,' 'It is no matter,—I must either do as I am now doing, or starve!' His spirits sometimes sank within him, as well they might—but he plodded on. All this portion of his history is full of instruction for young men. We will not say that he called to recollection that sacred proverb—'The hand of the diligent maketh rich,'—but he had read and remembered Livy—*Nullum emolumentum sine labore.* There was no difficulty too severe for him to grapple with. The materials of his mind were intellectual iron. He possessed no imagination; but his grasp of any subject was that of a vice. He courted trials, that he might conquer them. His manner of dealing with Coke upon Lyttleton was cyclopean. Strength, figure, proportion, variety, permanence, were the results. He had married a lovely woman, and he was resolved to work for her. A Roman Catholic conveyancer, named Duane, most kindly took him into his chambers without a fee—an instance of benevolence which ought to have mollified the acrimony of his opposition against catholic emancipation. With that gentleman, he copied every thing he could possibly lay his hands upon. There was often a dry humour about him, in the midst of all. He had transcribed two immense folios of precedents, which he afterwards lost by lending them to some person: and of such borrowers he would sometimes say, that 'though backward in accounting, they seemed to be practised in book-keeping.' He had now purchased a voluminous wig, which must have pinched him at dinner for several weeks: for it should be remembered, to his honour, that he kept himself out of debt almost entirely, retaining all along the proudest aspirations after independance. The worst of it was, that amidst these severe self-denials, what was prudence *then*, degenerated into parsimony afterwards.

> 'Ah! who can tell, how hard it is to climb
> The steep, where fame's proud temple shines afar?
> Ah! who can tell how many a soul sublime
> Hath felt the influence of malignant star?'

But to all this, the subject of our [illegible] brilliant exception. He never seems to [illegible] a enemy. Calumny never wounded him, [illegible] dia the blighting mildew of secret [illegible] him was indeed like clambering [illegible] y sides of a mountain; but it [illegible] at [illegible] to be daylight. Hilary Term, 1776, [illegible] nim [illegible] to [illegible] ; towards the close of that year, [illegible] his slender fortune to the extent of [illegible] he gave most careful attention to

done by the ablest and most experienced leaders. He was all eye,—all ears,—all observation: perhaps with a touch of the falcon, if not the vulture, about him. Thinking it right to alter his residence, he removed into Carey Street, that chambers for business might be combined with his domestic abode. Here his lady seems to have relieved and lightened his toils by her constant companionship. She accommodated herself to his hours, and would sit up with him far into the night, watching his silent progress. In the second season of his professional career, his prospects began to improve a little, and only a little. But who may despise the day of small things? The young Duke of Northumberland retained him in some proceedings before the House of Lords: his father-in-law procured his appointment as counsel to the corporation of Newcastle; and on the circuit he had a share in the defence of prisoners indicted for petty felonies. Lord Mansfield also at that time, used to hold Sunday evening levees, and these he attended; listening to that irreligious judge whilst demonstrating to his own satisfaction that methodistical and liberal principles were identical with Jacobinism. At length, between 1780 and 1782, his abilities broke forth. Sundry anecdotes of his earliest promise have gone the round of our daily journals, and therefore it is unnecessary to repeat them here. His purse not only began to fill,—but what was of still greater importance to him, he acquired the friendship of Lord Thurlow. This last was shewn indeed in a characteristic manner. He gave him plenty of sound advice, but never would make him even a commissioner of bankrupts, for fear he should rest satisfied with a settled income. Meanwhile, another scene was about to open before him. The administration of Lord Shelbourne yielded in the spring of 1783 to the coalition of Charles James Fox with Lord North. A nominal head to the cabinet was the Duke of Portland, who offered a silk gown to Mr. John Scott; so rapidly was he now rising in both fame and practice. Thurlow also induced Lord Weymouth to bring him into parliament for Weobly, in Herefordshire; and, upon the celebrated India bill, he and Erskine delivered their maiden speeches. His next address in the House of Commons was upon the third reading of that measure, in which he quoted history and scripture in the most preposterous fashion ever heard since the glorious age of Praise-God Barebones. He ran a parallel between the East India Company and the beast upon the sand of the sea, in the Apocalypse! Shakespeare was moreover lugged in to adorn the harangue; interlarded as that also was with quotations from Thucydides, and our own statutes at large. A full senate gaped in mute amazement, whilst the new member was evidently

risking the ridiculous for the chance of producing an impression. But he never attempted such sallies again. The coalition ministry fell, as is well known. At the subsequent dissolution, the borough of Weobly again obeyed its patron in re-seating its former representative; and, which was somewhat remarkable, Doctor Johnson, then upon his death-bed, seeming to entertain a presentiment that his career would prove a distinguished one, transmitted him an admonitory request, 'that he should make a point of attending public worship every Sunday, and that the place should be the church of England.'

Our hero now became Chancellor for the County Palatine of Durham. An influx of wealth added wings to his spirit. In June, 1788, he was nominated Solicitor General, and knighted. About this last honour he is said to have been rather coy,—mindful perhaps of the expensive fees at Herald's College; but the king would take no denial. Then ensued the royal illness, throughout which trying period, Sir John Scott so acted as to establish a permanent connexion with George the Third. That respectable, yet stolid monarch, had now found a man to his mind: an able, artful lawyer, who would contend to the last gasp for the maintenance of slavish principles, under the banners of external propriety and apparent mental independance. There was a chemical affinity between their opinions. The sovereign, from that day forward, seemed almost to lean upon the arm of his favourite advocate, whose homeliness of diction was not less agreeable to his ears, than the correctness of his argumentative style was to the courts at Westminster. The following sketch of the latter is taken, by his biographer, from an authentic work published in 1790:—

'His speaking is of that subtle and deliberate kind, that has more the appearance of written than of oral eloquence. He branches forth his arguments into different heads and divisions, and pursues the respective parts through all their various ramifications, with such methodical accuracy, that argument seems to rise out of argument, and conclusion from conclusion in the most regular and natural progression, so that those who are not acquainted with his practice, would suspect that he had studied and prepared his speeches, with the most diligent attention; whilst others, who are better acquainted with the business of the courts, feel their admiration and surprise increased, from a knowledge that a man of his extensive business, so far from studying what he shall say, can scarce find time to glance his eye over the numerous papers that come before him. He is also particularly distinguished for the ingenuity of his reply. His apt and systematic mind seems to methodise with inconceivable rapidity the arguments of his opponents. In the short space of time between the pleadings of his adversary and his answer, every thing seems digested and disposed; and his mode of replication appears planned in the nicest order. He will frequently take up the concluding

argument of his opponent, or at other times seize upon some observation, which has fallen in the middle of the adverse speech. Here he will begin his attack, and proceed by his usual clear and deliberate method, pursuing one regular chain of reasoning, until he has confuted, or at least replied to every proposition against him.'—vol. i. pp. 200, 201.

Sir John Scott, in July, 1792, purchased the manor and large estate of Eldon, in the county of Durham, whence he took his title afterwards both for his barony and earldom. He paid for it £22,000; and by expending for several years the whole rental in improvements, eventually augmented its value to an immense degree. The appointment of attorney-general occurred in 1793, through the promotion of Sir Archibald Macdonald to the rank of lord chief baron of the exchequer. The country was at that period rife with excitement. We need not say how widely we differ from a visionary view of it, painted by our worthy author, in the most scarlet colours of conservatism: but undoubtedly there had arrived a crisis, when firmness united with conciliation was demanded. Men were disgusted with their governors. Increased information had convinced the country that an oligarchy had been playing its own game at the expence of crown and people. The sovereign, indeed, failed to discern the true facts of the matter: and allowance should be made for the recent execution of Louis the Sixteenth. Our middle and lower classes, however, conceived that something should be done, in the way of ameliorating our institutions. Amidst immense political fermentation, a sort of popular lees, naturally enough, rose up to, and appeared above the surface. Political societies were assembling in formidable force and numbers, throughout England, summoned from the abysses of revolution, not by genuine patriotism, nor even by hairbrained and halfwitted republicans,—but to all intents and purposes, by those who stoutly resisted real reform of what kind or sort soever. To these last, including his majesty, the ministry, the established prelacy and clergy, the orangemen of Ireland, and the staunch bigotted tories of Great Britain, Sir John Scott seemed a 'heaven-born' attorney-general. His politics were never plagued with any bowels or mercies. His private character stood so enveloped in the cold dignity of decency, that many a drunken doctor of divinity, and many a lubricious spiritual dignitary, could conceal or disguise their loose living, under the ample folds of such orthodox propriety. This eminent lawyer had witnessed with his own eyes scenes which shall not sully our pages,* but which do far more than

* The following anecdote, however, may bear transcription, and give an accurate idea of Alma Mater, when young John Scott first went there to become a clergyman, as it was then thought: 'He saw a doctor of divinity trying, under the influence of some inspiration much stronger than that of the Pie-

merely vindicate these allusions. The Church behaved herself, as though determined to expatiate for ever in the impurities of her state harlotry: for whenever godliness ventured to remind her of her shame, she shrieked aloud like the mistress of Joseph, and called upon her secular household to eject or punish the reprover. Amidst such an aspect of affairs, who shall wonder that violent and foolish things were frequently said and done by the warmest friends to liberty. Errors in heated judgments waxed as plentiful as blackberries. To cool in some degree the national fever, the cabinet resorted to various prosecutions, which invested certain obscure incendiaries with notoriety and importance, such as they would never otherwise have obtained. It might have occurred to these sagacious officials, that even cold water will more easily allay irritation, than blisters and ardent spirits, where the skin has been excoriated into wounds. The public accuser entirely failed in all his efforts. The eloquence of an Erskine flashed successfully upon the hard granite of his opponent's legal lore. It illuminated the land with coruscations of intellect and genius: freedom, intelligence, and enthusiasm smiled upon each other, and the country around them; the Attorney-General meanwhile remaining as motionless as the statue of Memnon, a mass of learned hieroglyphics, emissive of not a single sound except towards the rising sun.

That luminary would, indeed, seem to have been his main object of attention and worship. Looking upon the sovereign as an Apollo to his politics, he acted and prospered accordingly. For the Rights of Man he possessed no sympathies. The claims of millions could extract no response from petrific selfishness. He suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, supported the most stringent measures against disaffection, punished bitterly for all offences against an oppressive government, resisted every conceivable amendment of the criminal law, opposed the abolition of slavery or the slave-trade, and evidently threw out his whole soul to the present Lord Devon, then a master in Chancery, and who had asked him on his appointment, whether he ought not under the circumstances to resign his retainer as the standing counsel for Queen Anne's bounty: 'Speaking as a friend,' said he, 'I should advise you to do no such thing; *the true rule, I fancy, is to get what you can, and keep what you have.*' Upon such a principle his own proceedings had been guided, with the

rian stream, to make his way to Brazennose College, through Radcliffe Square. He had reached the library, a rotunda then without railings; and unable to support himself, except by keeping one hand upon the building, he continued walking round and round, no doubt seeing everything double,—until a friend coming out of the college, espied the distress of the case, and rescued him from the orbit in which he had been so unsteadily revolving!'

slightest departure from it imaginable. His emoluments at the bar, for the year 1796, were upwards of twelve thousand pounds! Out of these he spent little, and hoarded much. Hardy, Horne Tooke, Thelwall, and Gilbert Wakefield, had not felt the gripe of power for nothing. The long addresses, even of a generally unsuccessful prosecutor, at least brought grist to his mill. He became the wonder and admiration of his age. Sages in ermine and scarlet predicted his speedy advancement; nor were their prophecies without an almost immediate fulfilment. The death of Sir James Eyre vacated the chief justiceship of the Common Pleas, to which Sir John Scott was forthwith elevated, with a peerage, in July, 1799. Though reduced in point of income, comparative rest refreshed his intellectual powers. He had now just enough to do and no more. It was to him in every respect an *otium cum dignitate;* whilst his administration of duty in a common law court materially enhanced his fame. 'No scope was allowed,' observes his biographer, 'to his only judicial imperfection, the tendency to hesitate.' He was in truth never happier, either before or afterwards: and his sovereign had exacted from him a promise, that he should take the Great Seal, whenever it might be offered him. The Addington ministry soon brought this to pass, on the 14th of April, 1801; nor did he withdraw from the woolsack, until the decease of William Pitt admitted the cabinet of the Talents. His purchase of Encombe in Dorsetshire, with the mansion, manor, and about 2000 acres of land, for fifty thousand guineas, occurred just as he returned to office, in April, 1807. The king loved him, as well as trusted him, as did all the royal family in succession; and more especially the Duke of Cumberland. Our horrible seizure of the Danish fleet, together with the bombardment of Copenhagen, then filled Europe with astonishment. The doctrine of doing evil that good might come, met with no obstacle in the conscience of the Lord Chancellor. He strenuously advised and defended every measure connected with it, although he could not fail, through his natural acuteness, to see the true nature of the transaction. Neither did his royal master the less violate certain honest convictions.

'Do you recollect, said Lord Eldon, many years afterwards, to his niece, When we took the Danish fleet during the war, *we had no right whatever to do so;* but we were obliged, or it would have fallen into the hands of Bonaparte. *We deemed it a matter of necessity!* Well, we sent an ambassador to demand the ships from the Prince Royal of Denmark; and when this envoy waited on George the Third, after his return, the king abruptly asked him, 'Was the Prince Royal up stairs or down, when he received you?' 'He was on the ground-floor, please your majesty.' 'I am glad of it,—I am glad of it for your sake,' re-

joined the king, 'for if he had half my spirit, he would infallibly ha kicked you down stairs.' This story was related by the king to Lo Eldon himself.'—vol. ii. pp. 60, 61.

Such are the honour and virtue of grand personages in hi places. What more was all this but robbing orchards, a stealing flowers, on an enormous scale? Our Lord Chancell about the same period, fancied himself an exceedingly religio man: and so he was, upon the principles of his darling est blished church. He was writing confidentially to a friend, abo a tract on the Trinity, which had been sent him; and he th expresses himself:—

'Sunday, 7th August, 1808.—I have not ceased to delight in t studies to which my life was originally intended to be dedicated. I cc fess I am not quite so anxious as others, better informed, perhaps m be, to find the doctrines of natural and revealed religion altogether int ligible. In the former, there are many which are above my reason, a yet they must be true. That a divine Being does exist, the Author a Preserver of all created beings, himself uncreated and existing from eternity, is a truth of which I have no doubt, and I never could bri myself to think that any reasonable being had a doubt of it; and how much of *how this should be* (undoubted as it is, that it *must* be s is above the comprehension of him who can only see as through a gl darkly—so, as to this doctrine of the Trinity; I do not object to it, i be represented as a perfect mystery. Compelled to believe in the d trines of natural religion, though many of them are above my reason, why I should withhold my assent to such of the doctrines of revea religion as are so, I know not. Upon this I say, 'If ye believe in G believe in me also.' I go a short way to work in this great matter. the matters communicated in the sacred books, are communicated by God of Truth, they must be true. I have not been so far led astray fr the grand purpose of human life, of this state of trial and probation, to have often and often *endeavoured to enable myself* to give a reason him that asketh of the hope that is in me. I have looked therefore i the evidence of these things, and I have no doubt of the divine origin the sacred volumes. If so,—what is therein contained? If the doctr of the Trinity in Unity is not there, I can only ask him who can p vail upon himself so to say, 'How readest thou?' If this doctrin *not* there revealed, I know none respecting the being of a God, tha there revealed. Indeed, the whole scriptural scheme of redemp appears to me very mainly to turn upon it. When the questio asked, 'Can three be one?' my answer is, 'The Lord God knowe He has said it, if there be truth in scripture. But though I writ this style, and have been very unwell, and still am not as I should and however grave you may think me, *don't think me a saint*—I mea modern saint. The more I see of that character the less I like it. I am very serious upon these points.'—vol. ii. pp. 63, 64.

We have transcribed this singular medley as throwing a li

upon the inner man of the subject before us; as also on the conservative system of which Lord Eldon was a personification. Speculative orthodoxy may be the order of the day, so long as religion will consent to remain a sleeping beauty. But if truth, although admitted to be of divine origin, is to awaken the conscience, descend from the head into the heart, influence the conduct, or elevate it to a scriptural standard, shiver into fragments the satisfaction which an unconverted man feels with himself, kindle the affections on behalf of God's glory, and draw the soul to the Redeemer's feet,—then it is an enthusiasm to be denounced and shunned,—it is saintship, methodism, madness, and we know not what beside. In the October following the composition just quoted, pregnant as it is with sound sense and argument, *as far as it goes*, his lordship received at Encombe the present king of Hanover, where the Sunday being wet, they were prevented from going to church, but not from plodding 'through the wet grass to Chapman's Pool!' The sacred and other evenings 'were of course spent in such conversation as becomes princes and statesmen!' In 1809, Lord Eldon, who was already High Steward of Oxford, attempted to obtain the Chancellorship, but was successfully opposed by Lord Grenville, simply through the Duke of Beaufort, who had no chance whatever, occasioning a division of the tory forces. Although defeated but by a small majority, he was terribly annoyed and mortified. For a moment he seems even to have thought that the sovereign had betrayed him, which was far from being the case. He constituted the main prop of the Percival ministry, as he had also been to that of its predecessors under the Duke of Portland. There was no getting forward the unwieldly chariot of government without his talents and energies. These moved slowly, yet surely, upon the principles, which had in former generations actuated Laud and Strafford. He had imbibed, says Lord Brougham, 'from his youth, and in the orthodox bowers which Isis waters, the dogmas of the tory creed, in all their purity and vigour. By these he abided through his entire life, with a steadfastness, and even to a sacrifice of power, which sets at defiance all attempts to question their perfect sincerity. Such as he was, when he left Oxford, such he continued for above sixty years after, to the close of his long and prosperous life;—the enemy of all reform, the champion of the throne and the altar, and confounding every abuse that surrounded the one, or grew up within the precincts of the other, with the institutions themselves; alike the determined enemy of all, who would either invade the institution, or exterminate the abuse.' Hence the unvarying regard for him of all those, who fattened upon the usurpation and injustice of affairs as they then existed. In

foreign politics, he was ever for carrying forward the war; without the slightest regard for any other object, than the overthrow and destruction of Napoleon. In vain to him would Spain have applied for a restoration of that popular freedom, which curbed the kings of Aragon and Castile, and rendered the Peninsula great, before the horrors of absolutism and the inquisition had blasted her prosperity. In vain to him would France have approached for a fairly balanced constitution, without *lettres de cachet*, an overbearing aristocracy, or an unlimited crown. His lordship has again and again confessed, in his correspondence, that he was no statesman, that his multifarious avocations had prevented him from becoming one, and that his almost single idea was to extinguish the torches of revolution. Nor were there in his survey of matters at home, any more exalted notions. For crimes his capital remedy was a halter; and he once admitted in the House of Lords, that he left an individual for execution who had stolen a horse worth no more than seven shillings and sixpence! It was, indeed, under the impression that the culprit was a notorious scoundrel; but how different from, and antagonistic to, all the genuine dictates of justice blended with mercy, is constructive condemnation. What would Lord Bacon, or Sir John Fortescue have said to such a doctrine of conservative equity, where life was to be the forfeit? No wonder the Chancellor pitched his vast influence against the innovation of Sir Samuel Romilly, who brought up repeatedly from the lower chamber his bill for abolishing the punishment of death, in all instances, where the value of the property plundered was under five shillings. And so with regard to parliamentary representation, his ponderous foot carefully trampled out any sparks of desire, which not unfrequently appeared, for having the theory of the constitution realized. In some respects, for a long series of years, he was the most powerful man in the kingdom; since, as is well known, our nobles have governed the nation, and his vote and voice were the most potential among the nobles. The phantom which haunted his dreams was a fear of change, precisely analogous to a similar apprehension in the mind of George the Third. The latter, indeed, was once thrown into no slight alarm by a proposition from the Chancellor himself, which must have seemed to his majesty like some temporary eclipse of intellect. The 'voluminous wig,' with which he had started at the bar, was succeeded, as a matter of course, by a still greater collection of horse-hair, powder, and pomatum for his pericranium, when he rose through the honours of a silk gown to the bench and the woolsack. Now Lady Eldon abominated these absurdities. She pressed upon him, moreover, his severe sufferings from headache, and so worked upon his resolution,

that he humbly appealed to his sovereign to dispense with this outrageous ornament 'at times when he was not engaged in official functions.' He pleaded, moreover, precedents from the two first Stuarts, whose judges were permitted to wear their natural hair. 'True,' replied the king, 'yet they wore their beards, and in my reign there shall be no innovation!' That reign, however, was now darkening to its close.

His majesty, on repeated occasions, had manifested most distressing symptoms of his malady, even when the public were little aware of them. Soon after his *jubilee*, and the demise of the Princess Amelia, all the worst appearances of 1788 returned. In November 1810, he had betrayed so much disorder, that his ministers did not feel warranted in asking for his sign manual to a commission for opening parliament. Adjournments were soon perceived to be hopeless. The chancellor indeed continued to hope against hope: but there was clearly no other course open than to revive the discussions on a regency bill. Fiercer contests than even those, which marked the former crisis, now agitated all parties. Whiggery threw its best efforts into the scale of the Prince of Wales; fondly trusting, that whatever might be his personal profligacy, meanness and treachery at least formed no portion of his character. Alas! for the credulity of mankind: discovering as they did, when too late, that the handsomest gentleman in Europe combined the hollowness of Charles the Second with the extravagance and licentiousness of that modern Sardanapalus. It was the interest of Mr. Perceval and his colleagues, as it had been that of Mr Pitt and his Cabinet before, to delay as long as possible a devolution of sovereign authority, which, it was imagined, would dispossess them of office. Patriotism was on the lips of every orator; covetousness was in the soul of every politician. The Regent had a policy of his own, altogether connected with power, wealth, and sensual pleasure. Restrictions were carried through both houses of parliament for twelve months; at the termination of which, toryism was found to have secured its ascendancy; and Lord Grey had to wait for another twenty years. His Royal Highness had always honoured Lord Eldon with secret, but most hearty hatred; which certain private papers, found in the escritoire of George the Third, metamorphosed into a confiding cordiality! In one word, the fortunate Lord Chancellor got on as well, or even better, with the son than with the father; there being less obstinacy, with more range of general information about the former. The pistol of Bellingham indeed had nearly hurried him into eternity; as it would appear that in the afternoon, before the Premier usually went down to the Commons, the Keeper of the Great Seal was

his object. 'When I left the court,' says Lord Eldon, 'I went into my private room, which is behind it: finding that there was time to take a walk before it was necessary to go down to the House of Lords, I undressed, and borrowed a great coat from one of my attendants, and a hat, and then left my apartment, and went up the stairs that lead into the passages of the Houses of Parliament. Bellingham was standing upon those stairs; as he had also been before observed at the door of the court of chancery, having his hand within the breast of his coat, ready to pull something out from it: and in consequence of my change of dress, he probably did not know me to be the same, whom he had lately seen on the bench. A very short interval took place between the moment at which this happened, and his assassinating Perceval.' The fall of that minister produced an earthquake amongst the holders of office: but nothing affected the occupant of the woolsack:

> Stat gravis Entellus, nisuque immotus eodem
> Corpore tela modo atque oculis vigilantibus exit.

Negociations with Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning had no result. The present Lord Wharncliffe, then one of the members for Yorkshire, moved and carried an address from the Commons for an efficient administration; so that after fresh efforts to effect a fusion between Lord Moira, some of the more liberal whigs, and the Grenvillites, the Regent re-established his pre-existent cabinet under the headship of the Earl of Liverpool. This last nobleman is the Arch Mediocrity of Coningsby. The firmness of Lord Eldon, together with the military successes of the peninsular campaigns, protracted his lease of government for fifteen years, to his paralytic seizure in 1827, soon after which, he died.

The same reverend divine to whom the Chancellor had written about the Trinity, transmitted him the present of a bible, in December, 1814. It was acknowledged, with considerable feeling on the part of his lordship, in an epistle remarkable for the admission made in it, so contrary to the prevalent error of his mind at almost all other times, that he could not hope to stand accepted before God in the rags of human merit. 'I have been herein taught,' he observes, 'that I shall be accountable at a throne of justice and mercy. Through that mercy, I humbly hope that that justice will pardon what I must otherwise think of with despair.' The evanescence, however, even of such imperfect convictions seems rendered but too probable, by subsequent events. The same letter intimates that conscience whispered in his ear, that he had already been more than long enough a public man. The riots in relation to the corn-laws might well have confirmed those whispers. His residence in

Bedford Square was attacked by the mob. The windows were broken, and the iron railings torn up to be employed as crowbars for effecting an entrance. After this had been done, the furniture and some papers fell a sacrifice; the family having happily escaped to the British Museum. But Lord Eldon was no coward. He returned with a file of soldiers to his house, collared two of the multitude, and told them 'they would be hanged. One of them bid me look to myself, and told me that the people were much more likely to hang me; and I really had my misgivings, whether he was not in the right!' We have always heard, and we fancy upon fair authority, that the Chancellor at first had to retreat from the back of his premises with very slender clothing; and that a mastership in chancery rewarded the happy individual who helped him to a pair of nether integuments. It was a cold night in March, and if such services were really rendered, they required, and perhaps received, this warm return. Generally his masterships were carefully and conscientiously given away. But there was no resisting royal importunity, pushed to the extreme which it was by the Prince Regent. Upon the occurrence of a vacancy, his Royal Highness had applied repeatedly on behalf of the witty Joseph Jekyll, but without effect. One day, the prince, knowing that the Chancellor had the gout, called at his house, and insisted upon being shewn up to his room: where what followed, should be narrated in his own words:—

'My servants told the prince, I was much too ill to be seen. He however pressed to be admitted; and they very properly and respectfully informed him, that they had positive orders to shew in no one. Upon which, he suddenly asked them to show him the staircase, which you know they could not refuse to do. They attended him to it, and he immediately ascended, and pointed first to one door, then to another, asking, 'Is that your master's room?—they answering, 'No,' until he came to the right one; upon which, he opened the door, and seated himself by my bedside! Well,—I was rather surprised to see his Royal Highness, and enquired his pleasure. He stated that he had come to request I would appoint Jekyll to the vacant mastership in chancery. I respectfully answered, that I deeply regretted his Royal Highness should ask that, for I could not comply. He inquired why I could not; and I told him, simply because, in my opinion, this gentleman was totally unfit to discharge the duties of that office. He however repeated his request, and urged very strongly. I again refused; and for a great length of time he continued to urge, and I continued to refuse, saying that Jekyll was unfit for the office, and I would never agree. His Highness at length suddenly threw himself back in the chair, exclaiming, 'How I do pity Lady Eldon!' 'Good God,' I said, 'what is the matter?' 'Oh! nothing,' answered the prince, 'except that she never will see you again: for here I remain until you promise to make Jekyll

a master in chancery.' Well; I was obliged at length to give in—I could not help it. Others ought really to be very delicate in blaming appointments made by persons in authority, for there are often many circumstances totally unknown to the public. However, Jekyll got on capitally. It was an unexpected result. One of my friends met him after he was appointed, and asked him how in the world he came to be picked out for that post; and he answered, that he supposed it was because he was the most unfit man in the country. Now you see this very consciousness of his own want of ability, led him, in all difficult cases, to consult two or three other masters in chancery, and being guided by such experienced heads, he never got wrong. He continued in office, for a considerable time, until indisposition and age obliged him to retire upon the usual pension. I met him in the street the day after his retirement, when according to his usual manner, he addressed me in a joke :—' Yesterday,' said he, ' Lord Chancellor, I was your master: to-day I am my own !'—vol. ii. pp. 268, 269.

What a picture of the slender talent with which the world is governed: and where could have been the objection to a reduction, both in the number of masters, and the emoluments attached to their offices? Yet to propose it to Lord Eldon, was to touch the apple of his eye. Queen Charlotte was even worse than her eldest-born in grasping at patronage; whilst it would seem that there was not a scion of the royal family, who failed to be followed by a swarm of place-hunting locusts, each with an appetite like the horseleech.

Somewhat prior to this period of his career, complaints assumed a louder and bolder tone as to those delays of equity, which began to be unsparingly attributed to the Lord Chancellor. Motions in Parliament, brought forward by the eccentric Michael Angelo Taylor, had attracted much attention to the subject; and more than one committee had already reported, either directly or indirectly, with respect to chancery reform. We repeat the assertion that Lord Eldon never seems to have had a personal enemy. His assailants were often numerous, and latterly they augmented in numbers; whilst nothing could well exceed the delicacy, approaching reverence itself, with which they first hinted at, and then more manfully yet always respectfully expressed their opinions. It was allowed on all hands, that his lordship possessed in a degree very rarely surpassed, the principal faculties which form an eminent arbitrator. His apprehension was clear and ready, his memory quick and retentive. ' He had a judgment which neither perplexity, nor sophistry could confound;—an industry never enervated by luxury, nor distracted by passion.' Concessions of this kind, most handsome and ample, never failed to be made by Sir Samuel Romilly, as well as still later by the present Justice Williams, and the Edinburgh Reviewers. These ought surely to have satisfied his

biographer, himself constrained to admit that there was positive and genuine ground for the charges. 'The tendency to doubt,' —we quote his own words,—'had probably grown upon Lord Eldon with advancing age; and it certainly led him in some cases of novelty or complexity to postpone his judgments from sitting to sitting, until the uneasiness of the suitors, at the long interval between the hearing and the decision, produced reasonable and loud complaints.' Such is the language even of a panegyrist. An opponent stated the matter with greater severity in October 1823: 'It would be difficult we conceive, to deny, that the Chancellor more frequently gives proof of caution than of boldness, of subtlety than of vigour, in his reasonings; that in the determination of particular cases, he seems too often to exercise his ingenuity in raising up doubts and difficulties, rather than in clearing them away; and above all that he confines himself far too rigidly to the decision of the special matters that come before him, without aiming either at the establishment of general principles, and the improvement of the science he professes,—or at the correction of those vices in the constitution and administration of his court, of which he daily sees and hears too much to make it conceivable that he should be ignorant.' Now we are honestly inclined to believe that nine-tenths of such intimations may be supported by extracts from the published correspondence in these volumes. Lord Eldon seems never to have forgotten the motto upon the Newcastle coach. Plain, downright, accurate history, will always describe him as a wonderful lawyer, but an unconscionably slow one. His judgments will always be deemed open to criticism. 'We shall find in them,' say the Edinburgh Reviewers, 'a tortuous and mazy involution, parenthesis suffocated by parenthesis, a profuse, inelegant, and cumbrous verbiage, which afflicts the reader with a sense of obscurity, and a most painful image of labour at once interminable and unproductive. Meaning, in itself never redundant or excessive, struggling in vain through a heavy and oppressive load of qualifications, and limitations, and restrictions, creeps into light, at length, in a shape and in dimensions little calculated to repay the wearisomeness of pursuit, from its first introduction, through its general attenuation and diminution, to its final extinction!'

Our biographer admires the cleverness of style manifested in these insinuations; yet surely it is not easy to gainsay their accuracy and force. We remember a worthy broken-hearted Irishman making his appearance before an eminent solicitor in London, to witness the winding up of a suit, in which he had unfortunately been engaged. 'Pray,' said the man of papers and red tape, 'for how long have you secured your resi-

dence?'—'Why, Sir,' answered the client, 'knowing the delays of the Court of Chancery by sad experience, I have taken my house for six months.'—'Go along,' exclaimed the attorney, 'and get a lease for at least fourteen years!' This is no joke, let our readers rest assured. We were ear-witnesses to the termination of a cause which had lasted vigorously for forty years; and two more were within our personal knowledge, which having surpassed that age, bid fair to survive through half a century. We well remember the case of Beard *versus* Westcott (not mentioned in the work before us), as exciting something like universal indignation: in that of Ware *v.* Horwood, which is alluded to, a solicitor for one of the parties wrote a remonstrance in the public papers addressed to Lord Eldon; who instead of committing him for contempt of court, sent for him into his private room; and attendances upon his lordship were charged to the client in his bill of costs, one item of which ran in the following form:—'To attendance in the private room of the Chancellor, when his lordship begged for further indulgence till to-morrow.' 'The thing went on; his lordship, having begged and obtained a further respite, was at length as good as his word; and *with the spur in his side*, ultimately made a decree!' We are not aware through how many lustrums this suit had lasted; but no adequate conception can be entertained by non-professional persons, of the misery and expence occasioned by protractions in what is called equity only by a misnomer. Families pine away into gradual destitution. Sickness of the heart digs a silent grave for parents, friends, husbands, and brothers. The shadows of an unrighteous forum change joy into heaviness, and prosperity into adversity. Is the following an unfair description?

'An anxious heir at law had filed a bill
In Chancery,—against his uncle's will:
Prodigious litigation now ensued
In language hieroglyphical and crude:
The lawyers smiled alone,—those limbs of sin,
Who grow so fat, when all the world grows thin!
Reams upon reams of paper were consumed,
Souls upon souls, through perjury were doomed:
Words warred with words, and brains encountered brains,
Fed with fat fees,—the Pigmies and the Cranes!
Bills begat bills,—demanding fresh replies,
Each hatching into life fresh swarms of lies:
Opinions with opinions,—paid for—strove,—
The flocks decaying, whilst injustice throve;
And courts above, intolerably slow,—
Reversed the sentences of courts below!'

Such were scenes of perpetual, and literal occurrence, through the incessant and cruel doubts of Lord Eldon. It is all very

well to exalt and land deliberation: and Euripides, we know, says

> [illegible]
> [illegible]

But there is a medium in all things. No judge need either play the hare, or the tortoise. The lord chancellor clearly felt his own infirmities, and even paid money out of his pocket to remedy them. He assured his most confidential correspondents, that he very well knew he *ought to withdraw*: and why did he not? We conceive there were two reasons,—one which he avowed to his friends, and another which he kept to himself. The former involved a resolution, that however professedly inclined to resign, he would never be ferreted or taunted out of office: in other words, upon this ground, he held his mace on, to plague democratical opponents. The latter he would never openly admit, though it was too apparent: namely, that he clung to the emoluments of the Great Seal! These, together with the speakership of the House of Lords, averaged from 1801 to 1806 about £17,[illegible] per annum: and from 1807 until his final retirement about £13,000 a-year, allowing for what he consented to sacrifice towards a vice-chancellor. An eminent clergyman, who had known him, from his Oxford days, was once asked in our hearing for his genuine character: his reply was, 'The Lord Chancellor is a marvellous and a matchless lawyer,—but he has said to gold, Thou art my hope,—and to the fine gold, Thou art my God!'

Onward therefore he pursued his course, through evil report and good report: always urbane both to the bar and suitors, kind to his equals, and condescending to his inferiors. It was very difficult to put him out of humour; although Lord Dunfermline once did so. Upon liberalism in politics, indeed, he never smiled: nor did he ever give one of his seven hundred livings to an evangelical clergyman. His ideas about popular religion might be summed up in his celebrated apothegm, which furnishes a fac-simile of his autograph in the second volume: 'My opinion is that the establishment is formed, not for the purpose of making the church political, but for the purpose of making the state religious.' Hence arose the intensity of his regard for the memory of George the Third; as also the line of argument and conduct which he adopted as to the omission of the queen's name from the liturgy. He had manifested considerable amenity towards her in her earlier troubles, when Princess of Wales: but on the grand assize he bowed to her wicked consort, and warmly supported the bill for Pains and Penalties. Endeavouring to prove that the evidence against her was conclusive, he threw into the back-ground, with no

little violence to his private opinion, as it strikes ourselves, the tyranny and treachery of which she had been the victim. At the coronation of George the Fourth an earldom was conferred upon him, with the rank of Viscount for his second title. His elder brother, William, also, who had risen to the highest legal honours as a civilian, was made a peer, and took his seat as Lord Stowell. Never had the High Court of Admiralty been so ably presided over. It would seem as though Providence just raised him to his envied position, when our maritime ascendancy stood in need of such an adjudicator. It must be remembered, that the sphere of Lord Stowell's jurisdiction was neither more nor less than the ocean. His mighty mind not only administered justice upon the high seas; but it moulded into a new code all that jurisconsults had said or thought upon the subject, from the famous laws of Rhodes to his own times. It is melancholy to look upon his noble intellectual portrait, and then read the playful, yet truthful intimation, thrown out with regard to him by the chancellor, that the 'only exercise he ever indulged in, was that of eating and drinking!' Lord Eldon loved port wine, 'and the stronger the better;' but there was no excess; owing, it may be, to the excellent order in which his lady maintained her conjugal control over all domestic and personal expenses. Even the luxury of a pinch of snuff was only permitted with certain restrictions, and for a particular object; since, though he had frequently wished for the liberty, he archly confessed, '*he could never get leave* to carry a box.' His entire life was one of trammel, and his official existence, with all its attractions, he over and over again described as 'vanity, and vexation of spirit.' The accession of Canning, in 1822, to the Liverpool ministry, on the suicide of the Marquis of Londonderry, must have annoyed him not a little; though he could not help yielding to hard necessity on the occasion.

We have no space, nor, indeed, if we had, is it necessary, to dwell upon that most acrimonious virulence with which Lord Eldon ever opposed the claims of religious liberty. He naturally looked upon Canning as destined, sooner or later, to loosen the vessel of the state from those antiquated prejudices, so much the dearer to the chancellor, simply because they were ancient. His sympathies were with the Duke of York, and his notorious declaration in April, 1825. The oath, with which its close was pointed and disgraced, seems to have clenched the loyal devotion awarded towards its author by bishops, peers, and tories. It was printed and circulated in golden letters; pocket-handkerchiefs were impressed with the worthless words; we say *worthless*, in reference to the quarter whence they proceeded.

Even the keeper of the king's conscience could not avoid mentioning to his daughter, Lady Frances Bankes, 'The Duke of York is at Newmarket. It is to be regretted, that in his highly important and lofty situation *he spends so many days with blacklegs,* and so many nights at cards, amongst which we know there are *knaves,* as well as what are better company for him,—*kings and queens!*' His lordship could overlook, or at least handle most delicately, the vices and follies of the royal gambler; but for affairs so sacred, as the Rights of Conscience, he had not an atom of grace or favour to spare. On retiring from office, when the illness of Lord Liverpool had broken up his ministry, the king loaded him with marks of his confidence and friendship. He passed his time generally between Encombe and the metropolis; entering into field sports in the country, and still attending to public business in London. The repeal of the Test and Corporation acts filled him with dismay; and whilst he had encouraged some hope for the nation, under the transitory cabinets of Canning and Viscount Goderich, he now plainly enough foresaw, that all his labours reiterated from session to session, against the Catholic Relief bill, were about to be scattered to the four winds of heaven. His account of George the Fourth, at this period, is most pitiable; vibrating as the royal mind was between conviction and consistency; endeavouring to throw blame, wherever it might exist, upon the shoulders of others; and feeling himself to be, what in truth he was, a mere monarchical pageant, possessing no real power, and respected neither by follower nor foe. The ex-chancellor prophecied in the House of Lords, that the sun of England had set for ever; which the French revolution of 1830, and the accession of Lord Grey to the premiership, of course, in his opinion, tended to confirm. Reform in parliament, under William the Fourth, crowned the climax; scarcely relieved by the brief Peel-Wellington administration of 1835, and an apparent revival of conservatism developed in the general election. His old colleagues had evidently taken him at his word, with regard to the pleasure with which he had professed to relinquish the labours of official life; and had therefore left him altogether out of the question in their arrangements. How much they were mistaken, and he was mortified, appears from various private letters, demonstrating those secret longings with which his mind still reverted, even to the privy seal, if he could have obtained it. But he was already beyond the common age of man. His brother had survived his intellects, and was at length gone to his last home. Here, again, vexation awaited him; since Lord Stowell had passed him over in his will, no doubt considering him as more than merely well pro-

vided for. Family connexions and ties were, and had been for a long while, dissolving in different directions. His brother left behind him no descendants, except Lady Sidmouth, who shortly followed him to the grave. Lady Eldon, together with both her sons, died before her lord. One of their daughters had imitated their matrimonial example, in running away with a gentleman named Repton, the husband of her choice; but for which her father suffered years to elapse before he forgave her. His other daughter married unhappily; and his brother Henry had died as early as 1799. Cloud upon cloud thus thickened about him, afflicting him the more, since he had been always an affectionate relative, a dutiful son in a certain modified sense, an indulgent husband, a tender father with some exceptions, and a faithful brother. His own sands were also fast running out; his temper was failing; the windows of his inner man grew darker and darker; even his dogs ceased to interest him; his constitution, which had supported a cough of half a century, with all the wear and tear of legal toil, broke up, through mere old age,—and on Saturday, the 13th of January, 1838, he expired. His life had thus reached the duration of eighty-seven years, six months, and nine days.

How it fared with him, in exchanging time for eternity, it is far from any human tribunal to determine. It is with his actions alone that we have any concern. His servant observed that, when in bed, he frequently expressed himself in oral and affecting supplication. He read the scriptures with seriousness towards the termination of his life; bewailing, it is said, sincerely, his breaches of the Sabbath for so many years, in absenting himself from church almost altogether, and desecrating his sacred hours in secular employments. On this painful subject we like the tone of Lord Eldon himself—blunt and cold as perhaps it may seem—better than the hollow extenuations of his courtly encomiast. The latter has ventured, after alluding to certain 'greater or less transgressions as the weaknesses of human nature,' to evince his own utter ignorance upon the most important of all subjects, in such paragraphs as these: 'with Lord Eldon, religion was matter of feeling, as well as conviction: it was the stock on which his virtue grew: his standard in action, and his refuge in suffering. Its influences were habitually and practically present, and operative, and paramount within him—whether amid the perplexities of law, the struggles of power, or the sorrows of domestic bereavement—alike in his health and in his sickness, in his youth and in his age!' Alas! for the falsehood of flattery, not in this instance we dare say, intending wilfully to mislead; but only demonstrating that the principles of the world have a lie in their right hand! The youth of Lord

Eldon, as we have seen, and as our author has all along told us, was a youth of formalism and petty misdemeanour. Under fifteen, he was in the habit of disregarding the demands of truth, the behests of his father, and the laws of common honesty. Let nonconformists never fail to protest against the moral code of our large seminaries; setting at defiance, as they so often do, the commands of God, through the petrifying effects of religion established by act of parliament. Of the main stream of his later life, we have also taken some slight survey; so that candid readers may draw their own conclusions. It was the conviction of the Bishop of Exeter, that his old friend was going out of the world, trusting in his own righteousness; and in several interviews, accompanied with prayer, he attempted to direct his hopes exclusively towards the merits of our Saviour. That this prelate would be too severe about such a matter, may not be for a moment imagined; but perceiving that his efforts were not well taken, he addressed the dying man a letter, full of faithfulness and pathos, of which we know not the result: for it is beside the purpose to listen to what he once told his solicitor, that he acquiesced in his view, that 'no reliance could be placed on anything but the blood of Christ'—when in that very conversation he previously mentioned his 'source of great happiness in reflecting that he never gave to A the property of B:' adding that '*this is a satisfaction to a man at the last, and in looking forward to the day of judgment!*' It is notorious that, for years and years, in the metropolis, he had forgotten entirely the admonition of Dr. Johnson: a place of worship he never entered; his family and household neglected even the externals of what the Anglican faith recommends; and Sunday was invariably a season of either temporal occupation or pleasure. Does his amiable biographer, then, quite fulfil his mission, when he sounds such a sonorous trumpet as to the religion of his noble patron; confessing that, in London at least, his devotions were always performed in private; that when in the country, for one month out of the twelve, he went to the parish sanctuary four times; that he invariably said grace before dinner; that he built a chapel of ease at his own expense; that he stoutly maintained christianity to be the law of the land; and that his charities were enormous, only that his admirers could never find out exactly where they were exercised? He should surely have thought of the ancient Latin axiom—*Paulum sepultæ distat inertiæ celata virtus!* We are plainly informed, that he abstained from all annual subscriptions: the most diligent researches have not brought half a dozen genuine instances of pecuniary benevolence to light: nor does there exist any evidence of a palpable nature that 'he filled his odorous lamp with deeds of light,' beyond a few most

meagre instances of almsgiving, and the plentiful surmises of those who had their case to make out that he was an anointed vessel full to the brim of religion and charity. We admit that there once existed considerable exaggerations as to his indulgence of 'cunctative tendencies;' and these Mr. Horace Twiss has, in our estimation, triumphantly swept away. But the nucleus of the grand count against his administration of equity remains, we think, untouched, or at all events undisturbed—even his admirers themselves being the judges. Nor was he unrequited for that portion of his legal and judicial character which developed itself, so beneficially for his fellow-creatures, as to place him, in the list of chancellors, on a level with Lord Hardwicke. During the quarter of a century through which he held the seals, over and above what he was so fond of designating as his official charities, he received from his countrymen £400,000; during his previous practice at the bar about £200,000 more; together with his ten years' pension, when out of place, which added the trifle of another £40,000 to his overwhelming fortunes. There were also the vast accumulations of interest upon his realizations; all which, (deducting legacies to daughters,) in addition to the prodigious property of Lord Stowell, has descended to his grandson, the present earl. The posterity of a Newcastle coal-fitter may now be ranked amongst the most opulent members of the British aristocracy; an oligarchy unparalleled by any in the world. The late Chancellor Eldon, we regret to observe, besides appealing at all public and private opportunities, to his own spotless integrity and virtue, *ad nauseam*, sometimes lapsed into the culpable practice of interlarding his speeches with those tremendous adjurations which ought to be strictly limited, in our opinion, to extraordinary solemnities.

Yet let us part in peace with the memorial of so great a man! For upwards of five years we had the pleasure of watching him at Lincoln's Inn Hall and Westminster. Who is there so circumstanced, that will not remember the rumbling approach of his carriage, precisely at a quarter before ten o'clock; the vehicle itself being barely better or handsomer than one of the old-fashioned, long, heavy, respectable, and now almost forgotten hackney glass-coaches. His equipage and servants always wore mourning to save the expense of a state hammercloth and liveries. As he entered his court, the Bar would rise, and salute him, it frequently struck us, with something far beyond mere courtesy. Whilst his attendants adjusted his robe or desk, presented him with his nosegay, and arranged his mace and seals on the table of green cloth, he would settle himself down to the most important business, with scarcely a word, or an effort. There was an unaffected urbanity in his whole demeanour,

rarely to be found amongst other judges, many of them confessedly his inferiors. Sometimes he would glance at the newspaper or indite a note, or pass a quiet joke, or deliver an able decree; or for hours together listen to counsel, without uttering a sound, with his left foot upon his right knee, and one of his hands passing to and fro over the calf of the leg, until his antiquated silk stocking, somewhat the worse for wear, literally shone through the attrition. We can see him now, in the eye of our mind, exchanging glances, in this posture, with Sir Samuel Romilly; looking out so archly and demurely, with such a play of good-natured pleasantry on his features, that one saw how he loved humour almost more than equity; and that the thought, then passing through his mind, would have set barristers, and solicitors, and suitors too, in a roar of laughter, had the dignity of place, person, or occasion, ever permitted a cachinnation. His memory was a perfect magazine, one department of which was a law-library; and the other a museum of facts, dates, quaint anecdotes, bills, demurrers, replications, orders, and the complete skeletons of some thousand cases connected with his own jurisdiction, as head of the Court of Chancery. Externally he never acted the oppressor upon the bench. However young the speaker might be, or however prolix, dull, and prosy, or however intricate the circumstances which he might have to lay before him, the Chancellor heard with impartiality and attention, came almost without fail to the correct conclusion, and only doubted whether or not he had done so, alas! too often. Nor was he above acknowledging himself in the wrong, when that had really happened: he would then openly say, 'I feel myself bound to state that when such or such a case was decided, I must have seen it in a point of view, in which, after most laborious consideration, I cannot see it now.' These were amongst the best symptoms of his nobler nature: *requiescat umbra ejus in pace perpetuâ.*

Brief Notices.

'*St. Patrick's Purgatory.*' *An Essay on the Legends of Purgatory, Hell, and Paradise, current during the Middle Ages.* By Thomas Wright, M.A. F.S.A. Russel Smith.

This little volume presents a curious and amusing collection of tales relating to purgatory and paradise, from the early legend of the monk Furseus, to the splendid vision of Dante. Amid great similarity, the

variations afford a good test of the poetical powers of the respective writers, although as the reader may well suppose, the magnificent creations of the Florentine bard leave every other 'vision' far indeed behind.

The notion of purgatory, however, did not, as Mr. Wright endeavours to prove, originate with the churchmen of the middle ages. It was an article of belief among the Jews, long ere the Latin church had a name, and the case really is, that nearly all the superstitions connected with religion during this period, will be found to have been derived from an eastern source. It was not in the forests of Scandinavia or Germany, as Mr. Wright supposes, that the belief in the gloom of the abode of separate spirits, or of the purifying fires of purgatory originated, but in the far east, and among the followers of that widely diffused creed of Zerdhust, by whom light was viewed as the very element of the deity, and darkness as the very element of the opposing evil one, while fire was believed to be the great purifier of all things.

In many of the tales of paradise, too, which are here collected, an undoubtedly oriental origin may be traced. Tall, straight trees, wide plains covered with aromatic plants, sparkling fountains, and birds of bright plumage, belong not to European landscape, and never would have formed part of an Englishman's vision of Paradise; and it forcibly struck us that the reason why the popular auditory during the middle ages,—and indeed we may add, much later,—were always so much more impressed with scenes of punishment than of reward, must have been the *foreign* character of the pictures of a state of blessedness. We must protest against the 'elves,' these genuine creations of English poetical fancy, of whom we have some curious stories, being summoned to illustrate the doctrine of purgatory. Fairyland is essentially English ground, but purgatory belongs to a different region. We must also protest against the hard measure which Mr. Wright deals out to the Irish catholics. Orangemen may talk about Romanism being 'a religion of sedition,' but blind indeed must the writer be who does not perceive that misrule has been the grand element in producing that sedition in Ireland. On the whole, as a compilation of curious stories from sources not always accessible to the general reader, the work has some merit, but a philosophical essay on the religious superstitions of the middle ages, is still wanting.

New Series of School Books, by the Scottish School Book Association. Nos. I. to XIV. William Whyte, Edinburgh. London: Houlston.

MANY of our readers are probably acquainted with some of the excellent school books comprised in the above series. The whole form one of the most valuable practical contributions ever made to the cause of popular education in this country. The skill and care manifested in their preparation; the philosophical and simple methods of instruction; and the amount of information which they contain, together with their cheapness, entitle them to an extensive sale, and we hope will secure their diligent employment. The series furnishes the means of a complete education in reading, spelling, grammar, arithmetic, geography, and to these branches of knowledge physical science and mathematics are being now added by the numbers in course of publication. We have been especially delighted with the four which form the geographical

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If any of our readers are anxious to obtain more complete information respecting the books in this series, we refer them to a syllabus issued by the publishers, which contains a list of the works and an explanation of their contents. It ought to be extensively circulated by the parties who are engaged in this worthy undertaking.

The Epistles of Barnabas, Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, and the Epistle to Diognetus. Edited from the text of Hefele, with an introduction and notes, by Algernon Grenfell, M.A., one of the masters of Rugby School. Rugby: I. G. Crossley. London: G. B. Whitaker & Co. 1844.

This is the most compendious reprint of the 'apostolical fathers' we have yet seen, and to those who may desire the text without the usual apparatus of various readings and notes, will be a very attractive publication. It is beautifully printed, in a clear bold type. The arguments are given by the side of each chapter in English. As the title intimates, the text of Hefele's edition is followed throughout; and although we should decidedly recommend every student, who intends to have but one copy of these fathers, to obtain Hefele's edition, in preference to every other; yet, where the object is to have the text only in a portable form, we think that the present edition leaves nothing to be desired, either for accuracy or beauty.

The introduction is a very sensible and useful paper. It supplies all the information which is required in a manual edition respecting the genuineness of the various pieces included in the volume. The grounds on which the genuineness of the epistle which bears the name of Bar-

nabas is denied, and the principal facts respecting the epistles of Ignatius, are briefly but sufficiently stated. The editor's remarks respecting the value of these early works are moderate and candid. Avoiding 'the question of the amount of evidence which they contain for the apostolic sanction of episcopacy,' he is careful to show 'what kind of episcopacy it is which Ignatius speaks of,' and its difference from that which now bears the name. He has also some very judicious remarks on the corrupting tendency of a judaizing spirit in both the earlier and later church, and notices the references which occur in the letter of the pseudo-Barnabas, in the two epistles of Ignatius, and in that to Diognetus on this subject.

To the Editor of the 'Eclectic Review.'

DEAR SIR,—Looking over the article on the Pauline Epistles, in the 'Eclectic' of this month, I am mortified in detecting some errors of the press, or of transcription, which escaped my notice in the slight revision which I was compelled to give to the proof-sheet forwarded to me while on a journey. You will greatly oblige me by inserting the following corrections from my own copy in your next number, which will complete the volume in which the errors are found.

Page 509, for	*Molderhauer*,	read	Moldenhaner.
„ „	*Schultz*,	„	Schulz.
„ „	*Krank*,	„	Krause.
513, „	*Pressinus*,	„	Pessinus.
514, „	*explanation*,	„	explanations.
517, „	*Busching*,	„	Büsching.
„ „	*German*,	„	Germany.
„ „	*thise pistle*,	„	this epistle.
„ „	*Herrman*,	„	Heumann.
„ „	*Zackary*,	„	Zachariæ.

Yours, faithfully,

November 1st, 1844. THE CONTRIBUTOR.

Literary Intelligence.

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The Star of Attéghéi; the Vision of Swartz and other poems. By Frances Brown.

Uncle Peter's Fairy Tales. The first story containing the history and adventures of Little Mary, Queen of the great Island of Brakarakakaka.

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Bedford Square was att
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will see you again